A Critical Analysis of Sociology of Sport: Reflections on a Research Career

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Declaration

The thesis has been composed by the candidate.

The work is the candidate’s own except for Jary & Horne (1994), Horne & Jary (1987), Horne & Jary (1987) and Jary, Horne & Bucke (1991). In each of these cases the candidate was the initial and final drafter of the paper and undertook at least an equal share in the research involved.

The work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed: ____________________________ Date: 1 May 2007

(John D. Horne)
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Introduction

'Theory is always a detour on the way to something more important'

This is a thesis by research publications about the sociological study of sport. The core of this thesis is founded upon a critical discussion of the theoretical perspective now known as figurational or process-sociology, derived from the writings of Norbert Elias (1978a; 1978b; 1982; Elias & Dunning, 1986; see Mennell (1989) and Smith (2001) for general overviews of Elias’s work). The thesis seeks to establish that:

1. sport, and leisure cultures more widely, are best understood as products of contested cultural values and meanings shared by members of dominant and subordinate social groups in particular social formations;

2. hence the notion of cultural contestation, in conjunction with a critical methodological orientation derived from elements of “British Cultural Studies”, Gramscian Marxism and C.Wright Mills’ sociology, is a more useful perspective for understanding these different cultural values and meanings of sport than the more restrictive concepts of figurational/process sociology;

3. and this approach offers a better explanation for the spread of sport and leisure cultures to non-western social formations than the more Eurocentric “civilising process”.

In order to establish this thesis the submission is structured in four parts. In the first part following a brief biographical journey through my career as a researcher and writer, an outline of the sociology of sport is presented that locates the theoretical background to the submitted research papers. In the second part, the contribution of figurational or process - sociology, as a dominant sociological approach to sport in
Britain in the 1970s, is critiqued. This critique elaborates on two earlier papers (Horne & Jary, 1987 and Jary and Horne, 1987, both in Appendix 3) and their impact on debates in the sociology of sport. A subsequent revisiting of the issues (Horne & Jary, 1994, in Appendix 2) is also discussed to further elucidate the theoretical and substantive problems identified with the figurational approach. This critique sought to develop the sociology of sport and encourage greater rapprochement with other sociological concerns and perspectives.

The review in part three draws out the implications of several published research papers, which advance the criticisms against, and demonstrate the power of, alternative theoretical approaches to sport to that of figurational sociology. Concerns with various theoretical lacunae in figurational sociology, and other issues, are exemplified in the papers submitted. The papers are grouped into three topics: sport and leisure cultures as contested cultural forms (Jary et al, 1991; Horne 1995a; Horne 1996a); sport and the political economy of the mass media (Jary et al, 1991, Horne, 1992a, 1996b); and the globalization of sports culture (Horne, 1996b, 1998a, and 1998b).

My career as a researcher and writer on sport and society has led me to the following three conclusions. Firstly, sociological studies of sport should be historical, empirical and conjunctural. Sport, and leisure cultures more generally, can best be understood in the context of specific political, economic and ideological moments. Secondly, there is a need to examine sport and leisure cultures in a greater comparative context and more globally. This need not, however, mean an uncritical acceptance of the concept of globalization, as has been apparent in some figurational writing. Our argument is that the sociology of sport needs a greater appreciation of the appropriation, growth and development of sport and leisure cultures in non-western social formations as well as the west. Thirdly, there remains great value in understanding sport, and leisure cultures more generally, as a contested cultural terrain. Raymond Williams's conceptualisation of the dialectic between dominant, residual and emergent cultural relations, derived in part from Gramscian Marxism
(Williams, 1977, especially pp. 120-127) is particularly insightful and suggestive in this respect.

The conclusions in part four offer a summary of the arguments and assess their theoretical and methodological implications for the further development of the sociology of sport. In line with the parent discipline since the 1980s various theoretical traditions and approaches have been articulated (Coakley and Dunning, 2000b). In Europe, but especially Britain, the Netherlands and Germany, figurational sociology continues to be at the forefront of discussions of sport, and to a lesser extent, leisure, in society. Figurational sociologists have responded to the criticisms levelled at them in the 1980s and in part have adjusted their positions. Contributors to the debate (for example, Rojek, 1992) have stated that they would prefer a theoretical truce, rather than continue in some form of academic "gladiatorial" battle. Nonetheless recent figurational writings still exhibit some of the problems identified in the 1980s. My contention as a researcher and writer is that the sociology of sport will continue to be marginal to the parent discipline and marginalised from it as long as its main contribution to sociological writing is predominantly theoretical, illustrative and reflective, as is the figurational approach. Sociology, as a discipline, needs also to be empirical, investigative and critical. Hence the thesis attempts to demonstrate that alternative theoretical approaches, in common with the position outlined in the papers and this critical review, continue to offer greater promise for the sociology of sport in the 21st century.

The critical focus of this review is on the figurational sociology of sport and leisure. It does not seek to provide a comprehensive or balanced exposition of the entire sociology of sport, nor the work of Elias, Dunning, etc. Although, since Elias, along with Pierre Bourdieu, is one of a small number of major social theorists to focus on leisure and sport, critical consideration of the figurational sociology of sport and leisure throws light on other aspects of the figurational, process-sociological, perspective. Not only is the thesis critical of Elias and Dunning's work and other scholars who can be placed in the same tradition, but also other sociological theories of sport. Whilst the thesis is buttressed by reference to a number of published
research papers, it is not intended to provide a definitive sociology of sport. Although critical of various sociological perspectives, especially figurational sociology, it is far from the intention to replace them by an equally abstract synthesis. What is hoped for is that the demonstration of the weaknesses and strengths of other bodies of theory, and if anything their complementarity, will contribute to better sociological practice in the investigation of sport and leisure (Layder, 1998).

My career as a researcher has convinced me that the sociology of sport, like sociology more generally, needs to produce more specific studies of concrete situations. In this way it can contribute to answering questions about the determinate conditions under which particular sport, leisure and other cultural elements become political issues. As Williams (1980, p. 48) suggested ‘we should look not for the components of a product but for the conditions of a practice’. In this respect the sociological study of sport can assist in illuminating the connections between “personal troubles” and “public issues” that stimulated many sociological imaginations (Mills, 1959).
Part One: Understanding Sport and Society

"(A) dvances in the sphere of the social sciences are substantively tied up with the shift in practical cultural problems"

A Biographical Journey through the Career of a Researcher in the Sociology of Sport

I have come to recognise that sport provides a useful focal point for my sociological research for three main reasons. Firstly, during the past twenty-five years not only has sport become an increasingly important part of national economies, like tourism, but also much financial, cultural and physical capital, political energy and personal attention has continued to be invested in it. Secondly, sport combines a number of contradictory characteristics which make it an attractive sociological phenomenon in its own right: sport is shrouded in an aura of unreality, yet is connected to wider social structural changes; sport is conducted upon an ideological stage in which the dramatic myth of liberating play looms large, yet discipline and constraint, through legal contracts and regulatory frameworks, are essential for its execution; and sport combines seriousness and lack of utility and quantitative with qualitative dimensions of human experience that few other cultural forms can match. Thirdly, sport provides the opportunity to develop a critical methodological orientation to sociological enquiry consistent with developments in epistemological and ontological frameworks that have taken place in the same time period.

The epistemological and ontological conditions for sociological research during my career as a sociologist have been fundamentally influenced by the collapse of firm boundaries between scientific and imaginative ways of understanding human lives and societies that began in the 1960s. Studies such as T.S.Kuhn’s The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962) which demonstrated that scientific understanding was itself the outcome of a social process contributed to this collapsing of boundaries. The new pluralism in understanding scientific knowledge, brought about by the recognition that both natural and social science depended on the judgements of
members of their particular scientific communities, led to increased diversity in doing science and the validity of methodologies previously thought to belong more to the arts and humanities. It led to the "post-foundational" view of social science that accepts that there is no single integrated and cumulative body of law and evidence. Instead there are a large number of substantive theories, concepts, research methods, empirical findings, interpretations and applications, or, in short, discourses. Cultural variability and relativity of understanding have thus reflected changes in the social world. Since the 1960s confrontations with cultural authority by generations, genders, classes and ethnic groups have helped to challenge dominant world views and contribute to what has been called "the cultural turn".

The cultural turn has involved changes in ontology as well as epistemology - not only in how we come to know reality, but also in what reality consists of and what has causal power within it. For some it led to an epistemological focus on language and signs, and to an ontological belief that language and culture made a difference and helped to constitute social reality as much as being constituted by it. For others the cultural turn contributed to the rise of cultural studies as a viable alternative approach to sociology in studying culture and society. Like all the other social sciences affected by the cultural turn, including sociology, however cultural studies has struggled to balance the relative importance given to the linguistic and extra-linguistic. An attraction of the work of Anthony Giddens, compared with other sociologists during this period, has been the openness of his writings about agency and structure - the extent to which social actors are creative or constrained by social structures - and other theoretical dilemmas such as the role of consensus and conflict in maintaining social order and the question whether economic mechanisms should be given explanatory primacy in understanding modern social development - to these debates and developments. Whilst I find some of the political conclusions of his work questionable, Giddens has provided a very useful link between these different theoretical discourses.

From these theoretical debates I have concluded that social scientific understanding involves the attribution of meaning, causal connections, and the search for typicality,
not merely detailed descriptions of individual lives or events. What follows from this is that a larger understanding of society can be built from exploring the life strategies and doings of individuals within a theoretical and methodological framework that recognises the wider social context within which people create meaning and devise strategies in their lives. Much of the research contained in the papers submitted with this thesis has developed from these principles. Other pieces of research that I have conducted during my sociological career have reflected this approach as can be seen in the following two examples.

On joining the sociology department at North Staffordshire Polytechnic in 1980 I was asked to teach and research a number of areas, including sociological theory, education, comparative social structure, women in society, the mass media and race relations. One research project I developed investigated young people’s transitions from school to work and, increasingly during the 1980s, unemployment, and the way in which this was managed by the state and experienced by young people. I was especially interested in attempts to deal with the so-called “enforced leisure” of young people, as unemployment has sometimes been referred to, with the establishment of work-like experiences in youth training schemes. My first published piece of writing on leisure compared the social control of spare time of unemployed young people in the 1930s and the 1980s. I suggested that there was a similar logic to measures taken to discipline and habituate the young unemployed to working life in the 1930s and the 1980s, and in both periods these attempts were met with some resistance. I began to develop expertise in oral history and the collection of personal accounts and it also led me to contribute to teaching courses on qualitative research methods.

Although I did not teach the sociology of work, as a result of my interest in unemployment I was invited to write a short “topic book” on work and unemployment. I reviewed classical and contemporary sociological approaches to work and unemployment and writing the book provided me with the opportunity to assess the relative balance between work and leisure in people’s lives. I concluded that sociology students (for whom the book was primarily intended) needed to be
wary of statements about “the collapse of work”, “the flight from work” or the possibility of “liberation from work” (all book titles in the early 1980s). I argued that whilst the discipline of sociology involved a constant re-evaluation of past theories and suggested ways of looking at the world in the light of novel conditions and situations, sociologists needed to avoid what Michael Young once described as the tyranny of an imagined future over the present. In this regard two themes underpinned my argument in the book. Firstly, despite the growth of interest in work outside of employment, paid employment, or wage labour, remained the fundamental determinant of people’s lives. Secondly, that the actual experience of work was heavily influenced by social relations of age, ethnicity and gender. For me, then as now, paid work was the central mechanism for the distribution of economic rewards and deprivation in society and the most important determinant of people’s life chances in a capitalist market economy.

In addition to my other challenges at North Staffordshire I was given teaching responsibility for sociological components on a new degree in sport and recreation studies. It was here that I first encountered the writings of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning on sport. I had not encountered the figurational perspective either as an undergraduate or a postgraduate student, yet it figured large in the study of sport and leisure and it fascinated me. I decided to write a critical account of it. I was provided with the ideal opportunity to publish my thoughts when (with David Jary and Alan Tomlinson) I edited a monograph for the Sociological Review on Sport, Leisure and Social Relations (Horne et al, 1987). I prepared the paper on figurational sociology, which David Jary then contributed to. I felt that proponents of figurational sociology made claims about its ability to resolve the agency-structure debate which were equally applicable to other sociological approaches, some of which were more connected with mainstream sociological debates and issues. David Jary’s ideas inform some of the co-written papers but the overall structure and direction of the critique are derived from my ideas.

As a critique the first two papers which I co-wrote with David Jary (and which are included with this submission as supplementary papers), were intended to
acknowledge some of the valuable additions that the figurational perspective offered to the sociological tradition, rather than to consign it simply to a theoretical dustbin. These papers have not always been understood in this constructive way, especially by Dunning (1992). On reflection, it is worth acknowledging that our critiques of figurational sociology contain little mention of the significance of the body. Yet as Rojek has pointed out, Norbert Elias was one of the first to indicate how sociology had ignored the body:

Long before Foucault, Elias examined the body as a nexus of power, and unequivocally related historical transformations in bodily appearance and self-discipline to transformations in the social structure (Rojek, 1992, p. 14).

Clearly Elias’s view of the body, as a self-controlled, self-restrained entity, reflecting the disciplining and training required by bourgeois society, provides one basis for a historical sociology of the body and the emotions (Rojek, 1992, p. 30).

The approach that Jary and I took in these essays was described as sympathetic to “neo-marxist cultural studies” (Rojek, 1992, p. 8). One of the other essays submitted (Horne 1992a) featured in a special issue of the Sociology of Sport Journal (Volume 9, No. 2, 1992) devoted to “British Cultural Studies”. In so far as I was interested in the cultural meaning of sport, the different meanings of it held within and between members of different social groups in society, and their connection to the diverse representations of sport and physicality manifested at different times by the mass media, this was not a completely erroneous representation of my general theoretical and methodological orientation. I would not however see myself as a simple advocate of “cultural studies”, except in a rather loose sense.

Cultural studies shared one of the features that first attracted me to popular sociological writing that I encountered in the magazine New Society when I was a student in the early 1970s. Sociology (and cultural studies) at its best can enable people who discover a disjuncture between dominant ideas and their own lived reality to make sense of their own situation. As a football fan with knowledge of the
terraces I had certainly encountered such a gap between the sensational headlines and media response about hooliganism and my own experiences. Sociological, and later cultural studies, writing about sport, especially football, made sense of this discrepancy to me. In both, popular culture was given some credibility. Cultural studies featured both a reaction against the dominant definition of culture bequeathed by a conservative tradition of cultural criticism in Britain and the economic determinism of orthodox marxist accounts of culture. Cultural studies offered further insights, which I have continued to find attractive in my research. It took a critical approach to advertising, consumerism and different forms of the mass media (especially television) and recognised the importance of popular culture in political, as well as social, terms. Sport and popular culture more generally were viewed as a focus for contestation and another substantive illustration of the dialectic between agency and structure.

I grew disenchanted with the label “cultural studies” during the late 1980s however when it increasingly came to signify an almost exclusive concentration on the study of “cultural texts”, the ways in which they articulated and constructed social identities, and the ways in which they were interpreted and consumed, almost to the exclusion of a consideration of the very considerable power of the cultural institutions responsible for the creation of dominant cultural images in the first place. The populist concern with lived experience had its strengths and weaknesses. It emphasised human agency, whilst losing sight of the processes that shaped and constrained the conditions of existence within which people act. The danger in studying popular culture in this manner was that it could lead to an uncritical celebration of “consumer power” as “people power”. Whilst at Staffordshire I occasionally taught courses on comparative social structure and the sociology of race relations, including the history and development of apartheid in South Africa. These provided me with salutary reminders about the parochial nature of much of cultural studies. Nonetheless any study of South African society from the 1960s until the late 1980s could not ignore the very political role that sport played in the struggle over apartheid.
In conclusion, I have taught sociology for 23 years, but not under circumstances of my own choosing. The main influences that have shaped my development as an academic sociologist have been theoretical and substantive debates about agency and structure, especially within neo-marxist and non-marxist social theory, and the development of methodological pluralism. In this brief biographical preface I have reflected on these influences and indicated how they have contributed to my intellectual development. The remainder of this part outlines the broader context within which the development of the sociological study of sport has taken place, and the rest of the thesis demonstrates some of my contributions to it.

The Development of the Sociology of Sport
The sociology of sport, as academic sub-discipline and institutional field of study has developed in a number of ways. There are national and international membership organisations (North American Society for the Sociology of Sport, NASSS; International Association of Sociology of Sport, IASS) and a Research Committee of the International Sociological Association (ISA). British based scholars have contributed to handbooks (Coakley and Dunning, 2000a), monographs (Sugden & Tomlinson, 1998; Maguire, 1999; Dunning, 1999), and edited collections and textbooks (Cashmore, 2000a) in sport studies, including my own contributions (Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel, 1999; Horne, Jary & Tomlinson (eds) 1987).

Several academic journals now exist, which focus primarily on sport in society or publish sociological research on sport and leisure including Leisure Studies, Society and Leisure, Sociology of Sport Journal, the International Review for the Sociology of Sport and the Journal of Sport and Social Issues. Outside of sociology, the study of sport has been burgeoning in many other social sciences in the past twenty years especially history, economics and more recently anthropology (see Holt & Mason, 2000; Gratton & Taylor, 2000; and Dyck, 2000).

Sociological interest in leisure and sport has developed since the middle of the 20th century. In line with Weber’s thesis, quoted at the beginning of this part, the sociology of leisure first developed out of industrial sociology in the 1950s during
the era of “affluence” and a concern with the “problem of leisure” which also spawned theories of industrial, and then “post-industrial”, society. Dubin (1956) proposed that leisure was replacing work as a ‘central life interest’. Although there were studies of specific types of leisure activity, such as football, dancing, and cinema attendance (Smith et al 1973) most subsequent research focussed on two main areas: the exploration of the relationship between work and leisure, which tended to demonstrate the continuing centrality of paid work and a complex pattern of work-leisure relations (Parker, 1971, 1983; Roberts, 1970); or how leisure patterns shift across the lifecycle (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975). Rojek (1985) referred to these traditions, as well as empirical studies of relatively discrete aspects of leisure, as ‘social formalist’ studies. To these he contrasted more historical and theoretical approaches which grew, especially in the 1970s, out of Marxist, Durkheimian, Weberian and, to a lesser extent Eliasian, sociological traditions. Theorists of leisure have generally either stressed the ‘individual freedom’ involved in leisure, compared with paid work or family responsibilities, or they have emphasised the illusion of this freedom, identifying the constraints on free choice arising from these domestic responsibilities (especially on women’s leisure) and the ways in which leisure is shaped by the constraints arising from consumer capitalism. Leisure, derived from the Latin licere, ‘to be allowed’, shares a common root with ‘licence’. It thus contains within itself the dualism of freedom and control, individual agency and structural constraint, with which many modern sociological theories have been concerned.

The sociology of sport developed out of different concerns from the sociology of leisure, despite being superficially a sub-set of the broader social phenomenon of leisure. The sociology of sport was concerned with: the relationship between sport and other social institutions (family, education, politics and the economy); the social organization, social relations and group behaviour associated with different types of sport (e.g. elite and mass, amateur and professional, the class, gender and “race” relations that sport involves); and the social processes that occurred in connection with sport. Until the late 1970s, most research had been conducted in North America, especially the USA and Canada. There, the 1960s and 1970s saw a series of exposé,
or “jock-raker”, studies of the “dark side of sport” (for example Hoch, 1972). These
drew attention to continuing racial discrimination in the wake of desegregated sport,
gender inequalities in access to sporting opportunities, and the exploitative nature of
college and professional sports. The 1980s and 1990s have seen the development of
more theoretically sophisticated analyses of sport and social development, analysis
of sport at different levels of involvement (recreational, mass participation, as well as
professional elite and spectator sport), consideration of sport and social change in
economy and society and comparative analyses of sport in the past and in different
countries.

Although concerns about Britain’s position in international sports competition and
the role of sport in the community (Central Council for Physical Recreation, 1960)
began to emerge in the late 1950s, the academic study of sport and physical activity
remained largely the concern of historians of physical education until the following
decade (see McIntosh et al, 1981/1957; McIntosh, 1987/1963). Three factors stand
out in the early academic and institutional development of the sociology of sport in
Britain. Firstly, the main “pressure group” for developing the sub-discipline were
physical educationalists based in Colleges and University Departments of Education
and not primarily sociologists. Secondly, apart from the historical research by Peter
McIntosh and his colleagues at the University of Birmingham, most published work
tended to be small empirical studies of relatively discrete aspects of physical
education and sport, similar to that which Rojek characterised as ‘social formalist’
studies (see Hendry, 1973). Thirdly, in addition to these factors, was the distinctive
historical and theoretical approach to sport that grew out of the Department of
Sociology at the University of Leicester. This marginal sociological theory, which in
the 1960s and 1970s was variously described as “developmental”, “sociogenetic”, or
“configurational” sociology by its advocates, derived from the writings of Norbert
Elias and Eric Dunning. Coakley and Dunning (2000b, pp. xxi-xxiii) provide further
details of the institutional development of the sub-discipline and the part played by
Elias and Dunning in it. It is my argument that in the early 1980s this combination of
factors – essentially academic, institutional and theoretical marginality - helped to
explain the relative neglect of sport in sociological research (Horne, 1982).
A decade later, my overview of the sociology of sport (Horne, 1992b), indicated that the sociology of sport in the UK had grown. Substantively it was concerned with sport and social development, spectator disorder ("hooliganism"), and sport in the media, as well as the influence of social class, gender and "race" on participation and opportunities for involvement in sport. Yet expressed interest in sport and leisure amongst members of the British Sociological Association (BSA) remained low. In 1992 it was estimated that fewer than 4% of BSA members had a research or teaching interest in sport or leisure (Horne, 1992b, p.147). In 2001, whilst two BSA study groups exist, one each for sport and leisure and recreation, they only have approximately 50 members in each, and out of 2300 members only 54 (or 2.4%) have expressed a research interest in sport or leisure (BSA, personal communication, February, 2001). Sport and leisure remain minor sociological topics – in the major English language Sociology dictionaries, for example, only one (which this author contributed to) has an entry for both areas of research (see Jary & Jary, 2000).

Of the major sociological writers, apart from Norbert Elias, only Pierre Bourdieu has written seriously about sport. The continuing marginality of sport as a topic in sociological enquiry can also therefore partly be explained by the fact that both sociologists can be seen as using sport as a "strategic research site" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 93, n.40) for their own distinctive theoretical positions. They have used sport as illustrative of their more general theoretical concerns, into the control of violence and the emotions, and the incorporation of social dispositions or habitus, respectively. We suggest here instead that it would be better to conceive of sociological writing and research on sport and leisure as an aspect of a critical sociology of culture.

A critical sociology of sport and leisure culture should be holistic, looking at the interplay of economic, political, cultural and social life. It should be historical, looking at the specific development of different forms of sport and leisure culture in conjunction with the extension of corporate investment in sport, increased commodification and the changing role of the state and government in sport, media
and culture more widely. A critical sociology of sport and leisure culture should also tackle the moral dimensions of these developments – questions of justice, equity and the public good – and not just issues of technical efficiency. As Thompson (1990, pp.3-4) has suggested a significant aspect of this focus needs to be on the ‘mediazation of modern culture’. By this he refers to ‘the general process by which the transmission of symbolic forms becomes increasingly mediated by the technical and institutional apparatuses of the media industries’ (Thompson, 1990 pp.3-4). Hence the relationship between the institutions of sport and the media and the development of ‘MediaSport’ (Wenner, 1998) is a central focus in our examination of contemporary sport and leisure cultures. Understanding sport as part of a critical sociology of culture, means that everyday social problems relevant to sport and leisure are investigated whilst this research into sport, leisure (and popular culture more broadly) contributes to a broader understanding of the “social” world.

In the light of this approach Part Two begins with a critical appraisal of the figurational sociology of Elias and Dunning. Firstly, the distinctive concepts of the figurational perspective are detailed. Secondly, the contribution of figurational sociology to the sociology of sport and leisure is critically analysed. Thirdly, I outline alternative sociological perspectives that represent more adequate ways of dealing with some of the weaknesses identified in the figurational approach. The discussion of these alternatives lays the theoretical foundation for Part Three, “Substantive Studies”. Based on empirical research, these studies develop the critique of figurational sociology of sport and derive from the other publications submitted as part of this thesis.
Part Two: A Critique of the Figurational Sociology of Sport

To the present day, new sociological sects arise from time to time, loudly proclaiming their own final solution to the sociology problem, denying any merit in rival approaches, yet remaining minority sects


In 1987 figurational sociology was little discussed outside Britain, the Netherlands and Germany. Yet although Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning had a reputation in the sociological study of sport and leisure (Dunning, 1970; Elias & Dunning, 1986), a number of students had produced monographs on specific sports (Brookes, 1978; Dunning & Sheard, 1979; Wagg, 1984) and under Dunning a “Leicester school” of research into football hooliganism had developed (Dunning et al, 1982; Williams et al, 1984), elsewhere in British sociology there were few references to Elias’ work. Our aim in the papers published in that year (Horne & Jary, 1987 and Jary & Horne, 1987, in Appendix 3) was an attempt to reflect on this apparent anomaly, outline and appraise the weaknesses and strengths of the approach, and consider alternative theoretical perspectives in the sociology of sport and leisure. Following a response to these papers (see Dunning, 1992) we revisited the arguments in Jary and Horne (1994, in Appendix 2). The discussion in this part therefore briefly outlines the key concepts of the figurational perspective, provides an overview of the figurational sociology of sport, considers criticisms and presents alternatives to the perspective.

Figurational sociology is underpinned by three distinctive methodological and conceptual features: the notion of “figuration”; the stress on studying long term, interdependent, social processes; and the search for a balance between involvement and detachment in undertaking sociological analysis. Elias defined the term “figuration” as a ‘structure of mutually oriented and dependent people’ (Elias, 1978a/1939, p. 261). The notion stemmed from Elias’s rejection of earlier sociological theories, which in his opinion adopted “states” rather than “processes”
as their object, reified “society” and absolutized the individual. In this way Elias’s sociology can be seen as a critique of Parsons, Durkheim and Weber. Elias sought to go beyond the dualism, idealism – in which forms of thought are seen as universally given and the content of ideas has an impact on reality – and materialism – in which ideas are seen as reflecting objective, material, realities – by historicising forms of thought. For him, ideas changed due to ‘unsettling, chaotic, “liminal” periods where stable structures and identities are dissolved’ (Szakolczai, 2000, p. 54).

Equally, Elias viewed the conception of the individual closed off from social formations and the social context of action, which he called the “homo clausus” model, as a myth. The stress on “social interdependency” and avoiding “process-reduction” in Elias’s sociology lead to a model of “hominis aperti” – or individual human subjects indivisible from their social circumstances. Central to this stress on studying processes was the concept of the “civilizing process”, and the argument that over a long term period tolerance of violence has declined. This decline was correlated with, but not caused by, the growth of “Parliamentarianism” in England, or the settling of disputes through non-violent, proto-democratic, means. This civilizing process can reverse, via “decivilizing spurts”. The process is therefore not inevitable and not construed as essentially progressive, but rather progressive and regressive.

Elias’ earlier work The Court Society (Elias, 1983) demonstrated the way that stylised forms of conduct expected of courtiers became rendered explicit and gradually taken for granted. Court Society was a form of ‘total institution’ (Goffman, 1961) in which the ties of interdependence developed restricted the sovereign as much as the courtiers. Gradually civilised forms of conduct spread from the court to the rest of society through dissemination by the imitation of the lifestyle of the upper class by lower classes, and through the reverse flow of situation and code of conduct of lower strata on the elite. This Elias referred to as ‘functional democratisation’.

Individualism and subjectivism of modern culture were explained by reference to the collapse of the medieval order in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which
anxiety and fear - anomic conditions - are produced. The general collapse of standards not only led to an escalation of violence, but also rendered problematic the most trivial and banal aspects of behaviour (Szakolczai, 2000, p. 60). Renewal required a charismatic group (Elias, 1983, p. 122) to spread a more peaceful way of life to the rest of the population. This was to be done to the mass of atomised individuals via a new mass morality. This was the courtly aristocracy, and the taming of violence by the ‘courtization’ of warriors, over a very long time period (beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries). Unlike Weber however Elias did not put much emphasis on the role of religious belief and the church in the civilising process (cf. Turner 1999).

The concepts of “interweaving” and “bonding” and Elias’s stress on studying long-term development are additional key features of figurational sociology. In our 1987 papers we suggested that Bauman (1979) was correct to say that these terms and that of “figuration” were little more than other words for “pattern”. We would now accept, as Bryant (1995) indicates, that these notions do distinguish the figurational approach in various ways. Elias (1978b) used the model of a dance or game to explain the first idea. The more people in a game, and the more levels at which it is played, the more complex the figurations and the longer the “chains of interdependence” become. By “bonding” he refers to the forging of interdependencies. Unlike Durkheim Elias did not consider an imbalance of power in such interdependencies as pathological but rather an example of the process and the ubiquity of social power (Bryant, 1995, p. 68). Figurations are studied in the long and short term and Elias emphasised the contingency of social development (see for example, Elias, 1982/1939, pp.160-161). As a result, he was convinced of the impossibility of a predictive social science.

The third distinguishing feature of figurational sociology relates to the depiction of the social researcher being involved in balancing “involvement and detachment” (Elias, 1956). The position that sociology should be free of social or political ideologies (Elias, 1956; Elias 1978b, pp. 244-5; Elias & Dunning, 1986; Rojek, 1986) enables figurationalists to criticise other sociologists for “value
commitments”. Indeed, part of Dunning’s explanation for the neglect of sport by sociologists is that they had failed to detach themselves sufficiently from ‘value commitments… (which) …restrict their field of vision to a comparatively narrow range of social activities’ (Dunning, 1986, p.3). Instead the aim of social scientific research is to produce more “object-adequate” knowledge, which in some way avoids value commitments. Elsewhere Mennell (1989, p. 159) has suggested that the relation between involvement (subjectivism) and detachment (objectivism) should be conceived as a continuum. How this idea, or the recent suggestion that a researcher should adopt a ‘relatively detached’ position (Waddington, 2000, p. 1), offers an advance in debates about value-neutrality remains questionable (Jary & Horne, 1994).

These three aspects of figurational sociology can be seen to have influenced its distinctive foci in the study of sport and leisure in a number of ways. Much of the earliest figurational work in the sociology of sport offered a historical account of sports development. In particular the figurational writing of Elias, with Eric Dunning and a number of postgraduate students and colleagues at Leicester University, looked at: the historical evolution of sports, including the internal dynamics of sports; the social origins of soccer and rugby (team games); football hooliganism; and the implications of these antecedents for contemporary sports, such as rugby union and cricket.

Elias’s framework produced a rich historical account of “sportization” - the process by which activities become turned into sports - as a consequence of the control of violence, resulting from state formation and the civilising process. Pre-modern sports involved much greater amounts of violence than modern sports. Sports assisted the “socio-genetic” transformation of the emotions by channelling them into controlled contexts. The internal dynamics of sport and leisure provided excitement in otherwise ‘unexciting societies’ (Elias & Dunning, 1986).

Hence the social origin of team sports – primarily association and rugby football – was accounted for by an empirically grounded account of class conflict in the
sportization process during the nineteenth century in England (Dunning & Sheard, 1979). Sheard and Dunning (1973) also acknowledged the rise of modern sport as a ‘male preserve’. The questions addressed included: the reasons why Britain was the first country to develop modern forms of sport; the role of the civilising process in the shaping of modern forms of football; the potential for the study of sport to reveal novel aspects of the development of the British class structure; and the way in which the character of modern sport was still changing in line with the major social and economic forces in modern society.

The development of “football hooliganism” as a major media concern in post-war British society might have appeared to contradict the theory of the civilising process. Instead the figurational perspective became one of the main sociological discourses on the phenomenon in the late 1970s and 1980s. The elasticity of the figurational focus on multi-directional processes partly helps to explain this. Hooliganism could be seen from the theory of the civilising process as a form of moral panic precisely because violence was now more exceptional and less acceptable than previously. However figurationalists did not question the reality of football hooligan violence. Instead it was argued that the civilising process should be augmented with a Durkheimian analysis of segmental and functional bonding. Hence the civilising process could be understood as differentially diffused through a stratified population. Football hooliganism was the product of masculine, working class, norms which valorised territorial identity. The Leicester School’s dependence on public funding for this research, from the old Social Science Research Council and the Football Trust, at a time when political and public concern about football hooliganism was at its zenith, could however be seen as placing limits on the figurationalists’ commitment to “detachment” in social investigation (Williams et al, 1984).

In 1987 we had argued that criticisms of figurational sociology for simply being a version of Durkheimian functionalism (Hargreaves, 1982; Critcher, 1986) were misleading. Figurational sociology was a novel perspective, but its complementarity with other sociological accounts of sport and leisure needed to be recognised. Despite its attractions to some researchers, figurational sociology of sport suffered
from other problems in theoretical and empirical enquiry. Recognition of these was not helped by the figurational writers’ tendency to produce dismissive caricatures of other perspectives and a style of special pleading for the adequacy of Elias’s concepts (see Bryant, 1995, p. 72 for a more recent comment on the difficulties of surmounting this tendency).

Whilst the earlier papers (Horne & Jary 1987 and Jary & Horne 1987) stimulated some critical attention (for one example of the response from the figurationalists, mainly focussing on Horne & Jary, 1987, see Dunning & Rojek, 1992), Jary & Horne (1994) was an attempt to revisit the discussion entered into in order to clarify our perspective. As noted, the aim of the 1987 papers had been to subject what had become the dominant sociological perspective in British based sociology of sport and leisure – figurational or process sociology - to critical appraisal. In addition alternative theoretical perspectives were outlined and assessed in terms of overcoming problems with the figurational approach. Nonetheless the alternatives highlighted in the 1987 papers were seen as ‘complementary’ to figurational sociology (Horne & Jary, 1987, p. 108).

Whilst acknowledging the achievements of the figurationalists, the papers argued that the methods advocated by the “Eliasian school” should not be adopted wholesale as they were ‘likely to restrict the development of the sociology of sport’ (Horne & Jary, 1987, p. 87). Figurational writing at the time exhibited marked hostility to all other analyses, including Marxism. In fact, consistent with the observation from Stephen Mennell at the start of this section, it tended to act like a ‘sociological sect’ and caricature alternative perspectives. It is ironic that Mennell has subsequently become one of the leading advocates of figurational sociology. Furthermore Elias’s resistance to taking a moral or ethical position was restrictive - articulated in the guidelines on “involvement and detachment”(Elias, 1978b, p.153). As Hargreaves (1992, pp. 162-166) suggested the concept of ‘detachment’ was a very slippery one, since it can implicitly support reactionary political positions and ideas, as well as progressive ones.
Hargreaves also noted that Elias and Dunning’s ‘quest for detachment’ embodied the notion of ‘male detachment’ in social scientific enquiry (Hargreaves, 1992, p. 162). Sheard and Dunning’s (1973) original discussion of the rugby football club as a type of “male preserve” had suggested that the figurational perspective appreciated the prominence of sport, of all cultural practices, as a means of demarcating the genders. Whilst figurational writers have attempted to integrate gender into their analyses it is still difficult to identify more than a handful of female figurationalists (see for example Colwell (1999) and Maguire & Mansfield, 1998). Boys continue to grow up in a world in which sport is a significant component of masculinity. By contrast interest in sport is aberrant within the confines of conventional femininity. We have shown elsewhere how sport plays a part in the reproduction of the material and ideological legacy of patriarchal power and authority in modern society (Horne et al, 1999, pp. 171-174). If discourses of sport had historically served to mask both gender difference and male domination, the contestation of this by feminist scholarship in sport sociology has opened up space for the transformation of images of sporting females in the past twenty years. Being physically active and sporting is no longer always portrayed as unfeminine. However, as Hargreaves (1994) demonstrated, this has also led to a heightened sexualisation of the female body, whereby sporting imagery can offer another form of objectification of the female body for the male gaze. Hargreaves has demonstrated the failure of figurationalists to connect with this literature.

Our papers sought to create a space for alternative perspectives, which could be regarded as complementary, but in many ways more insightful than figurational sociology into the commodification, gender and racial relations and social development of sport more generally. Whilst advocates of the figurational perspective downplayed their complementarity with other approaches, we argued that this tendency to caricature alternatives made theoretical discussion prone to ‘over closure’ (Horne & Jary, 1987, p. 101) and exhibited a one-sidedness in approach. Both a ‘latent evolutionism’ and ‘functionalism’ were apparent in the early work of Elias, Dunning and their colleagues on the development of modern sport (Horne & Jary, 1987, p. 100). Empiricism and descriptivism stemmed from the
advocacy of 'detachment', a form of value 'neutrality' (Horne & Jary, 1987, p. 102). Other critics agreed that figurational sociology did not at this time 'devote adequate attention to one of the most striking features of sport in modern society, that of the business of sport' (Zolberg, 1987 p. 573). Whilst plausible at a general level, certain developments in sport could be understood by alternative theories better than via figurational sociology (for example, Jarvie & Maguire's (1994) complimentary references to Giddens' contemporary work on modernity and Maguire's (1999) use of Marxist categories when discussing the commodification of sport appears to acknowledge this; see Miller, 2000). Figurational studies of sport that refer to Elias's ideas do not always show much evidence of its use in their application (Brookes, 1978; Waddington, 2000). Like a talismanic figure, however, reference to Eliasian concepts seems to be seen as a guarantee of security.

In addition to the fact that figurational sociology in general tended to downplay the role of the economy and the state in the formation of modern sport and leisure, it was not helpful for explaining the development of many forms of leisure and sports that did not fit with the team game model advanced by Elias and Dunning. As a general theory it did not explain the attraction and development of many other sports related activities (e.g. golf, tennis, hockey, or watching televised versions of sport).

Methodologically it dealt with the important structure - agency issue in society by renaming the problem as one of figurations and processes. It was anti-determinist, but other sociological perspectives dealt with this dualism not by conceptualising it away, which was what the figurational concept did, but by developing either other concepts or recognising the presence of different ontological domains. But the problem was more than that since much of what Elias and his advocates state as novel in his theory simply was not. The objection to the dichotomy between individual and society has a very long history and the persistence of it as a dichotomy needs to be explained, rather than resolved by wishing it away.

Layder (1994) argued, for instance, that sociological dualism is of a different order than philosophical dualism. He noted that some writers, such as Elias, 'view dualism
as a false doctrine which leads to misleading and unhelpful distinctions which do not actually exist in reality’ (Layder, 1994, pp. 1-2). Instead Layder argued that it is more accurate to conceive of entities in sociological dualisms as not separate and opposed but as related in different ways. Sociological dualisms can best be considered as interdependent features of society, mutually implying and influencing each other. As Craib (1997) suggested, if these dualisms are a feature of social life, then it would be important to examine the character of the connections between them rather than simply collapse one into the other.

We were also concerned that the notion of the civilising process might not be testable, and recently Ray (2000) has questioned the notion of the “civilising process” as an untestable trend since it can be both “civilising” and “decivilising”. He noted that Elias’s theory of the civilising process focused on civic pacification, in which personality structures, identities and habitus of modernising societies have been transformed so that violence is gradually subjected to greater and more sophisticated forms of management and control. The critical theory (of Adorno and Horkheimer, 1973) saw the civilising process as one of barbarism and violence. Elias (1996) subsequently did not exclude the possibility of decivilisation processes to take account of the socially sanctioned barbarism of the Nazis. Ray (2000, p. 156 n6) posed the question that others, including ourselves, have asked before: ‘What contingencies switch the historical process between “civilising” and “decivilising” modes?’ Research was designed to confirm rather than test Elias’s thesis (Lewis, 1996).

Bryant (1995) suggested that a further major weakness of Elias was the failure to connect with his contemporary sociologists. Elias might now be proclaimed as ahead of his time, if we read his translated work in the light of Foucault, the resurgence of an interest in historical sociology and the agency-structure debate, to name but three aspects of sociological development since the 1980s. As Szakoleczai (2000, p. 64) noted ‘Although in recent decades, Elias’s works have become classics of sociology, the assessment of his contribution, especially in relation to social theory, is still not uncontroversial. Part of the problems lies with the lack of apparent connection
established with the work of other thinkers’. Szakolczai (2000, p. 64) argues that Elias’s problem (how identity is formed and why power is rooted in internal ‘technologies of self’ as well as external constraints, mechanisms and institutions in late modernity) was inspired by Weber, following Marx, Nietzsche and Freud.

Arguably the theoretical decentring of the human subject into social processes and figurations leads Elias’s “detached” sociology into a position of stoic acceptance of the unavoidable facts of historical development. Yet this is simply not acceptable to those who want to promote the utility of a practical sociology (Bryant, 1995), or those with an alternative vision of the political implications of sociological research (Bauman, 1979; Gruneau, 1999; Hargreaves, 1992). Pierre Bourdieu (in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 93) was also critical of Elias precisely for failing to ask who benefits and who gains from the civilising process and for emphasising the continuities over the breaks in the historical process. Figurational sociology appeared to ask for a rejection of any moral position. Yet as Rojek (1986, p. 592) noted Elias’s discussion of “involvement and detachment” itself ‘shows statements which claim “high object adequacy” to the world as it really is are very often distortions of the world which reflect personal or group interests’.

Williams (1991), Archetti and Romero (1994), Dal Lago and De Biasi (1994) and Giulianotti (1999, pp. 44-47) have shown convincingly that the figurational study of football hooliganism underplayed national and cultural differences in patterns and forms of hooliganism. The “Leicester School” also under estimated the utility of analysing the game of football as a form of cultural contestation (Critcher, 1979). Despite the apparent sophistication of the analysis, their approach accepted the given definition of the “football violence” issue as a problem without sociologically problematising it. That is, it can be argued that football culture as a whole, rather than one manifestation of it, needed more focussed attention. Sociologists are interested in how social problems are created, how a social problem is located in the social structure, and what interests underpin the articulation and focus on particular social issues as “problems”. Whilst the figurationalist emphasis on history and process attempted to deal with the first two of these questions, attachment to a
position of "detachment" led to the neglect of the third question. Finally, some anthropologists and historians have also argued that the figurational treatment of the empirical data regarding football hooliganism is problematic (Armstrong, 1998; Lewis, 1996).

In summary form, the general theoretical problems identified with figurational sociology by us and others were as follows:

Firstly, the concept of figuration, whilst an innovative way of dealing with the agency-structure distinction, was not a final resolution of the problem. Attempting to deal with the dualism in this way was a distinctive theoretical approach, but would lead to theoretical difficulties.

Secondly, figurational sociology did not ask questions about who gains and who suffers from the civilising process. In this way it appears to be agnostic to the social consequences of action, even if figurational writers claim otherwise. A position of detachment or even "relative detachment" is objectionable on moral grounds.

Thirdly, the position of ethical neutrality or relative detachment derived partly from the "decentering", or more accurately dissolving, of the subject into historical processes. A position of stoic resignation in the face of history is not acceptable to those who would like to promote the utility of practical sociology (Bryant, 1995). The political consequences of this are equally objectionable.

Fourthly, Elias and his interpreters and translators (Elias, 1996; Goudsblom, 1996; Mennell, 1996) expanded the civilising process in later work so that greater recognition of the reversibility of the conception was introduced. But in this case, it can be asked, when is one not in a civilising or decivilising process? The specific determinants of the process still need to be outlined for this idea to be more than a catchall, and essentially, irrefutable, notion.
In terms of the application of figurational sociology to sport and leisure the following specific problems were identified:

Firstly, whilst providing an impressive account of the development of major team sports, especially football and rugby, there were many other sports and leisure activities that were not easily explained by the figurational repertoire. Equally the figurational authors did not adequately consider national and cultural variations in the development of these sports. There was an anglocentric focus on Britain, and especially England, as the birthplace of modern sport.

Secondly, figurational sociology dealt with the issue of football spectator disorder (“hooliganism”) in a way that accepted much of the definition of it provided by the authorities as a social problem rather than approaching it as a sociological problem. This had consequences for the interpretation of the findings of their own research.

Thirdly, the caricaturing of other perspectives in the sociology of sport and leisure, possibly as a form of defence of the Eliasian oeuvre, has had the counter productive effect of not permitting open debate and dialogue with those who might be sympathetic, but not wholly convinced, that figurational sociology offers a panacea for all sociological theoretical problems.

Fourthly, the identification of numerous processes, such as “Europeanization”, “Japanization”, “Africanization”, “Hispanicization”, and so on (Maguire, 1999, p. 216), with respect to sport, leisure and culture more generally, has led to the framing of research problems at a very abstract level. Whilst such a listing of “cultural flows” appears to promise novel insight, what is actually required are thoroughgoing investigations of their empirical referents.

In our 1987 and 1994 essays we identified alternative theoretical accounts of the place of sport and leisure in society which contributed three valuable correctives to these problematic aspects of figurational sociology.
1. Sport and leisure cultures should be understood as products of contested cultural values and meanings shared by dominant, traditional and emergent groups (Gruneau, 1999). This work primarily derived from that of Mills (1959), Giddens (1976) and Williams (1961). Sport and leisure sub-cultures and cultures from this perspective could be seen as attempts to symbolically reclaim the integrity of old “imagined community” spaces and relationships and as a form of resistance (see for example the arguments of Clarke & Critcher, 1985). Examples of the investigation of the persistence of patriarchal, racial and class relations in sport and leisure cultures derived from these perspectives can be found in Hargreaves (1994), Carrington and Macdonald (2001) and Edwards (1999).

2. Sport and leisure should be understood in the context of specific political, economic and ideological conjunctures. Whilst in Mussolini’s prison Antonio Gramsci (1971, p. 342) wrote ‘(I) t would be interesting to study concretely the forms of cultural organization which keep the ideological world in movement within a given country, and to examine how they function in practice’. In this respect the concept of hegemony could be used as a research tool, especially sensitive to investigating the relationship between sport and leisure cultures and power as a process, and not treated as a fact, in specific circumstances. Commenting on the previous quotation by Gramsci, David Lockwood (1992, p. 338) wrote that ‘This would seem to call for a vast research programme aimed at discovering the extent to which the various institutions through which hegemonic principles are supposedly implanted in the minds of the masses do in fact procure this outcome’. While Lockwood was dubious about the enterprise this has been the inspiration behind many studies into sport and leisure cultures since the 1980s (for example Hargreaves, 1986; Whannel, 1992; and Sugden & Bairner, 1993).

3. The role of sport in globalization and the impact of globalization on sport need to be carefully and critically evaluated. As the concept of globalization has become a part of the grand narrative of social science it has lost much of its
References to processes of cultural flows are too abstract and over generalised. This is especially true with respect to figurational sociology since the notion of the “civilising process” can be seen as especially “Eurocentric”. Equally, the more recent figurational suggestion that ‘globalization is best understood as a trend or social process that is both homogenizing and heterogenizing’ (Coakley & Dunning, 2000b, p. xxxi; see also Maguire, 1999, passim) is too vague.

In order to critically assess these claims it is important to develop studies of the spread and development of sport and leisure cultures in places not previously studied in detail, or taken into account in English language sociology of sport, such as non-western social formations. These general and specific criticisms of Figurational Sociology and the insights from alternative theoretical traditions underpin the research papers submitted here. Part Three examines their arguments in detail.
and offered an independent voice at a time when football was subject to considerable political and juridical intervention.

Following a disastrous five year period in the mid to late-1980s when widely publicised incidents at Luton, Bradford, and the Heysel Stadium in Belgium in 1985, and Hillsborough in Sheffield in 1989, brought terrace fighting, deaths due to inadequate stadium safety arrangements, and poor management at all levels of professional football to the forefront of public attention, the 1990s saw a revival of fortunes for the sport. Satellite television, freedom of contract for players following a European Court ruling in the Bosman case, the development of Premier and European Super Leagues and the involvement of the Stock Exchange are just four of the major influences to have impacted on football in Britain in the past ten years.

In discussing fanzines we sought partly to demonstrate that the figurational focus on football hooliganism as a problem, or football as a professional sport with problems, was the product of a particular conjuncture. In this respect figurational sociology was not well placed to understand the dramatic reversal of fortunes (in England at least) reliant as it has been on the growth of television interest and hence increased commodification of the sport. The fanzine medium developed in the wake of the Heysel incident and the Hillsborough tragedy. It provided a major conduit for contestation over meanings of the sport and helped to shape an ‘alternative football network’ (Taylor, 1989). The paper demonstrated the importance of broadening the focus of discussion in the sociology of football culture from hooliganism to the wider fan base.

We argued that fanzines translate terrace spectator opinion from an oral to a more widely distributed written form. Fanzzines also played a role in consciousness raising about various football related issues, in defence of terrace spectator values. In addition fanzzines have promoted action to promote and defend football. Fanzzines can be seen as the rational end of an “oppositional” football culture. Fanzzines provide an example of a cultural counter movement, and the basis for a more complex model than that of cultural incorporation or compensatory experience through sport (as in figurational sociology).
The paper established the importance of studying the wider culture of football, including the cultural meaning of the sport to fans. Any sport is interpreted in different ways, according to gender, social class and ethnic experience. Our argument here was derived from Critcher's analysis of football since the Second World War, which itself was underpinned in part by Williams' distinction between members, customers and consumers in specifying the relationship between individuals or social groups and social institutions (Critcher, 1979, pp.169-170; Williams, 1961). The paper demonstrated the importance of problematising the development of football through using the sociological imagination rather than starting out from the football authorities' definitions of the game's social problems. A second contribution of the paper was to widen the - theoretical and substantive - research focus in the sociology of football away from a concentration on the fan as hooligan. As Clarke (1992) later suggested in his critique of figurational sociology, the aim was to move from the hooligan figuration to the football figuration. The importance of developing this shift in research orientation has continued to be recognised elsewhere (for a recent example see Robson, 2000).

A third key aspect of this paper, in contrast to the figurational approach, was the argument that in understanding sport it was often important to undertake a conjunctural analysis, rather than look for evidence of a long-term social process. The paper treated alternative football cultures not as explicable in terms of some aspect of a long term civilising process, but in relation to the formation of subcultures within specific social and historical contexts. The notions of contestation and resistance were considered as one way of understanding the manner in which sports and sports related subcultures develop within specifically circumscribed conjunctures of power. Fandom was seen as a meaningful and productive social activity and a constituent part of popular football culture. More recent research work into professional football in the 1990s has confirmed the value of this approach (see King, 1998 and Williams et al, 2001).
Racism and Anti-Racism in Sport and Leisure

As noted already, it has been argued that the figurational sociology of football, if not sport more generally, at least in English language studies, had a tendency to be anglocentric (Williams, 1991; Moorhouse, 1991a). Our argument in two papers submitted here (Horne (1995a) and Horne (1996a) in Appendix 2) was that in order to understand the specificity of social divisions in sport and leisure, it was necessary to develop a much more detailed, local knowledge of the contested power relations within which they occur. Moving to Scotland in 1993 heightened my awareness of the anglocentric focus of much writing in the sociology of sport, including figurational sociology. One aspect of this was the developing debate about racism in football.

The focus of Horne (1995a) and Horne (1996a) was the “Let’s Kick Racism out of Football” (LKROOF) campaigns launched in 1993 in England and 1994 in Scotland. The papers drew on research which involved print media content analysis, interviews with key agencies and actors involved in racial equality in Scotland and England and a postal survey of all local authority leisure and recreation departments in Scotland (Horne, 1995b). Horne (1995b) complemented the papers on racism and anti-racism in football but it is considered by the author as administrative, rather than sociological, research work in progress, and hence is not submitted. Horne (1995a) focused on the Scottish football scene, and thus also considered debates about sectarianism, racism and the minority ethnic population “north of the border”. We suggested that racism needed to be understood as the functioning of power relations at different levels – structural, institutional and individual. The paper argued that the specific nature of “race” and ethnic relations in different social contexts has to be appreciated by policy makers, campaign groups, as well as social scientists.

A second paper, Horne (1996a), drew out some further contrasts between the two anti-racism campaigns, north and south of the border. Once again it can be seen to anticipate research carried out in the mid- to late 1990s in drawing attention to the variable nature of racism, the need to consider each campaign in its specific social context and the need to treat the issue of “racism in football” as a sociological
problem rather than a social problem. Recent studies by Back et al (1999), Dimeo (1999) and Dimeo & Finn (1998) have developed these themes further.

As in the paper on fanzines, there was an attempt to broaden the discussion of sport in a wider social context and consider football cultures other than the mainstream ones, not just focus on professional football. Sporting allegiances may be seen to play the role of maintaining neighbourhood, cultural and ethnic identities in conflict. In so far as groups such as the Football Supporters Association (FSA) and the producers and consumers of fanzines were involved with disseminating the message of the LKROOF campaigns, the paper also underlined the notion of cultural contestation between dominant and subordinate cultures continuing to be an aspect of sports culture. Sport and leisure, as with other cultural practices, may be ‘racialised’. The papers submitted here (Horne, 1995a and Horne, 1996a) can be considered as a form of critical cultural policy analysis. The policy relevance of this distinct approach was confirmed by the invitation to contribute to the Scottish Sports Council’s (S.S.C.) Strategy document Sport 21: Nothing Left to Chance (Scottish Sports Council, 1998). As a direct result of these studies, further research was commissioned by the S.S.C.’s successor body, sportscotland, into the sport and leisure involvement and participation of Scotland’s minority ethnic population.

Approaching football as a contested cultural form enabled me to outline alternative and sometimes conflicting meanings of the sport. The meaning of football has been portrayed differently in different conjunctures. Research on the hooligan figuration, which the “Leicester School” developed in the 1980s, was undoubtedly valuable. However, tied as they were to the wider theory of the civilising process, it was difficult for figurational analyses to break away from it when a different set of issues emerged. The growth of an explicitly non-violent and anti-racist “alternative football network” of fanzines and independent supporter groups from the middle of the 1980s was one such development. Research into racism in football had tended to be discussed in terms of “the racist / hooligan couplet”, by the figurationalists as well as government enquiries into crowd safety, whereas by the beginning of the following decade it was recognised that what was required was a more complex understanding
of racism at all levels of the sport (see Back et al, 1999). Our studies contributed to this shift in theoretical and research focus.

**Sport and the Political Economy of the Mass Media**

*Sports Print Media*

That the mass media are central to the production and circulation of the sociocultural meaning of sport and leisure is fundamental to our understanding of sport and leisure cultures in modernity (Thompson, 1990, 1995). The investigation of football fanzines (Jary et al, 1991) stemmed from an interest in forms of sports media outside of the mainstream commercial production, distribution and consumption process. Horne (1992a) continued this interest in the mediation of sport by examining the production, content, and to a lesser extent, reception, of another area little explored in media studies – sports consumer magazines. In examining the rise and fall of Sportsweek we sought to do three things.

Firstly, by focussing on sports consumer magazines, the paper considered the way in which sport was connected to wider commercial relations, and especially in the last two decades of the twentieth century, increasingly became a part of a leisure-entertainment consumer culture. Whilst the magazines attempted to cater for the “general sports fan” we argued that one explanation for the failure of general sports magazines in the United Kingdom was the existence of many different sub-cultures of sports fans.

As mentioned above, the paper focused on a form of the sports print media that had not, and still has not, been widely researched, weekly and monthly sports magazines. The paper considered the significance of such forms of media in the production and reproduction of sport and leisure cultures, through a detailed case study of one sports monthly *Sportsweek*. The methods utilised in this study were desk based - involving content analysis and analysis of the patterns of ownership in the print media in Britain in the 1980s. Attention was drawn to the need for studies of the sports media in the future to also consider the audience - viewers, listeners and readers - as active
"meaning makers". This approach in media studies more generally has been developing since then, but in the study of sport in the media it is still the case that less is known about the audience than many other aspects (Whannel, 1998). Both Jary et al (1991) and Horne (1992a) assessed the social and cultural meaning of sport represented in non-mainstream media. At the time we were interested in investigating key moments in the transformation of sports cultural meaning and how these meanings were understood by the audience (occasional readers, viewers, listeners, writers, fans, etc.). We recognised that the market for commercial magazines, and alternatives such as fanzines, was also shaped by the newspaper and broadcasting industry in particular societies. Furthermore we looked at the economics of sport as a cultural form and as a part of consumer culture. In the case of consumer magazines sport can deliver market segments that would otherwise be difficult for advertisers to reach – especially if the desired target audience do not watch much television or read newspapers on a regular basis. As Sparks (1992) has shown, media sport is particularly useful for "delivering the male" – 18-49 year old men with disposable income. We looked at the role of sport in the mass media and considered how the meanings were constructed, disseminated, revised and reproduced. We also noted however that consumer magazines were difficult to study because of the commercial sensitivities surrounding their investigation. Finally we considered the different meanings of sport – the cultural attraction and, for some, the repulsion of sport.

Football and the political economy of television
To develop a full appreciation of the contemporary social significance of football would require a detailed study of its relations of production and consumption at different levels of performance. One feature of the professional game that stands out above all others in the past ten years is that television has become the main 'economic driver' (see Morrow, 1999). As The Economist (11 December 1999, p. 100) has noted, football, at the top level of the professional game, has largely become 'a television-content business'. Elsewhere we have argued that the English Premiership now embodies 'the central features of a modern, high profile sport, as
much a mediated spectacle and vehicle for insatiable consumerism as a forum for physical pleasures, cultural affiliation and playful creativity' (Horne et al, 1999, p. 52). As the, so called, "people's game" has become a lucrative global commodity at world level (see Sugden & Tomlinson, 1998) domestic football leagues in Europe have also been transformed by new constellations of interests, foremost among them in Britain (and elsewhere in the world) has been Rupert Murdoch's News International Corporation. Indeed "Murdochization" has now been added to the list of process nouns derived from the names of global brands or entrepreneurial personalities which offer a way of re-labelling old fashioned economic terms such as consolidation, vertical and horizontal integration, diversification and monopolisation (see Cashmore, 2000b, p. 292-293).

Rupert Murdoch's News International Corporation devoted more energy to dominating global television sport in the 1990s than any of the other leading media corporations. Sport has played a significant role in the developments in the mass media that have occurred since the spread of neo-liberal policies in the 1980s. These developments have included the limitation of cross-media ownership regulations, the reduction of public sector broadcasting budgets, the opening up of terrestrial TV to international capital, and criticism of public service broadcasting as elitist and inefficient. Sport has been central to these developments since it provides relatively cheap content for filling hours of TV and is attractive enough to some viewers to entice them to new technologies, like digital TV.

In Britain, the turning point for BSkyB came in May 1992 when Sky won an exclusive deal worth £304 million with the English Premier Football League. By 1996 it controlled 90 per cent of the revenues generated by subscription TV. It then secured a new five-year deal with the Premier League, worth £670 million and gained exclusive coverage of English rugby internationals played at Twickenham for £87.5 million (The Guardian, "Media Guardian" Supplement, 1 February 1999, p.2). After twelve years BSkyB TV has 5.2 million subscribers, more than its three competitors combined (The Guardian, 23 April 2001, p.2).
“Sakka” in Japan (Horne, 1996b) was published in a special issue of the journal *Media, Culture & Society* on “Sport, globalization and the media”. We described the background to the establishment of the first fully professional football league in Japan - the J.League - in the early 1990s and the role of commercial and media interests in its development. Will the J.League last? had been the key question since its inception in 1993. The decline in attendances after 1995 led some commentators to view the J.League as a rather over-optimistic, if skillfully marketed consumer attraction. After the first two seasons in which demand for tickets and television viewing figures were much higher than anticipated, there was a decline in interest. Between 1995 and 1997 Japanese newspapers did not report soccer in so much detail and the television channels reduced the amount of J.League soccer in their schedules. The FIFA decision in June 1996 to invite Japan to co-host the 2002 World Cup Finals with Korea and the associated restructuring of plans to have fifteen host sites in 2002, reduced to only ten, also dented optimism in football.

Nonetheless, it was also clear that there were some hardcore football fans in Japan. The World Cup qualifying match with Iran in November 1997 attracted a 50 per cent television viewer rating. Qualification for the World Cup Finals to be held in France brought an increase in media attention after 1997 and not surprisingly television audiences for the actual Finals were large. Japan's matches against Argentina and Croatia had audience ratings over 60 per cent - the highest for any sporting event in the 1990s and the sixth highest recorded since television programme ratings began in Japan in 1962. Involvement in the finals also generated considerable consumer demand for the new digital television receivers and video-recorders with satellite tuners. N.H.K. (Nihon Hoso Kyokai, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation) estimated that new subscribers to its satellite broadcasting service grew by 60 per cent in June 1998.

We demonstrated that these developments were forged in the midst of conflicting forces and interests. Our paper stressed the importance of the role of the mass media in the spread of soccer as the “world’s game” (see Murray, 1996). The mass mediation of football plays an important, possibly the most, important role in its
reception. With respect to football in the societies of Asia and the Pacific more generally television coverage of the game has played an ambiguous role. As mediated events, soccer, and other sports, have been used as a ‘battering ram’ by Rupert Murdoch as part of commercial strategies of consolidation and horizontal integration. In 1997, with the launch of the Japan Sky Broadcasting Company - a joint venture between Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation and Softbank Corporation, run by Masayoshi Son - exclusive, live, English Football Association Premier League games from BSkyB, Murdoch’s British satellite television company, were made available to Japanese subscribers. Since1998 the renamed SkyPerfecTV has competed with several other satellite companies operating digital television in Japan. The adoption of digital has seen a big expansion of sports channels offering live matches and time-delayed recordings (i.e. "as if live") from the major European and South American association and rugby football leagues. The impact of these developments on Japanese and other East Asian sports cultures, their players and supporters, is the subject of ongoing research.

Our paper raised the question, was television to become the main economic driver of football in Japan as it was in Europe? Until recently football was not a prominent popular cultural practice in Japan. Football was part of a submerged sports culture. Soccer was played in schools, but no longstanding spectator tradition existed. Soccer has also been associated with the Korean ethnic minority in Japan. The separate Korean school system provided a source of football talent. Football has also tended to be ignored diplomatically. From the beginning of the 20th century Japanese elites favoured baseball as the modern sport through which to strengthen cultural nationalism.

Now, through the J.League and the 2002 World Cup Finals, football as a television spectacle is becoming part of Japanese popular culture. Consumption is at the heart of economics and culture in late capitalism and sports are a staple product. Hence although the launch of the professional football J.League in Japan in 1993 was viewed as a risk, in its first year more than US$300 million worth of items were sold for Sony Creative Products, 1 million new subscribers joined one of the J.League
sponsors, Fuji Bank, and snack food manufacturers sold millions of items related to the J.League (Stoddart, 1997, p. 95). An important test for the J.League up to, and perhaps especially after, the next World Cup in 2002, will be to match the quality of imported, televised, football action from the major leagues in Europe and South America.

In Europe since the 1990s television income has become the greatest driving force behind the growth of money within football (World Soccer, June 2000, p. 22). As long as the J.League retains control of the dispersal of television revenues, clubs will not be able to develop as the leading European football clubs and Japan Major League baseball teams have. Nonetheless, in the competition between cable and terrestrial television companies and satellite TV companies in Japan, football once again appears to play an important role in providing attractive content.

The major media suppliers, such as News International Corporation, can still challenge consumer autonomy. By operating on a global scale they can pay vast sums of money in Britain and the USA for exclusive contracts for premium sports content, and recoup some of the outlay through relaying this exclusivity to other parts of the globe, especially South America and Asia, where the content/product is in demand. Such was the strategic thinking that lay behind the attempt to sign Japanese international midfield player Hidetoshi Nakata to Manchester United in 1998 (The Guardian, "Sport Supplement", 4 December 1998, p. 2). Murdoch clearly saw it as one way of increasing interest in his Sky PerfecTV in Japan. As that move failed, the signing of exclusive coverage of Italy's Serie A games in Japan, which include Nakata in his new club Roma, was a good second best.

The papers discussed in this section developed my assessment that sport and leisure should be understood in the context of specific political, economic and ideological conjunctures. The mass media have become increasingly central to the production and circulation of the sociocultural meanings of sport and leisure cultures in contemporary society. It is not sufficient merely to focus analysis on the images or the reception of these meanings alone. It is also necessary to consider the way in
which the political economy of the mass media leads to the valorisation of particular cultural goods at particular moments. The papers have demonstrated that the production of meaning is also the exercise of socio-economic power.

The Globalization of Sports Culture

The papers in this section developed out of the analysis of the deficiencies of figurational sociology identified in Part Two and especially derived from a recognition that most sociology of sport research, with a few exceptions, was predicated on the assumptions of Northern European and North American societies. The failure of previous sociologies of sport and leisure to establish an adequate comparative approach is thus highlighted in this selection of papers. We argue that alternative perspectives on sports and social development to figurational sociology “travel better” because in making sense of the cultural experience of sport these approaches are more sensitive to non-western developments. The notion of the “civilising process” is especially problematic in this regard based as it is on long-term social developments in Western Europe. Recently Maguire (1999) has shown some recognition of this, yet consideration of the “occidental” and “oriental” remains pitched at a grand level of analysis in his work.

These papers constituted my first contributions to the debate about globalization and sport that became a major feature of figurational and non-figurational sociological writing on sport in the 1990s. “The globalization debate” with respect to sport involved a number of theoretical perspectives on the topic, differentiated in terms of their respective periodisation of globalization, the main dynamics identified and the assumed impact of globalization. Donnelly (1996) suggested that the agenda in the debate about sport and globalization had revolved around three main issues: was globalization merely a new name for cultural imperialism or “Americanization”?; what was the impact of globalization on national and cultural identities?; and what was the influence of globalization on the flow of sports workers (essentially, elite athletes)? Perspectives differed between those stressing uni- and multi-dimensional factors, mono- or multi-causal approaches, and whether globalization was seen as shaping greater uniformity or fragmentation, homogeneity or heterogeneity. In short,
"modernization" perspectives emphasised homogenization, "Marxists" emphasised power and exploitation in international development and the role of multinational capital, whilst focussing on uni-directionality ("Americanization", "Westernization", or "cultural imperialism" under a different name), whereas "globalization" theorists (with whom Maguire identified) emphasised the influence of globalization in creating both homogeneity and heterogeneity.

My papers sought to reorient discussion in the debate toward a consideration of how alternative views of globalization, such as Anthony Giddens's, might be used to study contemporary sport and leisure cultures (Giddens, 1990). In the full version of the first paper (Horne, 1996b), which was cut by the publishers owing to space constraints, I considered some of the strengths and weaknesses in both Giddens's and Roland Robertson's approaches to globalization (Robertson, 1992). Giddens's views on globalization had tended to be criticised whilst Robertson's ideas were generally seen as consistent with Elias's writings and were therefore quoted uncritically by figurationalists, such as Jarvie and Maguire (1994, pp. 253-4). It is worth briefly outlining my criticisms of these attempts to develop a figurational theory of sports globalization as the theoretical context for my papers.

Giddens (1990, p. 59) suggested that there were four institutional dimensions of modernity: capitalism; surveillance and the nation state; industrialism and technology; and military power. He considered modernity as 'inherently globalising' (Giddens, 1990, p. 60). There were no opt-outs since the modern world was increasingly interdependent. As the boundaries marking out "actually existing societies" became increasingly fragile the concept of "society" also became increasingly problematic. Global processes appeared to compress space and time, and in so doing speed up the pace of life. This sense of time-space compression, and the idea that in some way the world has shrunk in size, became evident in everyday life through, for example, the consumption of global mega sporting events via the television or the recognition of the global cultural division of labour involved in the production of sports equipment, footwear and clothing (see Miller et al, 2001).
The incipient globalising nature of the four institutional dimensions central to modernity help Giddens to explain the four related central dimensions of globalization: the existence of a world capitalist economy; a system of nation-states; the world military order; and an international division of labour accompanying the world-wide diffusion of industrial technologies. The sensation that globalization has stepped up a key in terms of speed and scope is related to the acceleration of trends within late or "radicalised" modernity, rather than the result of a shift to some post-modern condition or culture. For Giddens the growth of globalization was not a contingent development, but related to the maturation of the institutional dimensions of modernity.

For Robertson (1992) globalization was a long-term social and cultural process that has actually helped to shape modernization. He also suggested that there were four features of globalization: national societies; individuals or selves; relations between nations; and a sense of human kind as a whole. He specifically emphasised the cultural dimensions of globalization and referred to an emerging global culture as 'a general mode of discourse about the world as a whole and its variety' (Robertson, 1992, p. 133). Because he focused upon culture Jarvie and Maguire (1994, p. 253) argued that his approach to globalization offered a more fruitful vantage point from which to examine sport than that of Giddens. In doing this they simply relied on a highly abbreviated form of Robertson's critique of Giddens' writing on globalization (Robertson, 1992, pp. 138-145).

Robertson's specific arguments about Giddens's work (Robertson, 1992, pp.144-145) were much more equivocal and his own thesis of globalization was much more debatable than Jarvie and Maguire suggested. Robertson was in agreement with Giddens on the idea that the growth of postmodernism was part of modernity. However he disagreed over the place of globalization within it. For Robertson globalization was the key to modernity and not the other way around as Giddens argued. Globalization involved the 'compression of the world' which in turn produced the collisions between narratives, ethics and rationalities that were held to be central features of the post-modern condition. Robertson did argue that 'it is a
fundamental weakness of Giddens’s book that he does not take cultural matters seriously’ and that Giddens reproduced ‘an updated and overly abstract version of the convergence thesis’ (Robertson, 1992, p. 145). However, in addition he noted that ‘what appears to be the functional equivalent in Giddens’s work of a direct engagement with culture is his concern with self-identity and his advocacy of “utopian realism”’ (Robertson, 1992, p. 145).

In a perceptive critique, however Turner (1992, p. 318) has convincingly shown that Robertson’s approach to globalization does not actually seek to explain what brought it about. Robertson’s globalization thesis is a form of “Simmelian sociology”. Many of the themes were related to ideas that preoccupied Georg Simmel, such as how is society possible? what is the social role of the stranger?; and what is the nature of mental life in the metropolis? Simmel preceded Elias in attempting to avoid a reified notion of the “social” by adopting the idea of social process. Yet Robertson did not believe that a systematic globalization thesis could be found in Norbert Elias’s work’ (Turner, 1992, p.313n). Robertson tended to adopt a cultural view of globalization in which the focus is on non-material, idealistic factors. We would argue for the need to understand globalization as a combination of cultural, economic, political and technological factors. Hence the relevance of Anthony Giddens’ thinking on globalization as an alternative means to analyse and understand the global diffusion of modern sport and leisure forms.

Maguire (1999, p. 79) has argued that distinct phases of “sportization” (defined as ‘the transformation of English pastimes into sports and the export of some of them on a global scale’) sketched by Elias and Dunning (1986) can be related to the various phases of globalization identified by Robertson (1992, pp. 58-59). According to Maguire there have been five phases of “sportization”. Sport began prior to the 19th century when hunting for necessity was transformed into hunting for pleasure. Next came the development of various ball games, dealt with in the figurational histories of association and rugby football discussed in Part Two. Maguire argued that three more phases, broadly consistent with Robertson’s “take-off phase” of globalization (1870s-1920s), the “struggle-for-hegemony phase” (1920s-1960s), and
the “uncertainty phase” (1960s to the present) were paralleled by the “take off” of modern sport at the end of the nineteenth century, the rise of American hegemony in sport during the twentieth century and a more recent phase of the globalization of sport.

Maguire’s own formulation is that globalization is best understood as ‘a balance and blend between diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties, a commingling of cultures and attempts by more established groups to control and regulate access to global forms’ (Maguire, 1994, p. 465). Clearly this offers a multi-causal and multidirectional view of globalization in keeping with the scale of Maguire’s ambition, later revealed as a form of ‘comparative civilizational analysis’ (Maguire, 1999, pp. 36-38). Figurational sociology thus aspired to a kind of “jumbo theory of history” comparable only to Marxist historical materialism. Unlike the latter however this global vision was of a highly unpredictable world. Like other social phenomena, sport was believed by the figurationalists to have developed out of the ‘interweaving of planned and unplanned actions’ (Maguire, 1999, p. 5).

Part of the problem with this is that it is unclear exactly how this indeterminate view of globalization as a process assists researchers. It is just as likely to create confusion about the role, significance and meaning of sport. Even though the model can be ‘subject to further modification and revision’ (Maguire, 1999, p. 59) it is not clear what kinds of criticism are acceptable. When criticisms have been made of the figurational perspective the response has been to claim either that the distinctiveness of the figurational perspective has not been fully understood (see Maguire, 1999, p.60) or that the perspective has moved on whilst others are ‘trapped in monocausal, unidirectional and reductionist thinking’ (Maguire, 1999, p. 61).

Whilst stating that ‘narrow, natio-centric analyses do not capture the complexity of modern sport in the late twentieth century’ (Maguire, 1999, p. 35) it is difficult to understand why the examination of the development of sport in terms of social, cultural, political and economic differences within national boundaries has become any less important. Whilst Maguire, correctly in my view, points out that “non-
occidental influences and linkages with the west have been ignored in conventional accounts of the rise of sport (Maguire, 1999, pp. 31-32), there is not much consideration of these in figurational accounts of sport. This is because such studies necessitate an approach that considers the development of sport in specific nations as well as the global picture. Sport continues to be used to promote different kinds of national and ethno-cultural projects. Two broad aspects uncovered in academic analyses to date have been the role of sport in nation-state building and sport’s role in the promotion of ethnic and national claims. In the case of the former, sport has been seen as an opportunity for affirming national unity, promoting supra-ethnic civic nationalism, or the acculturation of specific groups or nations to a central state. By focussing the argument at the global level it is difficult for Maguire to attend to these issues in a detailed way.

Finally, the use of the “diminishing contrasts/increasing varieties” thesis, derived from Elias (1982), was also problematic. In his figurational sociology of food Stephen Mennell (1985, p. 322) argued that “diminishing contrasts/increasing varieties” was ‘one trend, not two: for in spite of the apparent contradiction between diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties, these are both facets of the same processes’. In a sustained critique however, Alan Warde (1997, p. 166) has shown how it is a theoretically dubious, causally indeterminate and empirically suspect notion. Just like the civilising process, which is considered to move in both civilising and de-civilising directions, it is difficult to discern from this phrase which phenomena exhibit diminishing difference and which are undergoing diversification. As Warde (1997, p. 28) noted, ‘without some clear distinction between the two categories of process, between contrasts and variations, the neat phrase merely says that some phenomena become less diverse, others more diverse’. Warde has shown that increasing variation in the consumption of food is almost entirely the result of commodification. New products and new channels of communication about food are the outcome of capitalist industrial activity. He concluded that the ‘mechanism that best explains Mennell’s description of the 20th century is commodification’ (Warde, 1997, p. 171). The contemporary period of consumer culture, in which discourses of “variety” and “choice” are dominant, has become obsessed with variety. Yet taste is
slow to change and continuities prevail. Without detailed empirical research tastes for food and other cultural products and the way consumers use such products remain obscure. The impact on sports culture of new mass communications technology, including satellite and digital TV, the availability of sports information and chat lines on the internet, sports video games and phone-in sports radio programmes – are just a few of the recent developments in need of empirical enquiry.

The figurational focus on process and multi-directionality makes globalization appear almost inexplicable. Understood as a kind of trans-historical fate, globalization in the figurational perspective appears as problematic a notion as that of the civilising process. It offers an inadequate vantage point from which to develop sociological knowledge in general, and from which to comprehend the social significance of sport in different places and times in particular. Maguire’s definition of globalization sustains the view of long term growth of sport rather than exploring in a creative way the economic, political and ideological forces that have shaped the social development of sport.

Much of the spread of European sports and leisure forms in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries occurred in the wake of economic and political forms: sport in particular followed Empire (see James, 1963). Cheaper and more rapid means of transport and travel also made international sport possible on a regular, increasingly global, basis. The International Olympic Committee was formed in 1894 and the modern Olympics are a pertinent example of what Giddens (1990) suggests is a general feature of radicalised modernity and globalisation, the reworking or invention of a “traditional” form to meet the needs of modernity. The influence of global capital on the rise of “culture industries” and the global stretch of modern media of communication obviously have major importance, including the emergence of modern global sports and leisure corporations such as Coca-Cola, Nike or McDonalds.
Giddens’ model, like the figurationalists’, suggests that the process is unlikely to be all one-way but rather will be multi-dimensional, involving bottom-up as well as East-West and North-South transfers and blendings of forms. Giddens’ conception of the ‘dialectic of control’ and a dialectic of the local and the global in these terms is even cited positively by Jarvie and Maguire (1994, pp.252). At a global level, on the one hand, the export of “spectacular” media manufactured “pseudo-sports”, such as the World Wrestling Federation (WWF) and “Gladiators”, and the merchandising of top football teams and players to the detriment of interest in local players and sports teams has led to phenomena such as Manchester United having more supporters in China than in the UK. On the other hand, Asian martial arts and Australian Rules football provide examples of once local sports forms now appearing on a world stage. Numerous to-and-fro, “cut’n’mix”, borrowings in leisure forms are also evident in music and dance – e.g. jazz, Afro-Cuban and modern “world music”. Whilst a universal commodification process - and US domination in some areas - is highly apparent, so too is a proliferation of sport, media and cultural forms. Nike’s persuasive slogan ‘just do it’ may be intended to entrap consumers in Nike images but there are wider dimensions to the freedom of ‘just do it’ in modern leisure, with obvious alternatives and resistance to McDonaldisation or Nike-isation (see Jary 1999).

The need to explore the balance of power in the dialectic of control in sport and leisure is plain. One tendency, as we have noted, is the domination of global media corporations such as Rupert Murdoch’s News International. On the other hand, a great variety of choices remain between different sports and leisure activities, and different identities. There is ample evidence that modern sports have the capacity to both ‘condense’ and transform complex symbol systems, including national and political ideologies in open-ended ways (see Tomlinson 1999). We previously noted the examples of “oppositional” styles within sport and leisure consumption provided by cultural studies theorists. Although an intensification of the embrace between
corporations such as Coca-Cola and McDonalds and sports and leisure organisations is apparent, this is not invariably a winning combination. The global ambitions of cultural corporations seeking economies of scale in the manufacture of taste is opposed by local knowledges that diffuse, subvert and appropriate commodities and services for ‘alternative’ styles. Giddens’ conceptualisations are potentially highly useful in framing the significant issues.

*Professional Soccer in Japan*

In the 1990s, I have been attempting to develop a “de-westernised” approach to sport and leisure studies consistent with these theoretical conclusions. The submitted papers (Horne, 1996b, 1998a, and 1998b) discussed in this section focused on the study of football and other forms of sport and leisure culture in Japan and also demonstrate shortcomings with these attempts to develop the figurational perspective on sport. As we have noted Horne (1996b) provided a glimpse at the forces behind the emergence of soccer, as “sakka”, under the auspices of the “J.League” in Japan. The case study demonstrated, however, that late modernity has not produced a uniform global culture and argued that researchers must pay greater attention to historical, cultural and spatial specificity. Whilst our attention was focused on the cultural meanings attached to social changes involving sport and leisure in Japan, we also considered sports’ position within wider power relations. This has led to more detailed research into the anthropology and sociology of sport, leisure and body culture in Japan. Our consideration of soccer in Japan provided a specific analysis of the expression and management of globalization in a particular place. J.League “sakka” can be considered as a forum for balancing nostalgia and internationalisation at a time of rapid social change and economic restructuring. Ongoing research into sport and leisure in Japan (see Horne, 1999, 2000a) seeks to develop this de-westernized, decentred, conception of globalization. It is not Westernization so much as global development that needs to be explored. This also requires critical ethnographic research into the actions of agents within systems.
The Politics of Sport and Leisure

The need for more ethnographic and empirically grounded theoretical discussions regarding globalization in all its forms was also the general conclusion in Horne (1998a). The paper showed that the Japanese experience has never fitted very well into western models of social development. Rather than seeing the growth of modern sports and leisure in Japan as the product of an unfolding process of cultural diffusion and emulation, as in some accounts (for example, Guttmann, 1994), it was suggested that, in keeping with the idea that sport develops through a process of cultural contestation, attention needed to be given to local struggles and other forms of resistance. This was outlined through a sketch of movements and campaigns organized over the location of sports and leisure resorts, especially golf courses, in Japan and the Asian Pacific more widely. The role of business and the state in facilitating and using sport and leisure access was a crucial aspect of its globalization. For example, the part played by the state in constituting globalization was an important question that can only be addressed through research into sport and leisure developments in specific contexts. Different traditions of state involvement in the running of the economy will determine to a large extent the degree of involvement of the state in using sport and leisure as projects of social development. Our analysis suggested that ‘political economy appears to rule the games that people play in contemporary Japan’ (Horne, 1998a, p. 180).

Like Mills (1959) we are convinced of the need to establish the nature of the relationship between economic and political institutions empirically. We do not subscribe to a model of society in which capitalism and democracy are related in a logical or deterministic fashion. We also argued that the sphere of politics, especially the actions of the state, place limits on the convergence of industrial capitalist societies. Hence explanations of social development that simply identify “contradictions”, as in Bell (1976) and some Marxist analyses, are not sufficient (Holmwood & Stewart, 1991). Contradictions do not automatically work their way out in some inevitable, “socially progressive”, way. Hence Giddens’s (1981, pp. 230ff) suggestion that the concept should be shorn of its evolutionary connotations, by dropping the assumption that contradictions necessarily lead to change, is a useful
It is more fruitful to consider contradictions as ‘structural fault-lines that tend to produce clusterings of conflicts’ (Giddens, 1981, p. 238). Such a reformulation allows the focus to be shifted away from the contradictions of systems, ‘and more onto the ways in which people within these systems engage in struggles over possible futures’ (Crow, 1997, p. 171). Horne (1998a) therefore referred to resistance movements organised against the establishment of golf courses in East Asia and the siting of the Winter Olympic Games in Nagano in 1998 as illustrations of contestation over sport and leisure which was simply glossed over in alternative accounts.

Leisure Time and Leisure Space

The third paper submitted in this section (Horne, 1998b) shared these concerns and challenges certain conventional understandings of Japanese sport and leisure. In particular an undifferentiated view of Japanese society and the uncritical acceptance of official discourses on sport and leisure in Japan are questioned. Most popular studies written in English about Japanese sport and leisure have largely been framed by “Japanism” (a form of what Said (1978) calls “orientalism”) in which stereotypes of Japanese people and culture have tended to be confirmed rather than critically assessed through substantive research.

The paper critically assessed data on work and leisure time. The creation of an overly sanguine conclusion about the growth of a “leisure society” in Japan on the part of some Japanese scholars was criticised (see Harada, 1994; although in more recent writing Harada (1996) appears to have amended his views). We argued that social myths could be perpetuated by an uncritical approach to official statistics and data of this kind. Instead an understanding of Japanese society which recognised social heterogeneity and cultural variation was more adequate. Our argument was that, as in other societies, sport and leisure in Japan needed to be understood as the product of economic, political and historical forces and therefore equally amenable to analysis as a forum of cultural contestation.
The specific historical circumstances that produced the social organisation of labour in Japan were influenced by three strong factors: the pre-war authoritarian and hierarchical tradition of mobilising labour for service to company and state which included the crushing of social democratic organisations; the defeat and neutralisation of the labour movement that emerged in early post-war Japan; and the reverses suffered by the once strong public sector unions after neo-liberal government policies, including privatisation (e.g. of the railways), were introduced in the 1980s. These conditions have in turn influenced the growth of particular leisure lifestyles. The work culture of most male white-collar workers created a disposition towards a lifestyle incompatible with regular participation with their families in leisure after work. Instead their work place related leisure culture restricted the development of a family or home based leisure culture. This was not a universal condition however, and increasingly there is discussion in Japan about new male lifestyles, responding to new social circumstances (see Horne, 2000b for an outline of leisure in Japan’s consumer culture).

The papers in this section focussed on sport and leisure in Japan have consistently demonstrated the importance of studying the globalization of sport in terms of cultural contestation over the meaning of sport, the political economy of media sport in a globalising world, and the distinctive features of sport and leisure development in specific social formations. It is our contention that if the notion of globalization is to retain some explanatory power, and not lead to social descriptivism, it will be important to adopt an approach that can combine a focus on both the cultural and institutional or political and economic, dimensions of globalization. Detailed empirical analyses of specific instances of globalization are required. Following Giddens’s analysis, it can be argued that globalization depends upon institutional mechanisms for its emergence and for it to have any long-term impact on social consciousness. Hence it is suggested that capitalist modernity, rather than simple modernization, or even complex globalization, should be seen as centrally influential in the growth and spread of global sports cultures without lapsing into some form of economic reductionism (for another example of this argument see Wright, 1999).
My overall conclusion is that the papers discussed in Part Three and submitted in the Appendices focus attention on three aspects of sport and leisure culture not adequately explored by figurational sociology. Examination of cultural contestation over sport, sport and the political economy of the mass media, and the development of sport and leisure cultures in non-western social formations, reveals that there is more to be gained from exploring the tensions between the social, political and economic determinants of sport and its cultural location in a critical fashion (James, 1963, pp. 225ff). Our demonstration of sport and leisure cultures as contested arenas makes the figurational sociology position of ‘relative detachment’, or stoic resignation, in the face of the civilising process, globalization or any other social process, an inappropriate response. In the fourth and final part of this critical review, we draw out the theoretical implications of this and provide an overall conclusion for our argument.
(1) It is important to distinguish between general theories which are closed and intolerant of evidence and ideas which they cannot easily absorb or explain, and those which are open to the possibility of new modes of thinking and to revision in the light of new empirical evidence.


Our central thesis, which we have attempted to demonstrate in the critical discussion of figurational sociology and our own empirical research, has been that:

1. Sociological studies of sport should be historical, empirical, conjunctural and critical. Sport, and leisure cultures more widely, are best understood as products of contested cultural values and meanings shared by members of dominant and subordinate social groups in particular social formations;

2. Context specific studies of the determinate conditions under which sport comes to mean different things and enters into different relations with wider economic and political forces, of the sort presented in this submission, are more useful than attempts to either reflect retrospectively on long-term historical “civilising” processes or project speculatively about possible “diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties”;

3. The sociology of sport needs a greater appreciation of the appropriation, growth and development of sport and leisure cultures in non-western social formations. This should be underpinned by an analysis that recognises that globalizing tendencies are always mediated by local structures, including the nation state and the political economy of the mass media, which permits meanings to be negotiated and contested. Although adherence to common regulatory frameworks (such as the rules of particular sports and competitions), media formulae and genres and economic business models is evident, globalization is not simply a homogenizing force.
Although figurational sociologists have usually responded negatively to our earlier theoretical interventions (see for one example Dunning, 1992) all the papers submitted here may have had an impact on figurational writings on sport. Figurationalists are now prepared to engage with other perspectives and recognise complementarities where once there was always outright opposition to alternatives. For example in a recent overview of the sub-discipline co-authored with Coakley, Dunning (Coakley and Dunning, 2000b, p. xxx) argues that since the 1960s there have been a wide variety of ‘named paradigms’ in both sociology in general and the sociology of sport in particular. They, like us, suggest that the paradigms differ according to positions taken in relation to ‘epistemological/methodological’ issues and ‘ontological/factual’ issues. The former include questions such as where sociology is located on a continuum between the humanities and the sciences, debates over how ‘hard’ or ‘soft’ a science sociology is, and questions about the purposes of sociological knowledge – as an end in itself, as a tool for improving human performance or as a means to identify or strive to achieve political goals? The latter issues are concerned with different theoretical positions held with regard to dualisms such as materialism-idealism, agency-structure, social statics-social dynamics, and synchronic-diachronic.

For Coakley and Dunning there have been five main paradigms in the sociology of sport: functionalist, conflict, action, feminist, and synthetic approaches, such as figurational sociology and the theory of structuration. The influence of Dunning’s mode of criticism remains apparent however in the comments made about Giddens’s structuration theory. It is argued that Elias and Giddens differ in terms of the conception they hold of the relationship between sociology and philosophy:

While Giddens recommends the continuing relevance for sociology of philosophy, a subject based on metaphysical, armchair speculation and reading other people’s books, Elias advocated the constant cross fertilisation of theory and research as the only secure means of advancing knowledge (Coakley and Dunning, 2000b, p. xxx).
Norbert Elias is portrayed as a complete sociologist by Dunning, here and elsewhere (see Dunning, 1992). He argues that process sociology focuses on epistemological issues and seeks to ground theoretical insights through empirical studies. Other approaches, such as structuration theory, as exemplified by the work of Anthony Giddens, are considered as more philosophical. Giddens is portrayed as being more interested in the development of social theory, exploring the ontological issues of social research and attempting to convince through rhetorical means rather than empirical research.

This kind of accusation, in the past also used against Marxist writings on sport by Dunning, is symptomatic of the stress placed by his advocates on the novelty of Elias’s work. Yet as Layder (1994, p. 117) writes ‘it is hard to think of a sociologist who does not accept the inherently social nature of individuals and simultaneously rejects any separation between the individual and society’ (Layder, 1994, p. 117). In answer to the claim that figurational sociologists operate with a distinctive notion of individuals as ‘*homines aperti*’ Layder suggests that all sociologically informed analyses operate with a similar notion of individuals as socially formed.

The civilising process is *one* way of thinking about subjective and objective dualism but not the only way. It leads to a focus on interdependencies and away from the properties and characteristics of discrete activities and institutions. Abandoning dualisms and distinctions does not achieve a greater understanding of social processes. Elias (like Foucault) breaks with orthodox theories ‘without advancing adequate reasons for ignoring the problems that traditional approaches tried to solve’ (Layder, 1994, p. 211). As anti-dualists they rule out any agency-structure, macro-micro distinction. For Layder, Giddens’s theory of structuration deals more adequately with action-structure and the macro-micro division, than figurational sociology even though Giddens too is critical of dualistic forms of thinking (Layder, 1994, p. 124). In this respect Layder’s conclusions are consistent with those in Jary and Horne (1994, in Appendix 2; see also Jary and Horne, 2002).
We also concur with Craib (1997) when he states that it is important to accept that there are limitations on any single sociological perspective. He argues that sets of alternatives or dualisms are real, not merely theoretical problems. Whilst others (notably Holmwood & Stewart, 1991; Waters, 1994) would disagree with this ontological position the encouragement to develop a more modest, reflective, sociological practice is a common concern (Layder, 1998). When dualistic contradictions, such as individual and society, agency and structure, and system and social integration are explained away or wished away by apparent resolutions this can create theoretical “blind spots” (Craib, 1997, p. 265). In cruder versions of Marxism the notion of ideology and false consciousness has been used to explain working class acquiescence. In figurational sociology the notion of “decivilising” processes to explain apparent reversals in trends plays a similar role. It can be argued that the acceptance of the notion of ‘unintended consequences of action’, common to both figurational and some Weberian accounts, represents an equally inadequate acceptance of accidents, or theoretical failure, at the structural level of analysis. Accepting contradictions in theories leads to the multiplication of perspectives (or “paradigms”) in which none can ultimately succeed (Holmwood & Stewart, 1991). Giddens theory of structuration whilst having many positive features in our view is also problematic. In sometimes eliding structure and agency Giddens’s elegant perspective nonetheless contains these problems only for them to re-emerge elsewhere (Craib, 1997, p. 268). Rather than action being subsumed into structures and discourse, as in structuralism and post-structuralism, for Giddens structures and discourses are subsumed into action. At least that is the starting point. In practice the methodological prescriptions that follow from structuration theory do sometimes reproduce the agency-structure distinction at another level (see Stones, 1997).

For this reason, the ambition to achieve a synthetic sociological theory of sport and leisure (or anything else), which is still the explicit intent of the figurational sociologists (see Maguire, 1999) and thus resolve the issues emerging from “multi-paradigmatic rivalry”, is now considered by us to be a problematic undertaking. We would suggest that synthetic theories in themselves are not very helpful, as they tend to close down debate. My work in the sociology of sport shows that greater advances
are possible through a more eclectic theoretical approach. What is required are methodological pluralism and theoretical openness as Layder suggests in the quotation cited at the beginning of this Part (for a similar argument see Inglis et al, 2000).

Sociological theory should be general, conceptual, and abstract and seek to be explanatory of the social world. In line with the ‘sociology of verbs’ rather than a ‘sociology of nouns’ advocated by Law (1994, p. 15) sociological theories of sport and leisure, and other cultural forms, should focus on processes not products, be empirically oriented and context specific. Theory should be seen as a process, not an accomplishment. Theoretical oppositions, or dualisms, should be mobilised to address certain substantive concerns, rather than argued away. Theorists should be able to accept failure and recognise the limitations of their theories. A sociological theory that addresses the practicalities of human experience will have a real contribution to make to substantively real issues (McLennan, 2000). After the so-called “cultural turn” the study of sport, leisure and culture more generally appears to be more to the fore (Chaney, 1994; Ray & Sayer, 1999). Some writers suggest that this led to the requirement for a new postmodern theory to deal with the politics of culture (Nash, 2000, 2001). Instead this thesis has argued that what is required is the asking of old questions in new places - including new “empiricities” such as sport and leisure. In these terms the approach to the study of sport and leisure cultures evidenced in Part 3 is more illuminating than figurational sociology alone. Football/sports and leisure cultures more generally need to be seen as the product of conflicts between dominant, residual and emergent cultures in specific, local, contexts and conjunctures.

Like Dunning, our argument is that “sport matters” (see Dunning, 1999). Unlike him, we would place greater emphasis on the variability of sports’ impact on different people at different times and places. The overall social significance of sport is conjunctural. Sport has become more of an integral part of the economies of signs and spaces of late capitalist modernity in the past twenty years (Lash & Urry, 1994), but it has not always been so. For example, as professional sport, especially football,
has increasingly lost its insulation from market forces in the past thirty years the current conjuncture demands an analysis of the political economy of sport in the media. Hence Marxist analyses can describe football as the quintessential sport of neo-liberal capitalism (Smith, 1997). This would not have been appropriate, or even possible without considerable economic reductionism, thirty years ago (see Vinnai, 1973). Harvey (1989) has also pointed to the growth of spectacle and the appeal of sensations as a part of the late modern/postmodern condition. The analyses in the papers presented here suggest that a discontinuist thesis of historical development, rather than a developmental one, such as figurational sociology provides, is a more accurate model. This is consistent with Pierre Bourdieus’s concern, made with reference to Elias, that ‘historical analysis of long-term trends is always liable to hide critical breaks’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 93).

Figurational sociology strived for a hegemonic position in sociological discourse about sport and leisure. Whilst it is recognised that there are some distinctive insights to be gained from the figurational approach, it is our assessment that it is deficient when compared with other theoretical discourses. These discourses have strengths in areas where figurational sociology is relatively weak. We have argued the case for a critical sociology of sport and leisure culture, derived from elements of “British Cultural Studies”, Gramscian Marxism and C.Wright Mills’ sociology, which is holistic, historical, empirical and investigates the specific development of different forms of sport and leisure culture in particular times and places. There is a need to examine sport and leisure cultures in the light of globalization but without adopting the concept of globalization uncritically. Hence there remains great value in understanding sport, and leisure cultures more generally, as a contested cultural terrain.

Sport has not always had the cultural significance that it currently enjoys. The figurational perspective is primarily interested in the growth of sport and social development, best illustrated in the concept “sportization”. Other perspectives, such as that articulated here, are more interested in examining the relationships between sport and economic and political power. That is, how at different conjunctural
moments sport is related to wider power relations. This need not imply a view of sport in complete correspondence with dominant economic arrangements (Hoch, 1972; Rigauer, 1981) nor as a central mechanism in the unproblematic reproduction of the social order (Brohm, 1978). Rather sport can be best viewed as a contested cultural terrain. Sport, and leisure, do matter, but not for all the people and not all the time. Studies of contestation and fluctuations in the relationship between sport and economic, political and social power, contained in this submission, demonstrate some aspects of this variability in significance.

Like Giddens, and Weber before him, we consider that there are active agents in systems, and not simply systems. We consider sociological investigations as open-ended (dialectical) since the social world is itself open to research. Whilst the economic dimension of social life, opened up by the Marxist focus since the nineteenth century, is a good place to start, social scientific research also needs to consider the social meanings developed within social formations. Sport and leisure are significant social practices in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. A relatively novel “empiricity” worthy of social scientific study. Like other elements of leisure culture, sport has a specific social ‘space’ which requires acknowledging in its own right (Bourdieu, 1992). In the late twentieth century, for example, as elite professional sport has lost its relative autonomy from the logic of capitalist commodification, we have seen the distinction between ‘sport as practice’ and ‘sport as spectacle’ grow (Bourdieu, 1999). Yet sport as a form of cultural and social practice is more than a reflection of society, and is not just a simple bearer of social problems, injustices and divisions. Social conditions exert a powerful influence over the structure and dynamics of sport and leisure activities, but not in a crude deterministic manner. Sport and leisure do not simply mirror society; athletes and spectators are not simple victims in a series of processes over which they have no control. Changes in sport do not have to wait for changes to occur first in wider society if enough people in sport want to make these changes happen. We do not have to utilise a trans-historical notion of civilising processes to understand that the ‘space of sport’ has entered into different relationships with economic and political forces at different times.
References


Robson, G. (2000) “No one likes us, we don’t care” The myth and the reality of Millwall fandom Oxford: Berg


Appendix 1: Notes on Submitted Research Publications

Copyright Declaration

The candidate wishes to thank the following publishers and publications for granting permission to include the papers in this thesis:


Authorship
The papers submitted as part of this thesis are the work of John Horne alone, with the exception of Jary & Horne (1994), Jary & Horne (1987) and Horne & Jary (1987), which were co-written with Professor David Jary (Staffordshire University/ University of Birmingham), and Jary, Horne & Bucke, (1991) which was co-written with Professor David Jary and Tom Bucke (then at University of Leicester). In each case John Horne was the initial and final drafter of the paper and undertook at least an equal share in the research involved.

Award
The papers submitted as part of this thesis have not been submitted for any other award or prize at any other university or academic institution.

Supplementary Research Publications
The Supplementary Research Publications submitted in Appendix 3 were both published before 1991. Technically these fall outside the University of Edinburgh regulations regarding submissions for the PhD by Research publications (Postgraduate Study Programme, 2000/2001, K-35-6). Nonetheless Horne & Jary (1987) and Jary & Horne (1987) are appended here since they are important for substantiating the theoretical core of the thesis, are much referred to by figurational authors (for the most recent example see Murphy et al, 2000) and provide the context for the “revisited” paper (Jary & Horne, 1994) in Appendix 2.
Appendix 2: Qualifying Research Publications (i.e. peer reviewed journal articles, or research papers, already in the public domain) since 1991


Appendix 3: Supplementary Research Publications


Appendix 2: Qualifying Research Publications (i.e. peer reviewed journal articles, or research papers, already in the public domain) since 1991
Football 'fanzines' and football culture: a case of successful 'cultural contestation'*

David Jary, John Horne and Tom Bucke

Abstract

'Fanzines' - magazines produced by fans for fans on photocopiers or small presses and circulated by other means than through mainstream commercial channels - provide an alternative to the products of mass publishing and the mass entertainment industry, although often in 'dialogue' with these. In England fanzines - like Sniffin' Glue or When Saturday Comes - have proliferated over the last fifteen years or so, dealing especially with rock and pop music and also, most recently, with football. Fanzines can be seen as enabling a 'users' view' and - sometimes - a radical reinterpretation (or defence) of popular cultural forms to be expressed by people who would otherwise be excluded from any usual means of written expression about, or control over, mainstream institutions in the production of mass culture. This article focuses on the phenomenon of football fanzines (and the Football Supporters' Association (FSA) - a movement closely associated with fanzines), suggesting (i) that football fanzines and the FSA can be viewed as a particularly potent example of the existence of continued 'contestation' over cultural institutions of the kind suggested in relation to sport by Gruneau (1982 and 1983), Donnelly (1988) and others, including ourselves (Jary and Horne 1987 and Horne, Jary and Tomlinson 1987), (ii) that a consideration of football fanzines and the FSA illustrates the value of moving to a wider substantive and theoretical focus in the sociological analysis of football culture than that which has been uppermost in recent years.

1. Introduction: sport as a potential site of cultural contestation and popular resistance

It is an achievement of recent sociological and cultural studies in the sociology of sport, especially in the UK and Canada, that sport has been increasingly viewed:
less as a totally incorporated aspect of popular culture (serving to reproduce the values of capitalist or state socialist systems) and more as an area in which values, ideologies and meanings may be contested. (Donnelly 1988: 69)

As Donnelly underlines, the impetus for this view stems in part from suggestions made by Raymond Williams (1977) and Pierre Bourdieu (1978), and more particularly from the research and theorizing of members of the Birmingham University Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) on culture and leisure in general (e.g. Hall and Jefferson 1976; Clarke et al. 1979) and on sport specifically (e.g. Critcher 1979; Clarke and Critcher 1985). It was such ideas as these which were taken further by researchers and commentators such as Gruneau (1982 and 1983) and John Hargreaves (1986). We have ourselves discussed these approaches in Jary and Horne (1987) and Horne et al. (1987). As Critcher (1986: 236) suggests, the achievement of these approaches 'is that [they move] the study of sport from the quaint side interest in crowd behaviour, folk heroes, or the phenomenology of everyday life to a pivotal position in the analysis of class cultural relations'.

Because sport is 'less alien' than say high culture or education, it is sometimes seen as more readily utilized as a vehicle in the exercise of cultural hegemony (e.g. Butsch 1984). By the same token however it can equally be argued that precisely because it is not alien its potential as a site of resistance - e.g. to distorting commodification - may be greater. As Arthur Hopcraft (1966: 9-10), the English writer and football journalist, once remarked:

Football in Britain...is built into the urban psyche...What happens on the field of football matters not in the way that food matters, but as poetry does to some people...The people own this art...they cannot be fooled in it as they can with other things.

That football in its modern form was created, in part, as an intended instrument of cultural manipulation (Dunning and Sheard 1979), and is today subject to increasing attempts to transform it into a commodified, media friendly 'package' (see Whannel 1983) need not be denied. But it also remains a location in which popular tastes are well established and in which resistance to cultural manipulation remains strong. 'Football hooliganism' itself can be seen as one, often unattractive, media amplified, much researched, even more discussed, expression of this. Here, cause and effect in the dialectic between media constructed stereotypes and the actual behaviour of 'fans' requires careful research and analysis, which, arguably, it has not always received - see Robins and Hobbs (1991) (cf. the sometimes more speculative accounts of this phenomenon - despite a substantial research effort - provided from their various perspectives by Marsh et al. 1978; Dunning et al. 1982, 1983; Taylor 1971).

What we wish to propose in this article is that football fanzines can be identified as a site of 'resistance' in and through sport to cultural and commercial hegemony whose implications are far less ambiguous than those in connection with football hooliganism, and comparable in significance - if not in kind - as an instance of cultural defence and contestation in sport with those historical examples identified by Donnelly (e.g. nineteenth-century 'pit sports' such as cock fighting) or by Gruneau (e.g. the Barcelona 'People's Olympics' in 1936). Furthermore, we will also argue that an examination of football fanzines points to the need to move to a wider substantive and theoretical focus on football culture than that which has prevailed whilst 'football violence' has been the predominant focus.

2. Rock and punk fanzines

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the usage of the term 'fanazine' can be traced back to 1949 in the United States, where it referred especially to magazines produced by and for the fans of science fiction (Shaw 1989). In a more culturally iconoclastic manifestation, fanzines reappeared in Britain and the US in the mid-1970s in association with pop and rock - publications such as Sniffin' Glue and Ripped and Torn - which stem especially from the Punk era, and have been described by Dick Hebdige (1979) as involving 'a coherent grammar of contradiction in the[ir] deliberately ungrammatical fragmentation and recombination of social codes' (James 1988; see also Lacey 1989; Shaw 1989). The orientation of the producers and readers of such fanzines to commercialized forms of rock and pop culture was usually ambivalent. On the one hand as users of this culture, they value aspects of it highly. On the other hand, there is a refusal of the position of being mere 'recipients' of this culture, resentment over exclusion from its production and control, and at the off-hand and frequently cynical
way that the consumers of mass produced entertainment are manipulated for merely commercial purposes. More specific dimensions of class resentment are also involved – especially in association with ‘dole queue’ Punk – a working-class musical and cultural product which the established musical press and music industry at first ignored but later exploited with ‘sycophantic saturation coverage’ (Lacey 1989).

3. Football fanzines – general characteristics

Albeit in a less culturally iconoclastic form than the more outlandish rock and pop versions, football fanzines in Britain share some, if not all, of the features of these – in some cases there also exists a direct continuity. Since, as pointed out by Shaw (1989), ‘several football fanzine editors actually started out with punk publications’. When Saturday Comes, with Off the Ball, the first national football fanzines emerged as an off-shoot of a music fanzine, Snipe.

Many of the titles of football fanzines – Balls!, Reclaim the Game – directly convey the same orientation to contradiction, the oppositional stance, mentioned by Hebdige. Others – Mission Impossible (Torquay United, English Fourth Division), Mission Impossible/Terminated (Darlington, relegated from the English Fourth Division) – merely reflect the commitment to team and locale of ardent supporters, and express a plaintive, near Stoic acceptance that their team – and its facilities – will usually be second best, with their administrators often seeming not to care.

Still others have had a specific purpose, for example, Marching Altogether (Leeds United) is anti-racist and an attempt to combat endemic racism and the influence of the right-wing National Front among the supporters of this team.

Certainly differences exist between fanzines. While the majority focus on one club, or in a few cases a pairing of clubs, between 10 and 15 per cent of football fanzines cover football in general; while many fanzines take pride in a hard-hitting and irreverent – if often satirically humorous but ultimately serious – tone, others represent themselves as ‘more cautious’ and ‘responsible’. In general, however, fanzines are united in their view that the game is, or rather ought to be, theirs, not the private property of businessmen and remote administrators, or the plaything of press and television or police and politicians. John Peel, the influential DJ and publicist of Punk and New Wave music, and football, throughout the seventies and eighties in his nightly national BBC radio show, sums up the scope and import of football fanzines in the following way:

The independent magazines have provided not only wild irreverence but also some of the most realistic pieces about Hillsborough, and the most persuasive arguments against such tomfoolery as the ID cards scheme and talk of Super Leagues. Whatever happens to football in the future, the fan has a voice – hundreds of voices – at last and can be heard not only in their pages but beyond, in the boardroom and even – if anybody is listening – in the Cabinet. (Foreword, in Shaw 1989)

We can identify the main features of British football fanzines in the following terms:

1. they are produced by fans, for fans;
2. though mostly produced by supporters of a single club for the supporters of that club, they are independent of the club.

Sometimes their critical stance has also meant that their relationship with club officialdom is an estranged one – in the Leicester Survey (Bucke 1988), to be discussed later, only seven per cent of fanzine producers stated that the club was strongly supportive of the publication; on occasions the fanzine may be banned from sale at official club outlets, its producers even banned from attendance at the ground.

3. they oppose the way in which the game nationally is mainly controlled by businessmen, and increasingly dominated by commercial criteria, including the introduction of ‘executive boxes’, proposals for club mergers and ground sharing, the increasing domination of League football by an agenda set by five big clubs and the interests of television.

4. where they are associated with smaller clubs, they seek to compensate for the concentration of media interest largely on the most successful, big city teams.

5. they seek to combat the misrepresentation of the majority of football supporters as the result of stereotyping by the mass media – a media stereotyping which they suggest must take a large responsibility for the social construction and amplification of ‘soccer hooliganism’, and for the escalation of policing, and
David Jary, John Horne and Tom Bucke

barring format and techniques used by the English ‘satirical’ magazine Private Eye, Foul utilized many of the techniques subsequently used by fanzines: ‘rag-outs’ from newspapers; spoof letters and adverts; bubble captions on photos as well as cartoons; and compilations of the gaffes of sports reporters and sports commentators – termed ‘Colemanballs’ by Private Eye in ‘honour’ of the well-known BBC sports commentator, notorious for a steady stream of banalities and such gaffes. The first club-oriented fanzines appeared in London, York, Bradford, and Birmingham in the mid-seventies, and the main-proliferation in the numbers of football fanzines in Britain has occurred in the period since 1985. This also corresponds with the starting date and rise to prominence of the Football Supporters Association. The first meeting of the FSA outside Liverpool, where it was originally formed, was in York, the home of a seminal fanzine Terrace Talk (Taylor 1989). Soon after this, two important national fanzines – Off the Ball (the title is a play on the former ITN programme On the Ball) and When Saturday Comes – appeared, to be followed rapidly by wave upon wave of new single club related fanzines. Today, with between 150 and 200 extant titles, a typical circulation for an issue of between 200 and 2,000 copies, over 100,000 sales a month, and more than one million annually (and presumably many more readers), they now form, along with the FSA, in the words of Rogan Taylor (1989) its past chairman: ‘an alternative football network’.

5. The producers

Drawing on the Leicester Fanzines Survey, the producers – writers and production workers – of football fanzines are young, ranging from age fifteen to forty-seven; 79 per cent are thirty years or under. They are also mainly unmarried (78 per cent), male, and white. While one in five fanzines reported having female writers or producers, black participation was reported by only 4 per cent. Producers were usually in full-time employment (78 per cent) or in full-time education (14 per cent) – only 6 per cent were unemployed. A majority of fanzines (52 per cent) had between three and five people participating centrally in writing and production. Of the remainder, 15 per cent indicated between six and nine persons as involved, while 9 per cent of fanzines were produced by two people, and 13 per cent by a single person.

4. Origins, format and content of football fanzines

As suggested by Shaw (1989) and Lacey (1989), the beginnings of football fanzines in Britain can be traced to the appearance in 1972 of a magazine produced by Cambridge graduates, Foul, the title parodying commercial, generally banal, publications aimed mainly at adolescent readers, such as Shoot! and Goal, and deliberately chosen to emphasize its ‘alternative’ orientation. Partly by
(Usually as well there will also be outside contributors.) Although 19 per cent of fanzines stated that they had regular contributors with some training in journalism, the majority (79 per cent) said that they did not. These general findings of the Leicester survey are also confirmed by the portraits of fanzine editors in Lacey (1989) and by our own more informal observations. Fully reliable survey data on the social class locations of the producers of football fanzines, however, are not available from the Leicester survey, nor are they available elsewhere. However, whereas the mass of football spectators are predominantly manual working class (CFR, 1988), analysis of the information provided in Lacey (1989) on around 30 editor-producers of 10 of the most successful fanzines suggests that few if any are manual working class. This is backed up by our own meetings with fanzine producers (and by the more indirect evidence of the Leicester Survey of the membership of the FSA, whose membership includes many fanzine producers), which suggests that the writer-producers of football fanzines (and FSA members) are far more likely than the average football supporter to be in non-manual occupations. Analysis of the data in Lacey (1989) also indicates that they are also likely to possess political opinions which, as one fanzine editor indicated when asked to state his 'political leanings', are most likely to be: 'left of centre, right of Lenin'. Of those who declared a political orientation, 14 of Lacey’s editor producers reported themselves as Left, Labour, Green, etc., while 6 declared themselves as centre-right or right.

Although half (53 per cent) of the respondents to the Leicester Survey stated that there was 'no particular event or issue' which had led them to found a fanzine, a significant minority (46 per cent) did cite one or more specific reasons. The most frequently mentioned reasons - 'political issues surrounding a particular club' (23 per cent) - concerned the consistently poor treatment of supporters by particular clubs, proposals for merger or ground redevelopment. A more general reason given (21 per cent) was the aim of providing supporters 'with an alternative form of coverage' of football issues, to offset the shortcomings of local and national media coverage, including limited or 'sensational' treatment in the national tabloid press, and 'bland and uncritical' coverage in club programmes or the local press. Among further reasons mentioned were the inspiration provided by other fanzines (18 per cent), relegation or promotion of the team (10 per cent), and the general problems facing football (e.g. 'hooliganism, the general management of the game, and the public image of supporters') (7 per cent). Once established, a majority of respondents (90 per cent) had no hesitation in regarding their fanzines as having 'clear aims'. These included: provision of 'a forum in which supporters could express their views' (27 per cent); provision of an alternative to the club programme and to media coverage (21 per cent); 'entertainment and humour' (17 per cent); 'to unite fans to fight for their interests' (8 per cent) and to 'give opinions and to raise issues concerning the game' (16 per cent). There is some confirmation here of Rogan Taylor’s judgement that football fanzines do indeed function as part of an 'alternative football network'.

6. Football fanzines and the FSA: a cultural network and a successful 'pressure group'

Such a conclusion about football fanzines can be underlined if we turn, albeit only briefly in the present paper, to the much larger survey carried out by the Leicester Centre of the individual membership of the Football Supporters Association, an organization which particularly includes fanzine producers and their readers. (The postal survey was carried out in April 1989 and questionnaires were returned by 2,768 members of the association - a response rate of almost 70 per cent - itself an indication of the commitment of members. Analysis was based on a sample of 1,000 of these returns.)

We should first of all note that the FSA is today an organization with a membership variously stated at between 5,000 and 40,000. The reasons for such wide discrepancies in the reporting of the size of membership are that the organization has been growing rapidly, and it has a regional structure and a system of affiliated organizations. The organization operates as a 'pressure group' seeking to represent the grass roots opinion of football supporters. It has established a regional structure, and it has opened up contacts with the police and especially with the media that have made it today a prominent participant in football politics. In brief (Williams et al. 1989: 3), the aims of the association are: (1) to improve the image of the game, (2) to improve the standard of the services provided for fans, and (3) to achieve representation for fans at every level of the game's hierarchies.

On the basis of the Leicester Survey, compared with football spectators as a whole, as many as 60 per cent of whom are likely to
work in manual jobs, only one in five (20.3 per cent) of FSA members are in manual occupations. Only around 5 per cent were unemployed. Whereas between 25–35 per cent of all football spectators are over 40 years of age, only 10 per cent of FSA members are. 51 per cent of members are between 21 and 30; more than two-thirds are under 30. Less than 10 per cent of FSA members are women. As the Leicester researchers comment: 'the FSA is a young men's movement'.

Analysis of the attitudes and views of FSA members carried out by Leicester researchers reveals how highly consonant these are with those expressed in fanzines. Alongside commonplace consumer complaints concerning facilities at grounds (poor toilets, refreshment facilities, etc.), members of the FSA expressed strong dissatisfaction with policing at matches (only 5.6 per cent feel policing to be 'good' or 'excellent'), the penning of spectators (85.4 per cent against this), and expressed equally strong opposition to proposals for all-seated stadia (77.8 per cent opposed), etc., proposals which they often see as either irrelevant to the problems of crowd disorder they are designed to combat or even in themselves a threat to safety, and, in addition, as undermining traditional football culture.

In line with the thesis we wish to advance about football fanzines, an indication of the effectiveness of fanzines in general and the FSA in particular in expressing football - especially standing 'terrace' - culture is that the FSA was granted legal representation and costs at the Taylor Inquiry into the Sheffield football tragedy. As the Leicester researchers remark 'the organization now seems to be widely regarded as the most authoritative and articulated source of information on views from the terraces - the "voice" of the football fan'. Most recently, the overturning of the proposals in the Thatcher Government Football Spectators' Bill for the introduction of Identity Cards, in which argumentation and political actions (mass petitions, etc.) initiated by fanzines and the FSA played a major part, provides further confirmation of the influence of the FSA and fanzines. Beyond such specific outcomes, however, it is the more general role of football fanzines that we most wish to emphasize - in translating articulate terrace football spectator opinion from an unwritten culture to an immensely lively and engaging, and persuasive, written form.

- in consciousness-raising about a variety of football issues and in general defence of the football spectator values and football terrace values in particular.
- in a variety of actions to promote or defend football, sometimes (as in opposition to ID cards) in cooperation with football authorities, at other times in opposition to them, especially for example in helping to articulate widespread opposition to the take-over of clubs by business interests with little feel for the culture of the specific club or for football and terrace culture in general.9

7. Conclusions: (a) football fanzines - a case of 'successful' cultural contestation in and through sport

There is insufficient space in this article to state in full the distinctive blend and balance of commercial and non-commercial orientations that have, in the past, usually motivated both the owners and supporters of British football clubs (on this also see Edgell and Jary 1973). However it is essential not to ignore that as organizations British football clubs have not been merely commercial organizations, maximizing profits, moving cynically from location to location, etc. (cf. US major sporting business enterprises).10 It is the maintenance wherever possible of a subservience of commercialism and private interest to what we might term - somewhat stretching Illich's concept - 'vernacular' football values which is the central aspect of what fanzines and the FSA as a social movement have set out to preserve. It is in this above all, and also in their participatory, grass roots, spontaneous, collegial modes of organization, that we would most wish to present fanzines as constituting a highly significant instance of the existence of cultural contestation over the central orientation and values of modern sport. Moreover it has been to date, at least in part, a successful contestation with the increasingly insistent commercial tendencies in modern spectator sport, which threaten to incorporate it fully as a part of a centrally managed commercial - and commodified - leisure provision, often presented by its advocates as mere 'modernization' when the reality in fact is that choices between competing forms of leisure organization remain.11

Significantly, although acknowledging the 'reality' (cf. Marsh et al. 1978) but also the media amplified nature of 'football hooliganism', the advocacy of the value of traditional forms of football spectator culture in fanzines has reflected - and, as earlier noted, in many
cases also directly utilized – the language of academic sociological discourse, e.g. reference to ‘media amplification’, to ‘moral panics’, etc. Continuities with academic discourse such as these – together with the occupational locations of fanzine producers – also suggest that it may be profitable (although we cannot explore this further here) to consider involvement with football fanzines as a species of the wider phenomena of ‘middle class radicalism’ (as identified by Parkin 1968; see also Jary 1978). This is especially so as many of those involved appear upwardly mobile, thus retain ‘working class connections’, which they seek to maintain by continued affiliation with working class popular institutions, in this case, through football and by a defence of football culture.12

Our argument has been, then, that football fanzines can be seen as a particularly significant example of cultural and political contestation over and within sporting forms, one that has had some success in defending cultural ground and in winning political arguments. If – to varying degrees – football hooliganism can also be seen as an instance of a media-amplified cultural contestation occurring in and through sport, then, in comparison, football fanzines and the FSA, in engaging with and sometimes succeeding against the combined forces of the tabloid press and Government, and would-be commercial ‘modernizers’ of football, can be seen as the ‘rational’ end of a continuum of ‘oppositional’ forms of popular football culture.

Conclusions: (b) implications for football research

Briefly, the wider implications we wish to suggest as arising for football research from a consideration of football fanzines and the FSA are as follows:

1. Even if relatively speculatively, Ian Taylor (1971) and others have usefully emphasized the value of a focus on resistance to the commercialization and commodification of soccer, defence of working-class space, etc. However, a consideration of fanzines and the FSA indicates that football research has focused too narrowly on ‘violence’ and ‘deviant’ forms of spectator behaviour.

2. Despite their earlier outstanding contribution to the wider study of class cultural conflict (notably Dunning and Sheard 1979) the focus of members of the Leicester school has also been increasingly on ‘football violence’. Arguably this narrowing of emphasis has been reinforced by the centrality of the concept of ‘the civilizing process’ within the work of key members of the Leicester school, and also by an increasing ‘policy orientation’ of the school, resulting in part from the dependence of the Leicester Centre on public funding but also by an assumption – again associated with the conception of a civilizing process – that working class defensive behaviour is primarily the outcome of ‘segmental bonding’ within ‘rouger’ sections of the working class.13

3. The wider focus on football culture involved in the study of fanzines and the FSA based on a recognition of what Giddens (1984) refers to as a ‘dialectic of control’, which exists in relation to sport and popular culture,14 indicates how relatively narrow has become the emphasis of much football research. Fanzines and the FSA have existed in a dialectical relation to the media and the modern agencies of surveillance. Admittedly, part of their success in gaining political clout has arisen from the ‘oxygen of publicity’ which media generated interest in ‘football violence’ provides for all forms of football politics.15 But their success and the football culture they reveal point the way to a research focus which ought to carry football research beyond an over concentration on ‘football violence’.

In final summary, football fanzines and the FSA provide an example of a genuinely popular cultural contestation with dominant economic and cultural tendencies. It is also worth pointing out that they have been made possible not only by the expansion of access to education, but also by the wider availability of the new technology – photocopiers, word processors, etc. – which like so much in modern society is double-edged in its potential implications. (In a different genre of discourse than that which we have pursued in this paper, ‘post-modernist’ discourse – cf. Lash 1990 – ‘alternatives’ to mainstream cultural forms which fanzines can be seen to offer might even be expected to increase in contemporary societies.) Whether football fanzines survive or succeed in their aims in the longer run or, as one of the editors with whom we have discussed fanzines suggests, they may have ‘peaked’, they indicate that modern society is not, and need not be culturally monolithic, that there can and do exist cultural counterparts to dominant forms of cultural organization, and that even some of the most seemingly central developmental tendencies in modern societies may be challenged. Football fanzines can be seen as creative and potentially transformative ‘bricolage’ of commercial and genuinely popular cultural forms of the kind identified by the CCCS and very
different from any simple model of cultural incorporation, or compensatory experiences, through sport, of the kind once dominant in social science thinking about sport and leisure.

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Notes

* Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the World Congress of Sociology, Madrid, July 1990, and a meeting of the Sociology of Sport Study Group of the British Sociological Association, held in Manchester, February, 1991.

1 For a partial exception to the general rule see Tomlinson (1987).

2 These however were not the first football fanzines. Before them there had been a number of club based fanzines (see Lacey 1989).

3 In at least one instance clubs have even sued fanzines. e.g. the Brighton fanzine Gull’s Eye. On the other hand, the ‘success’ of fanzines and the FSA has also meant that clubs have increasingly sought an accommodation with fanzines.

4 In this, of course, they often parallel much academic sociological thinking. Indeed a direct recourse to sociological theorizing is sometimes explicit in such analyses, which underlines a general point we want to make later about the broad intellectual alignment of fanzines with liberal and academic thinking.

5 These are compilations reprinting examples of the fanzine literature together with an historical commentary.

6 180 questionnaires were sent to fanzines, and 128 replies were received (a response rate of 70 per cent).

7 Notwithstanding this, the presence as editors, producers and promoters with connections with professional printing, journalism, etc., may have played a crucial part in enabling fanzines to take off as a national movement – see Lacey (1989) and Shaw (1989). In fact, each of the authors of these two collections of fanzines – Lacey, a printer, and Shaw, a journalist on the Guardian newspaper themselves played such a part. Lacey in publishing and Shaw in publicizing fanzines.

8 The occupations given by respondents in Lacey (1989) include student (3), civil servant (5), clerical worker (3), accountant (3), teacher (2), computing/systems analysis (2), social worker (2), product manager (1), journalist (1), librarian (1),

9 E.g. for an account of a prominent but characteristic fanzine defensive operation of this sort see the ‘Cottage Crisis Special’ edition of There’s Only One Fin in Fulham, the fanzine of the English Division 3 team, whose attractively located Thames-side ground. Craven Cottage, remains threatened with redevelopment as flats by its new property-spectator owners.

10 For example, the role of professionalism in overcoming amateurism – and with this middle-class supremacy in, and control over, organized sport in the nineteenth-century England – is paradoxical, in that the intermixing and ‘balance’ of commercialism and vernacular values in football spectating has professionalism as its source. Some commentators on English sport simply miss this ‘intermixture’. e.g. Cashmore (1990: 139) who suggests that British soccer clubs fail to maximize profit only because ‘they outstrip demand with supply’.

11 The language of ‘failure to modernize’, if modernization were simply unambiguous, has been, as Ian Taylor (1989) underlines, a ‘dominant leitmotif’, for example, especially of North American reportage on the Hillsborough tragedy. If such ‘generic’ modernization – with the undertone of ‘social control’ of dangerous classes – is one element of such language and an associated set of interests in the continued contestation over the meaning and possession of football, another which is particularly uppermost at present is the more specific interests of TV corporations, intent on maximizing the media packaging of football along with advertising opportunities (see Ferguson 1990). An example is the proposal from João Havelange, President of FIFA (the Federation of International Football Associations) that matches, historically always divided up into two forty-fives minutes halves, should henceforth be divided into four twenty-five minute quarters, expressly to ‘enhance’ TV coverage of the 1994 World Cup.

12 If locating fanzines and the FSA within the middle-class left may appear fanciful, and certainly must not be overstated, evidence that there are continuities is seen in the presence in some fanzines, not just of anti-racist campaigns, but of other general political issues, e.g. in the Ipswich Town fanzine Those Were the Days, an expose of the involvement of the club’s shirt sponsor – Fisons – in environmentally degrading peat extraction.

13 See also Jary and Horne (1987) and Horne (1987). As a researcher at the Sir Norman Chester Centre, Tom Burke points out back that since the mid-1980s the interests of members of the Leicester School have in fact broadened somewhat, as indicated by an interest in fanzines.

14 Grunewald, for instance, explicitly grounds his work in a radicalized version of Giddens’ approach.

15 Richard Giulianotti’s article, elsewhere in this issue, provides a clever structuralist reconstruction of the dialectic between Scottish supporters and the media during the recent World Cup. This also constitutes a further example of (so far) successful cultural contestation in football.

References


Parker, F. (1968), Middle Class Radiculaism, Manchester University Press.


In addition, numerous football fanzines have also been read, a full list of which may be found on pp. 638-42.


Notes

1 *Balmore* is a term that has been coined to capture the particular, and continuing, views expressed by members of the Royal Family, past and present, upon Scottish affairs. It is derived from the Scottish home of the British royal family at Balмор.

2 The date 1745 refers to the Jacobite rebellion which was put down by the Unionist army of the Crown in 1745 (Battle of Culloden); it marked the end of an old social order and way of life in the Highlands.

3 The First Wee of August refers to the period known as the post-1745 period when Highland chiefs became landlords and their followers (clanspeople) were transformed into tenants.


general sports magazines and “Cap’n Bob”:
The rise and fall of *Sportsweek*

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This paper directs attention to a sector of the press that is largely ignored by academic media research: weekly and monthly sports magazines. The birth and death of the British general sports magazine, *Sportsweek*, is considered as a case study from which some critical observations can be made about research into sport and the mass media on both sides of the Atlantic. The magazine industry as a whole is little discussed in mainstream media studies, even though magazines are highly significant in terms of the reproduction and sustenance of what has been called consumer culture (Featherstone, 1983, 1987; Winship, 1983). For this reason, and because most media sport research tends to focus on the textual rather than on production and appropriation, this paper outlines the economic forces shaping the consumer magazine sector in Britain and provides a comparative account of the sports magazine and press industry in the USA, Europe, and the UK. The case study of *Sportsweek* is considered in terms of its implications for understanding sport and leisure culture in contemporary British society.

In the study of the “*sports/media complex*” (Goldlust, 1987; Grumane, 1986; Jhally, 1984), attention has mainly focused on newspapers and television. There are exceptions, but only rarely have authors analyzed sports books, novels, films, and magazines (e.g., Green & Jenkins, 1982; Tomlinson, 1987) or other mass media representations of sport such as advertising or popular music. The grounds for this research emphasis seem to lie with the apparent dominance of television and the newspaper press as channels “by which the majority of people participate in a wide range of hobbies and recreations.” (Curran & Tunstall, 1973, p. 202).

This paper considers a rarely investigated sector of the sports/media complex, generalist sports magazines. The magazine industry as a whole is little discussed in media studies. Magazines, however, are highly significant in terms of the sustenance, if not the creation of, consumer culture (Featherstone, 1983, 1987; Winship, 1983). I have previously examined the rise and (rapid) fall of a British based generalist sports magazine, *Sportsweek*, considering among other things the representation of sport in the magazine as a way of understanding why it failed (Horne, 1988). In this paper I examine the broader question of the
significance of sports magazines in the UK and the USA. It should be noted that this work is in progress, a way of preparing the ground for a larger project assessing the sociocultural meaning of sport in a wide range of mass media and cultural forms, key moments in the transformation of these representations, and how these are understood by the audience.

Looking Into Magazines

Magazines exist in a highly volatile, sometimes cut-throat marketplace. There are more "births and deaths" than in any other sector of the press. In 1962 for example, the Royal Commission on the Press noted that magazines and periodicals "come and go with a frequency which if it were found in the newspaper press, would indicate an alarming instability" (1977, p. 31). The situation has hardly changed since then.

Magazines occupy an intermediate space between the high immediacy/short physical life of daily newspapers and the high reference value/long physical life of books. One strength of magazines is that "they combine authority with topicality at a low price" (Bird, 1978, p. 140). However, as television has developed, it has preempted much of the traditional editorial role of newspapers, which in turn has hastened the latter's shift toward "much of the traditional editorial preserves of magazines-analysis, entertainment, instruction, light relaxation, stimulation of fashion and life-styles, etc., etc." (Bird, 1978, p. 141). The growth of human-interest features in popular British daily newspapers has been remarked upon elsewhere (Curran, Douglas, & Whannel, 1980). Newspapers have tended to drop news in favor of celebrity features, gossip, entertainment, and sport since 1945. This poaching from other media is endemic, especially when it is facilitated by low-cost new technology. As Tunstall points out, a nation's magazine industry is largely shaped by that country's newspaper and radio/television industry (1983, p. 89). Where there are local newspapers (the USA) or restrictions on television advertising (Germany), there are often strong magazine sectors. In Britain, magazines are relatively weak because newspapers and television dominate the national audience and attract most of the high value advertising. Additionally, as newspapers acquire improved capacity for color reproduction and include more and more material in which the date is all but irrelevant, they encroach upon the main defining features of magazines. Significantly, the magazine sector's share of revenue from advertising has been falling since 1960, as shown below (Bird, 1978, p. 143; Press Council, 1986, p. 308):

- 1960 12%
- 1968 10%
- 1972 9%
- 1976 8%
- 1981 7%
- 1983 5.7%

A major factor has been declining reader-per-copy ratios (i.e., readership rather than circulation, although this too has been in decline in the important women's weeklies sector of the market). In addition, since the 1960s, the establishment of a mainstream commercial television audience with a similarity to readers of women's magazines, and growing demand for regional and Sunday national newspaper color supplement advertising have been the major developments drain advertising revenue away from magazines.

What prevents the magazine sector from losing its appeal to advertisers and prospective publishers alike? Why have magazines not disappeared? As with national daily newspapers, magazines rely upon a concealed subsidy system (i.e., advertising revenue) for the bulk of their income (Curran, 1981, p. 310; Curran & Seaton, 1988). Women's magazines, for example, derive an average of 62% of their income from advertising, with some deriving more than 80% (Earnshaw, 1984, p. 411).

In order to maintain advertising revenue, magazines do something for advertisers that television cannot and that newspapers are reluctant to guarantee. Magazines can deliver particular market segments to advertisers. Modern marketing techniques operate on the basis of specialized rather than mass markets for products and services. Manufacturers do not want to waste money on advertising that reaches non- or low-propensity consumers. Hence the marketing technique that sets out to define differentiated, as opposed to mass groups of potential consumers, or segmentation, was developed (Leiss, Klins, & Jhai, 1986; Tomlinson, 1990).

Advertisers want to reach specific consumer groups including those not available through other media (e.g., people who rarely watch commercial television). Therefore in response to the decline in advertising revenue, magazines had to carefully tailor their content to specific market segments, rather than to the mass market, in order to maintain circulation. Thus the characteristics of the most successful ideal magazine would include a high level of ABC1 readers' who rarely watch commercials television, a high cover price (to discourage the less affluent from purchasing it), a modest circulation (less than 300,000, but with a high readers-per-copy ratio), glossy paper, and a specialized editorial content aimed at attracting these readers (Bird, 1978, p. 148).

So far we have been considering magazines as an undifferentiated category. Obviously this is inadequate and highly misleading. There are significant differences between the weeklies and the monthlies, and whether the magazine is a specialist or generalist one. What does the sports press and magazine industry look like, in Britain and elsewhere?

Sports Pages

While popular journalism developed first in the USA, to be taken up in the UK later in the 19th century, it was in Britain that books, magazines, and newspaper reports flourished first (Goldlust, 1987, pp. 60-69). Nonetheless, numerous sports journals and magazines proliferated in the 19th century both in Europe and the USA, helping to form "the sporting subcultures that grew up around particular games and competitions" (Goldlust, 1987, p. 70). By the 1880s in the UK and USA, regular sports sections were already established in daily newspapers and the specialist sports journalist was emerging. By the mid-1880s there were three sporting daily newspapers in Britain, heavily concentrated on horse racing (Mason, 1988, p. 47).

By the beginning of the 20th century, however, the British sporting press had largely been undermined because of increasing attention paid to sport by national, regional, and local evening, morning, and Sunday newspapers (Mason, 1988, p. 48). Sports pages occupied around 10% of available space in daily newspapers in 1900. Today the space devoted to sport in British tabloid newspapers ranges from 15 to 25%, while in other western European countries and the USA a well-established medium has developed for generalist sports magazines.

In France, for example, the weekly L'Equipe magazine sells more than 240,000 copies. In Italy there are two sports dailies: Corriere dello Sport, published in Rome,
with a circulation of over 400,000 on Mondays (over 230,000 on other weekdays); and Milan’s La Gazzetta dello Sport, with a daily circulation of over 520,000 copies. The latter also publishes a weekly, La Gazzetta Sportiva. In Germany there is Sports Illustrierte, a monthly with a circulation of 124,000, and Kicker Sportmagazin, which is published twice a week and has a circulation of over 255,000 copies.

The USA has three well-established nonspecialist sports magazines: Sport, a monthly with a circulation of more than 998,000; The Sporting News, a weekly in tabloid format (circulation 438,000); and the biggest selling sports weekly in the world, Sports Illustrated: circulation over 2.8 million (Benn’s Media Directory, 1987). In addition, the only “national” daily newspaper, USA Today, devotes about 25% of total space to sport (Cousley, 1986, p. 95).

In newspapers in the UK and USA, sport is segregated, usually to the back pages. Only at moments of triumph, tragedy, or international significance does sports news feature on the front page (e.g., international success by a British team or athlete, football hooliganism, drug abuse, misconduct on the field, apartheid, soccer World Cup finals, the Olympic Games). Yet sport is not relegated to the back so much as “set off, in a world distinct from other kinds of news, self-contained and self-sufficient” (Hall, 1978, p. 17).

Despite the scale of the sports industry in Britain, attempts to introduce a generalist sports magazine have not been successful. International Publishing Corporation (IPC), the largest single magazine publisher, tried with All Sport but it failed miserably. There has been no postwar British equivalent of Sports Illustrated, and no tradition of general sports magazines or newspapers to compare with our European neighbors. This is the context within which to consider the launch of Sportsweek, the first consumer magazine to be published by Robert Maxwell’s fledgling British Magazine Publishing Corporation (BMPC).

The Fall and Rise of Cap’n Bob

In 1987, Robert Maxwell ranked first in a survey of coverage of business people in the British press. His press baron competitor, Rupert Murdoch, ranked third. The latter’s media empire, however, is considerably larger than Maxwell’s. Indeed, 19 years ago there was little indication of Maxwell’s potential for success. Department of Trade and Industry inspectors declared that he was “unfit to exercise proper stewardship of a publicly quoted company” (quoted in Labour Research, 1988, p. 7). How the structure of British newspaper ownership “makes it possible for such a man, with a controversial past in business and spectacularly little relevant experience, to buy and control a large and influential chunk of the British mass-circulation press” (Leapman, 1988, p. 12) is indeed a fascinating question.

Since his move to “rescue” the British Printing and Communication Corporation (BPCC) in 1980, however, Maxwell has rarely been out of the news. Revelations about his business practices since his death in November 1991 have only added to Maxwell’s worthlessness. In 1988 there were three main parts to Maxwell’s empire: the Maxwell Communication Corporation (formerly BPCC), but renamed after the chief executive in 1987; Mirror Group Newspapers (MGN), with a total newspaper circulation of 10.5 million, and Hollis plc., an engineering company (Figure 1).

The stated corporate goal of MCC in 1988 was to become “a global information and communications company before the end of the decade, with annual revenues of 3–5 billion pounds” (cited in Labour Research, 1988, p. 7). In July 1986 when Sportsweek was first unveiled to the advertising agencies, Maxwell had interests in most forms of media around the world. In Britain, BPCC (now MCC) published dozens of academic journals and professional and trade magazines (e.g., Banking World) and books under imprints such as Macdonald and Futura. Sportsweek was to be one of the final pieces in Maxwell’s media empire, his first venture into consumer magazine publishing.

The Rise and Fall of Sportsweek

Maxwell was present for the unveiling of Sportsweek to advertisers, possibly a sign of the importance he attached to the magazine. It certainly had all the hallmarks of a long-term rather than an opportunistic venture. One million pounds was spent on the launch, on September 11, 1986, with advertisements on television, on billboards, and in the Daily Mirror. Roger Kelly, former deputy sports editor of the Mail on Sunday, was appointed as editor. To underline the commitment to high quality sports photography, Eamonn McCabe, four times sports photographer of the year and former sports picture editor of the Observer, was appointed as picture editor. The magazine was to be a glossy all-color weekly, devoted to sport and aimed at affluent young men (Robinson, 1986). As an inducement to subscribe to the magazine (55 pounds/year) readers were offered a choice of free gifts—the Sportsweek Filofax or a framed print from Eamonn McCabe’s collection.
Awareness of the rapid demise of generalist sports magazines in the past
in Britain, and the extensive coverage of sport on television in the national
press, led Alan Armsden, publisher and managing director of BMPC, to stress
that Sportweek would offer something different:

There are 250 pages of sport produced in British newspapers every week
but it's mainly reportage...and we are not going to compete with that...what we
can do is throw an interesting light on it—the sideways, underneath or from
the top angle. (quoted in Jivani, 1986, p. 6)

The theme of the advertising campaign was "Get inside sport, look inside
Sportweek"; the aim was to promote Sportweek as the magazine for the intelligent
sports fan, in the face of competition from the proposed Sunday Sport (Campaign,
1986, Jivani, 1986). The proposed circulation target was relatively small (75,000),
but the initial print run was 200,000 copies because, on the basis of a survey of 1,500
men using dummy copies, researchers had suggested that as many as 500,000 would
be interested in buying a general sports magazine. Cover price was set at 80 pence.

The postlaunch reaction was considered to be good, although there was
some skepticism about the market for a general sports title. The media director
of J. Walter Thompson said,

The photography is terrific and there's real substance in the articles. The
only thing I would say could be improved is it could be made more topical...I
think the biggest problem it faces is not in the product but the fact that
men are notoriously bad buyers of magazines. They're so used to buying
newspapers. (quoted in Marketing Week, 1986a, p. 31)

After 6 weeks a survey conducted by Comag, the magazine's
distributors, indicated that Sportweek was not on target for a settled circulation
figure of 75,000. Sales were between 80,000 and 110,000. Of the readers:
92% were men; 82% were between 20 and 40 years old; and
65% were social class ABC1 (Marketing Week; 1986b). The younger, richer,
and more market segment were apparently interested.

By Christmas (issue 15) the situation was changing. Advertising had not
grown significantly. Several of the top advertisers were replaced or
caused to be low on Maxwell's financial and other interests (e.g., The Daily Mail,
sports book publisher MacDonald, and the post-Commonwealth Games
jury of Roger Kelly resigned to join The Times as sports editor. Protracted
negotiations with a replacement took place, but to no avail. Tim Batstone, the publisher, took
over as acting editor, with the circulation by now (early January 1987) down to
40,000-60,000; and Maxwell announced the closure of Sportweek in early
February 1987. In order to fully explain the demise of Sportweek, however, it
is useful to consider a number of situational, commercial, and sociocultural factors.

Why Sportweek Died

There are four factors that appear to be involved in the closure of Sportweek:
(a) Maxwell lost interest in it. According to one media analyst, he wanted
to concentrate on the launch of a new newspaper (the London Daily News) which was
facing stiff competition from two other publishers (Marketing Week, 1987). (b) Key
personnel left at the wrong time. (c) The magazine did not offer anything strikingly
different from the sports coverage of television and the daily and Sunday press. (d)
Despite its high quality sports photography and glossy paper, the design and focus
of the magazine were not high on the hit list in the eyes of the public. (e) The magazine was unable to sustain the circulation target and
proportion of ABC1 readers required to attract advertising revenue. (f) The attraction
of sport in British culture is not as great as is often suggested.

These six factors relate to different parts of the mass communication circuit:
production, texts, and appropriation (audience). Maxwell's own ambitions, and
those of Sportweek's journalists who left a sinking ship, are understandable in
the context of the publishing world. A request for information from Maxwell's son
Kevin, who had been given control of Sportweek, was refused, owing to "the
commercially sensitive nature of the information." The third, fourth, and fifth
factors related to the market conditions into which Sportweek was launched;
consideration of these provides some ideas about the reasons for its demise.

The British public read more daily newspapers proportionally than any other
comparable nation (Bairstow, 1985, p. 7; Merrill, 1983, p. 63). At least 90% of all
adults buy at least one morning daily. Approximately 85% of national newspaper
sales are for mass circulation tabloids such as Rupert Murdoch's The Sun, and
(Sunday) News of the World, Robert Maxwell's Daily and Sunday Mirror, and
Lord Stevens' Daily and Sunday Express and Daily Star. With the possible
exception of the two Express newspapers, these rely on an almost exclusive
diet of sensationalism, sex, and sport. In combination with other "quality" titles (The
Times, Daily Telegraph, etc.), these constitute a national press. They are
mainly London based but are distributed throughout the whole country on the day of
publication.

The absence of a general sports magazine market could result from the fact
that a British national daily and Sunday newspaper, quality as well as tabloid,
cover sport in considerable detail. In their cross-cultural comparison of sports
sections in Icelandic, North American, and British newspapers, Valgersson and
Snyder (1986) reported that The Times (of London) covered the greatest variety
of sports. Some 25 sports were featured in a year (although 42% of the articles in
the survey were devoted to the 3 sports of soccer, cricket, and horse racing).

From an analysis of the sports content of some popular daily newspapers
(e.g., The Daily Mail, The Sun) in October 1980, Hargreaves (1986, pp. 138-139)
noted that although a fairly large range of sports were covered, soccer and horse
racing predominated. He suggests that this is part of a policy to attract "working-
class readers with coverage of the sports to which they are most attracted." In
a glossy, up-market multisport magazine, one would expect to find a different
situation and, indeed, 45 different sports or sports related activities were covered
in the 22 issues of Sportweek. As a proportion of total editorial (features) space,
however, we find some fairly familiar emphases. Table 1 shows a comparison
between the top 10 sports in Sportweek and British television in 1986.

Although a wide range of sports are covered in both media, coverage of the
top three sports in Sportweek accounted for over a quarter of all editorial space.
Admittedly the magazine was launched during the season for two of these sports,
and the cricket coverage was mainly of the India team on tour in Australia. Even
so, from other evidence it would appear that the actual range of sports
coverage was not much greater than that found in either the quality daily or Sunday
newspapers (The Times, The Guardian, The Observer, etc.).
Table 1
The Top 10 Sportsweek and TV Sports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sportsweek (1986-87) (% editorial space)</th>
<th>Television (1986) (hrs of coverage)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soccer (12.94)</td>
<td>Snooker (394)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cricket (7.39)</td>
<td>Cricket (336)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby union (5.8)</td>
<td>Horse racing (276)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American football (4.79)</td>
<td>Soccer (262)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor sports (4.62)</td>
<td>Tennis (189)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing (4.2)</td>
<td>Golf (149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse racing (3.95)</td>
<td>Track and field (131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf (3.36)</td>
<td>Bowls (112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis (2.68)</td>
<td>Boxing (56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yacht racing (2.18)</td>
<td>Equestrianism (56)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Despite the excellent photography and glossy paper, there was little innovation in the coverage or the sports writing. Even the cover photographs, a major guide to a magazine's content and image, were predictable (Ferguson, 1980). Of the 22 covers, 5 featured motor sport, 4 featured soccer, and boxing, cricket, and American football were featured on 3 issues each. Cover photographs of female athletes ranked about equal with those of men (cf. Lumpkin & Williams, 1991).

Women were presented in Sportsweek in a very similar manner to the way they were presented in the North American sports press (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Articles often contained belittling text and/or captions to photographs. Women-only features linked female athletes to their gender roles—emphasizing careers as models, the importance of family life; women as caregivers—even when champion women athletes were the subject of discussion (cf. Hilliard, 1984).

Mixed-gender features, for example on tennis and basketball, were rare and focused on differences (see Horne, 1988, for further details).

One commentator summarized this view by suggesting that Sportsweek's demise was “conclusive evidence that there is no demand for such a magazine” in the UK (Spandler, 1987, p. 12). But apart from the demand-side argument that there may already be enough information and comment about sport supplied through the British press and television, the demise could also be due to supply-side factors. If we take the view that the commercial media, whether print or broadcasting, are in the business of producing audiences, we could argue that Sportsweek failed because at that moment in Britain an appropriate audience/reader could not be constituted (Carron & Seaton, 1988; Itali, 1984). From this viewpoint, magazines are the means by which audiences/readers/consumers are delivered to advertisers. Sportsweek may have failed because other magazines/media are available for advertisers to sell their products to the audiences they want to reach. In this way advertising can be seen as a licensing system for the media, an impersonal means of control.

Additionally, sport in the UK has been slower to be subject to commercialization, and hence the cultural meanings attached to sport in Britain are different from those in the USA and elsewhere. Even though in the last 15 to 20 years sport in Britain has increasingly been subject to the pressures of commercialization and consumer culture (Maguire, 1990; Whannel, 1986), it seems unlikely for a time at least that sport will have the capacity to sell the products in Britain that it sells in the USA (Hargreaves, 1986).

This last point seems to me to be most interesting, and the one most urgently in need of systematic research. What is/are the cultural meaning(s) of sport in Britain? Hargreaves (1987) has suggested that there has never been any real question about what sport “is” in Britain. Sport has been developed as a nonpolitical institution, whereas on the European continent it has been a site of contestation over meanings, and in the USA, since the beginning of the 20th century, it has played the role of “reassembling differentiated sub-communities” (Ingham, Howell, & Silbercolo, 1987). Future research in this area needs to consider both the culturally specific meanings attached to sport, and, and the mechanisms by which such meanings are constructed, disseminated, revised, and reproduced.

Not only are there differences in the cultural meaning of sport between different societies, there are important differences in the meaning of sport within single societies. Sport is not universal. It has to embody certain values in general, and different sports have come to embody different values and meanings. Sport is often represented as belonging to an “other” world. Setting “inside sport” would make this idealist sportsworld problematic. It remains to be seen whether a magazine containing insightful sports journalism, critical writing, and good photography can succeed in commercial terms. As sport is currently constituted, it may be an exercise built upon too many contradictory impulses.

Conclusion

According to Ben's Media Directory, 1987 was a “very healthy year for magazines and journals” in Britain (Dunkin Webb, 1988). The major development was the success of Prima, a monthly women's magazine with ready perforated pages of recipes, household tips, and a free pattern. Particularly exciting for the magazine industry was the discovery of the success of Prima, which had achieved 1 million copies in its first year without affecting the existing market. Robert Maxwell's entry into consumer magazines was less spectacular. Although Sportsweek was the first magazine to be launched by Maxwell, he also purchased Cook's Weekly in mid-1986. Before the end of the year he had sold it. Perhaps to compensate for the demise of Sportsweek, Maxwell reacquired IPC's Youth Group of children's titles (and renamed them Fleetway Publications), which include Roy of the Rovers and Striker, two best-selling soccer comics.

Many writers have pointed to the role the mass media plays in setting the agenda about what is to be discussed, and the importance of studying representations for understanding the impact of the media message (Cohen & Young, 1973). Analyses of the sports media often make this their starting point (Goldlust, 1987, pp. 71-72; Hargreaves, 1986). Research suggests that the media do supply a selective version of sport which emphasizes action, spectators, outcomes, records, elite athletes, and individual personalities. These can be called media sport news values (Hargreaves, 1986, p. 141). Sports tend to be presented in terms of general...
values, such as competition, assertiveness, and obedience to authority. There is a growing literature on both sides of the Atlantic, in which it is argued that sport plays a major part in defining and reflecting the cultural expectations that society has of men and women, both on and off the field of play (Duncan, 1990; Duquign, 1989; Klein, 1988). The media represent prime sites for the reproduction of symbolic gender divisions, and media sports especially enable powerful representations of unequal gender relations to be communicated.7

Many questions remain, however, that future researchers might wish to consider. Questions raised about gender have largely been concerned with femininity, yet masculinity also needs to be problematized (Messner, 1990). Methodologically, an increasing interest in hermeneutics and critical readings of sports representations in the media is apparent (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; McKay & Rowe, 1987). So far less attention has been paid to the actual impact of such representations on public conceptions of gender, nation, and race; and most important, what does the practice of reading the sports press or watching sports on television actually entail for the audience?

Despite the recognition of the political and ideological significance of the nonpolitical human interest sections of newspapers and popular television in recent years, there is a surprising dearth of evidence about what readers and viewers actually do with sports pages and television sports (Clarke, 1987; Curran et al., 1980). In this respect, the study of media sport lags behind recent advances in understanding audiences where ethnographies have demonstrated the activity of “meaning making” (Morley, 1980, 1981; Richardson & Corner, 1986). We still lack firm information about the sports reading habits of newspaper and magazine readers. There is still a fair degree of crude empiricism deployed in the analysis of media sport messages. Even studies of the narrative construction of televised sporting events, which have been the most exciting developments recently, could be further elaborated and refined to go beyond the encoding/decoding problematic (Colley & Davies, 1982; Hall, 1980; Whannel, 1982a, 1982b, 1984; Wren-Lewis, 1983).

In short, there is a danger that media sport research might be concentrating unduly on the textual at the expense of (a) explaining the economic, ideological, and cultural factors that help shape and produce media sports and sports media in different societies; (b) understanding what the audience does with it all; and (c) considering how sport is represented in different media forms, at different historical moments, and how these representations have changed over time. These questions ought to inform future research into the sport-media relation.8

References


Notes

1 “Cap’n Bob” was the name given to Robert Maxwell by satirical magazine Private Eye. This paper draws upon presentations given at the 1988 LSA Conference in Brighton, England, and the NASSS Conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, November 1988. Neither recent developments in the study of the mass media and popular culture, nor the revelations about Maxwell’s business methods since his death, have been incorporated into this revised edition.

2 See Marles (1984) and Miller Lite (1983) for more recent confirmation of this in the UK and USA, respectively.

3 “ABC1 readers” refers to the classification used by the British Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA) National Readership Surveys, otherwise known as JICNARS (Joint Industry Committee for National Readership Surveys). These have been carried out since 1956 and are currently conducted twice a year. Market research places readership into categories according to potential purchasing power.

4 There are over 150 specialist sports magazines, ranging from in-house journals of particular sports associations to hobby sports titles and fitness/magazines; sport generated an estimated 6.9 billion pounds of total final expenditure to the British economy in 1985. Sport related consumer expenditure (4.4 billion pounds) is now of a similar order to consumer expenditure on furniture, gas, and electricity (Sports Council, 1988, p. 21).

5 In time for Maxwell’s First Division soccer team, Derby County, to display it on their shirts and stadium during a match against Chelsea which was televised live.

6 Sportsweek certain failed to attract sufficient advertising interest. On average, advertisements accounted for only 20% of total space available, and declined from 29% in the first issue to 17.5% in the last. From issue 15, advertising for such products as alcohol, tobacco, cars, and sports goods declined and was offset by advertisements for in-house products such as The Sporting Life (a horseracing newspaper) and sports books publishers (e.g., MacDonald).

7 Gender is an important variable in the magazine industry. Women’s magazines and men’s magazines promote lifestyles in consumer culture. Sport, however, remains largely portrayed in the mass media as a masculine cultural practice and largely a utilitarian form of leisure, rather than a hedonistic pastime. Sportsweek did not challenge either of these representations of sport.

8 To do this would require research in three areas of the media/sport relation: production/diffusion, construction, and reception/propriation (Thompson, 1988). Researching a contemporary cultural form such as magazines, however, is made more difficult by the commercial climate within which they operate.
The Figurational Sociology of Sport and Leisure Revisited

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Introduction

In 1987 we published a number of commentaries on the figurational sociology of sport and leisure of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, acknowledging some of its undoubted strengths, but also presenting a sketch of alternatives to it (Horne and Jary, 1987; Jary and Horne, 1987; Jary, 1987). These alternatives, we suggested, should be seen as complementary to the figurational approach. Our tone in our previous articles had, we felt, been on the whole conciliatory and ecumenical. We wanted to assist in ushering in a new phase in the sociology of sport and leisure that would build on, would obviously include, but would also move well beyond a purely figurational approach. The creation of a new mainstream in the sociology of sport would, we proposed, counteract some of the restrictive features of the figurational approach in isolation, while retaining its strengths.

In this paper we take the opportunity to review our earlier position in the light of an extended ‘counter critique’ launched particularly by Eric Dunning (1992) and also, somewhat more equivocally, by Chris Rojek (1992) in their volume Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process. We would not wish to deny that we may have been guilty of a number of misreadings and misrepresentation of the figurationalist viewpoint on some points of detail, for example aspects of our rendering of the concept of ‘figuration’ and elements of our comments on the operation of the doctrine on ‘involvement and detachment’ within figurational sociology. Nonetheless, in reviewing our position, our claim will be that our main charges against the figurational approach still hold good. Indeed in many ways we want to suggest that our original criticisms can be underscored and strengthened by pointing to assertions contained in Dunning’s and Rojek’s counter-criticism. Our goal remains conciliatory, although our paper contains elements of the ‘gladiatorial’ mode of sociological debate to which Dunning and Rojek object but themselves enter into in Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process. Our continued gladiatorial stance is we think justified because, while Dunning and Rojek have moved some way towards the objective we have in seeking a
new, broader mainstream sociology of sport and leisure, there are still central aspects of their stance (and the figurational stance more generally) that require challenge.

The paper has four main sections:
1. an underlining of our view of the complementarity of figurational sociology and alternative approaches.
2. a restatement of our critique of the figurational sociology of sport and leisure in the light of Dunning and Rojek's counter-critique.
3. a ‘revisiting’ and an elaboration of the exemplars of alternatives to the figurational sociology of sport and leisure which we previously identified.
4. since Dunning, in particular, in his advocacy of the figurational approach does so in part by way of an extended comparison with Giddens, we also examine the kind of approach that might be stimulated by recourse to Giddens' 'structuration theory'.

The complementarity of figurational and alternative sociologies

As indicated, our original position on figurational sociology was far from unsympathetic. As both Dunning (1992: vii) and Rojek (1992) in fact acknowledge, we applauded the major contribution of figurationalists scholars in enabling the sociology of sport to move out of its backwater more into the mainstream of sociology. However, we also called for greater recognition of the complementary strengths of non-figurational approaches, and less caricaturing and stereotyping of rival views. The figurationalists, too, say they want an end to caricature (their counter accusation against us and other critics with respect to figurational sociology) and, they call for a more constructive focus on improved theory and actual research, and on greater charity and co-operation between analysts of different persuasions. This general aim, of course, is also our own. We are pleased to find both Dunning and Rojek endorsing this view. On the issue of caricature, however, we continue to feel that the figurationalists are more often offended than offended against and that this accounts for their continued failing to fully acknowledge the strengths of alternatives and the restrictiveness of perspective that results from their special pleading for their own approach.

The terms of our previous acknowledgement of the achievements of the figurational sociology of sport are summarised in Table 1, which also summarises what we see as the complementary strengths of non-figurational approaches often understated by figurationalists. We are willing to accept that we may have sometimes understated the practical methodological advantage of aspects of the figurational approach. There may be some justification, for example in Rojek's suggestion that we undervalued the advantage of the concept of 'figuration' compared with alternative concepts such as 'pattern' in conveying the 'dynamic contingent qualities of human relationships' (Rojek, 1992: 15). Similarly Dunning

Table 1 The Complementarity of Figurational and Alternative Sociologies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FIGURATIONAL APPROACH</th>
<th>COMPLEMENTARY STRENGTHS OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rich historical sociological account of the 'sportization' process within modern societies:</td>
<td>More open ended, and more radical, historical and contemporary emphases on the relations of power and class and cultural contestation involved in the 'sportization' process:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. emphasis on the role of state formation and the 'civilizing process' (including increased individuality and greater self-control) in the control of violence and emotions in the emergence of modern sport and leisure.</td>
<td>1. fuller emphasis on the role of the economy as well as state power in shaping sport and leisure practices, e.g. 'commodification'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. pioneering 'sociogenetic' account of the transformation of emotions applied to sport and leisure as part of the civilizing process: mimetic excitement, compensating for loss of real fights, etc; analysis of football hooliganism within this framework.</td>
<td>2. extension beyond the historical focus of figurational study, e.g. greater emphasis on popular 'resistance' and 'open futures' and issues of cultural incorporation and problems of social control (e.g. Foucault); consideration of a wider range of sports and leisure not as well handled by the 'civilizing' control of violence model, leading to doubts about the concept of the 'civilizing process'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. empirically grounded account of the role of class conflicts in the sportization process.</td>
<td>3. expansion of the range of focus on social inequality and social movements, e.g. greater utilisation of cultural and feminist theories.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Methodological basis:
1. rejection of the closed individual (homo clausus) and emphasis on structure and action in social accounts. |
2. the conception of 'figuration', with its focus on 'process', and avoidance of system reification or crude functionalism. |
3. the eschewing of one-sided determinism or voluntarism. |

Methodological basis:
1. equally well articulated, but often differently articulated, recognition of the importance of an emphasis on the individual and society and structure and agency. |
2. alternatives to the concept of figuration, which can be equally as well associated with opposition to 'system reification' and normative functionalism, also achieving perhaps a better balance between structural and individual analysis (cf. Mouzelis, 1993). |
3. determinism and voluntarism widely repudiated in sociology.
suggests that we failed to emphasise how the concept “refers simultaneously to acting human individuals and their interdependence” (Dunning, 1992: 241). Looking back, however, we think that we did, in fact, acknowledge that the concept of figuration had sometimes been associated with such advantages (e.g. Home and Jary, 1987). Equally however, we remain unconvinced that alternative concepts such as ‘pattern’ cannot serve just as well. On this and on other points of the figurational counter-critique, our view remains that the figurational has exaggerated the relative strengths of the figurational approach and understated the complementarity of alternatives. This is true of the substantive focus as well as the methodological basis of the two sets of approaches in the ways we have indicated in Table 1.

The figurational counter critique and a reiteration of our view

The criticisms of the methodological claims and general viewpoint of the figurationalists we wish to reiterate and further underline in the light of the Dunning and Rojek response are summarised in Table 2.

The first of our general claims (Section 1 of Table 2) that the figurationalists make exaggerated claims for a specifically figurational methodology is clearly disturbed by Dunning and Rojek’s reply. Our argument remains that the kind of ‘processual’, ‘relational’ approach advocated by the figurationalists is simply ‘good sociology’, as found, at best, in Marx and Weber, or recently in Giddens or Grueneau, and thus extends well beyond the figurational tradition. The figurationalists reply that they never claimed ‘uniqueness’ for the figurational view (especially see Dunning 1992: 11) is welcomed by us. However, we continue to feel that their programmatic statements and working practices too often belie this admission. The exaggerated claim made for the concept of ‘figuration’ is but one example. The tight intellectual networks in which the figurationalists have operated, clearly exemplified by the unified collective response to our own critique (e.g. in addition to Dunning and Rojek, see Maguire, 1992), is another instance. Even if once justified in providing supportive, defensive networks in a sociological world seen by the figurationalists as excessively grudging in its recognition of Eliasian contribution (see Dunning, 1992: 223-5), the persistence of this defensive posture remains in our view a significant barrier to a more open discourse in the sociology of sport and leisure.

Our second claim (Section 2 of Table 2) is that the figurationalists’ methodological approaches in fact possess distinctiveness. The implications of this are problematic:

1. problems of ‘empiricism’ and ‘ethical neutrality’ arising from doctrines of involvement and detachment and an emphasis on ‘object adequacy’ within figurational sociology;
2. ‘latent’ functionalism and evolutionism.

Our original argument in connection with the first of these points may have been short-circuited, failing to indicate that the figurational stance which was our main

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2 The Figurational Counter Critique and our Restated View</th>
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<tr>
<td>OUR EARLIER CRITICISMS OF THE FIGURATIONAL APPROACH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Excessive figurational claims to methodological novelty, when in fact merely 'good sociology' applied to sport and leisure (cf. Pels, 1991)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Lack of distinctiveness for the figurational 'method' when this adds up to 'good' general sociology, and reservations regarding the utility of the method where the method is more distinctive:</td>
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<tr>
<td>i) problems of 'empiricism', 'descriptivism', 'ethical neutrality', arising from the doctrine of 'involvement and detachment' and an emphasis on 'object adequacy' (included here is the lack of a very full attention to the work of others, justified on the grounds of the primacy of attention to the reality —cf. Pels, 1991).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii) 'latent' functionalism and evolutionism, e.g. recourse to the concept of 'equilibrium'; a 'Drewehian' reading of sport seeing this as possessing some 'functional equivalence' to religion.</td>
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concern arose from their viewpoint on ‘involvement and detachment’ rather than from the formal philosophical doctrine of ‘ethical neutrality’ (see Dunning, 1992). We accept that the figurationalists seek to locate scientific objectivity sociologically as part of a ‘broader phenomenon of the growing capacity for detachment’ associated with the development process (cf. Mouzelis, 1993: 243). Notwithstanding this, our argument remains that the practical outcome of figurational doctrines of ‘involvement and detachment’ is a tendency to ‘empiricism’ and ‘descriptivism’, that is to a similar outcome to the formal doctrine of ‘ethical neutrality’. As Pels (another critic of figurationalism) expresses it (1991: 181), this takes the form of a “largely taken-for-granted opposition between factual knowledge and political-social ideals’ [and] the summary identification of the latter with preconceived fantasies and ideologies ... and distortion” (cf. Guttmann, 1992; Clarke, 1992). Major difficulties associated with figurational doctrines of ‘detachment’ are in fact recognised by Rojek (1992: 17-19) in that “the methodology of detachment, a methodology of self-consciously distancing oneself from the object of study” is associated with no adequate “drill to accomplish self-distancing from the objects of study” or “calibrate degrees of involvement and detachment with the subject”. Thus Rojek appears to accept that figurational doctrines carry with them, as well as “the danger of confinement to the role of ‘wise outsider’”, the possibility of simply asserting the ‘object adequacy’ of one’s own formulations while denying such adequacy to the formulations of others. Examples of such contentious ‘labelling’ of rival approaches are not difficult to find in Dunning’s counter-critique.

Our charge of latent functionalism and evolutionism (Section 2ii) is equally underdeveloped by the figurationalist protests. Their claim that we have failed to notice that they explicitly oppose functionalism and evolutionism is beside the point, for once again our concern (as for Chas Critcher, 1988) is with the actual outcome of figurational practice and that recourse to functionalist conceptions of equilibrium, to Durkheimian conceptions of sport as ‘surrogate religion’, and so on remain under-explicated, because functionalism is denied, though remaining implicit. This is what we mean by the tendency to a ‘latent’ rather than explicative functionalism in figurational sociology. We would concur with the comment of some critics (cf. Wilson, 1992 in the Dunning and Rojek volume) that despite the figurationalists’ persistent explicit distancing of their work from functionalism, the figurationalist view remains closest to a Durkheimian, evolutionarily-functionalism, which because of a formal denial of functionalism and evolutionism remains implicit and is presented as based on an uncontroversial (figurationalist) methodology.

Rojek’s clear acknowledgement in Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process that the figurationalists often fail to follow their own precepts is an aspect of our charge here, but this is not the full extent of our concern. Our wider argument (summarised in Section 3 of Table 2) is that an implicit but an unexamined functionalism and evolutionism are central in figurational sociology especially in association with the conception of the ‘civilizing process’. The particular problems associated with the status and application of this concept arise from the assumption of a developmental ‘civilizing tendency’ but also a

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 2 (cont.)</th>
<th>DUNNING’S AND ROJEK’S COUNTER-CRITIQUE</th>
<th>OUR RESTAMENT OF VIEW</th>
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<tr>
<td>3. Particular problems in the status and application of the concept of ‘civilizing process’, e.g. ‘directionality’ but regressions as well as trivializing sports’, which render it ‘untestable’ (cf. Smith, 1991; Curtis, 1986: 65), involve ‘sweeping generalisations’ (cf. Mouzelis, 1993), and encourage a loose evaluative use.</td>
<td>'Civilizing process' explicated as a 'sensitising concept' testable only in specific contexts (e.g. fox-hunting). Social change as 'contingent' and open-ended.</td>
<td>The concept of the 'civilizing process' operates at many different levels which are often left under-explicated and ambiguous, and include implicit 'evaluations'. Alternative conceptions of 'modernisation' and 'globalization' (of 'directionality' and complexity) require far greater examination.</td>
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<td>4. Over-emphasis theoretically and empirically on the control of violence in the development of sport (cf. Stokvis, 1992; Critcher, 1988). This also leads (along with the problems associated with 2 and 3 above) to a selective emphasis on 'social problems' of the day rather than sociological problems (see Jary et al., 1991; cf. Williams, 1991; Clarke, 1992).</td>
<td>No response from Dunning or Rojek.</td>
<td>While the control of violence model fits some sports it does not help the wider understanding of sport and leisure, e.g. sports such as golf or cricket, and main forms of leisure, such as watching TV (cf. Critcher, 1988).</td>
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<td>5. 'Absences' in account of state power, economy and class and gender.</td>
<td>Elias accepted the important contribution to sociology made by Marx (Dunning, 1992: 226) while dissenting from the idea of a principal determination by the economy; the latter Dunning regards as remaining as a problem within hegemony theory'.</td>
<td>We welcome the figurationalists' acknowledgement of the importance of Marx, but this remains associated with a stereotypical treatment of Marxism and hegemony theory, which fails to confront the nuances and full potential of these theories. Scope for an altogether more wide ranging and radical approach.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. A persistent tendency to neglect and caricature alternative approaches - inherent in aspects of the figurationalists' methodological stance, especially from 1 and 2i above (cf. Pels, 1991).</td>
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</table>
provision for 'regressions'. This has been widely seen as rendering the concept 'untestable' (cf. Smith, 1991) while also leaving scope for unsubstantiated evaluative loadings to empirical accounts couched in terms of the concept. Thus, although the concept of the civilizing process has undoubtedly been a productive concept in the analysis of sport and leisure, it remains associated with major interpretative difficulties and controversies. It is unclear what would falsify the concept. General propositions associated with the concept receive illustration rather than emerging from falsification attempts (cf. Smith, 1991; Wilson, 1992). If instead of justifications in falsificationist terms we acknowledge the merits of a non-Popperian approach to the analysis of essentially historical processes (as suggested by Dunning, 1992) or focus on a testing of sub-models more specific in time and space (Mouzelis, 1993: 243), problems persist, not least because of the evaluative overtones carried by a concept of 'civilisation'. (For a figurational account of the historical overtones of the concept in France and Germany, from which Elias constructs his analysis, see Mennell, 1988.)

The upshot of all of this is that, while figurationalists have widely insisted that the concept is descriptive, non-evaluative, non-teleological, and non-evolutionary, as a technical term and a 'sensitising concept', as well as testable in specific instances (see Dunning, 1992: 258-9; Elias, 1970), critics, including ourselves, can still reply: that precisely because of these features, the 'civilising process' remains an organising concept with highly problematic loadings. The fact is that the concept of the 'civilising process' has been a productive model in research, but the changes 'described' by the model — order, bureaucracy, emulational etc. — have the potential to be packaged in other ways (see Stokvis, 1992). More generally (again see Table 2, Section 3), while accepting, as argued by the figurationalists, that it is necessary to adopt a more 'contingent', open-ended conception of social change than in some classical models of change, our argument is that the model of the civilizing process scarcely measures up to this requirement, and that issues of directionality and complexity in social change require a far greater examination than they have usually received by the figurationalists. What we also want to argue, again in general terms, is the need for a far more explicit and up-front exploration of developmental issues and alternative models. This should include Marxist and Giddensian theories of modernization and globalization alongside the specifically Eliasian conceptions of 'civilising process', 'interdependence', 'functional democratization', and so on, which at least until recently have held exclusive sway within figurational sociology.

Our two remaining, more specific substantive charges in Table 2 (Sections 4 and 5) are related to the first three. Analytical over-emphasis on the control of violence in the development of sport (Section 4 of Table 2) has been criticised by a number of commentators (e.g. Stokvis, 1992) as well as ourselves, and leads — in association with tendencies to implicit functionalism and empiricism — to a selective emphasis on 'social problems' in social research (e.g. disproportionate focus on research on 'soccer hooliganism') rather than on more sociological problems, see Jary et al., 1991; cf. Clarke, 1992). More widely, while the control of violence model fits some sports it does not help the wider understanding of sport and leisure, e.g. sports such as golf or cricket, or main forms of leisure, such as watching TV (cf. Critcher, 1988). Other significant absences in the treatment of state power and the commodification of leisure within figurational theory (briefly identified in Section 5 of Table 2) are discussed further in the fuller discussion of alternatives to figurational sociology to which we now turn.

**Alternatives and exemplars in the sociology of sport and leisure revisited**

It has been suggested that any attempt to understand the relationship between sport and/or leisure and society must consider four basic questions (Critcher, 1988: 201): What is the relationship? How did it develop? Why is it important in contemporary society? What should we do about it?

In our earlier papers (Horne and Jary, 1987; Jary and Horne, 1987) as a contrast with the figurational approach we highlighted the work of Grunewal (1983), Hargreaves (1986) and researchers associated with the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCCS) in enabling a wider approach to these questions than within the figurational approach. We do not, despite Rojem's suggestion to the contrary, see ourselves as advocates of 'neo-Marxist cultural theory'. We were certainly not attempting then to suggest the wholesale replacement of figurational sociology by the alternative approaches, or even by some combination of the two, although we have been misinterpreted in this way (Dunning and Rojem, 1992). Nor were we seeking to establish all at once 'the big synthesis'. What we wanted to demonstrate (by way of amplification and illustration of the arguments summarised in Tables 1 and 2) was the complementarity between the several perspectives:

1. the shared emphasis on processual and relational analysis;
2. a shared recognition of the importance of diachronic over synchronic analysis, of historical sociology;
3. the acknowledgement by alternative approaches (including Gramscian Marxism) of a degree of 'contingency' in social change;
4. the widely shared emphasis on 'agency and structure' and links between the micro and macro in many forms of sociological analysis;
5. a degree of explicit recognition of the complementarity of different approaches (e.g. Grunewald, 1983).

As we indicated earlier, this is precisely the recognition of the complementarities that Dunning (e.g. Dunning, 1983) says he also wishes to acknowledge.

It is important to note that in our previous papers, while drawing attention to some crucial complementarities in perspective between the alternative accounts we identified and figurational approaches — including more comprehensive conceptions of state power, fuller analysis of the economy, and a wider critique of ideology — we also expressed some reservations about the alternatives themselves, including:
1. the use made of Gramsci's conception of hegemony (cf. Harris, 1993);
2. the emphasis of many theories on class relations at the expense of other forms of domination, most notably gender and ethnic relations (for a recent discussion see Walby, 1992).

It is worth making some further comments here about these points that were not possible in our previous papers owing to restrictions of space. The key concepts and central criticisms of the approaches to be considered are summarised for purposes of comparison in Table 3. Giddens' work is dealt with later in a separate section.

Table 3: Key Concepts and Criticisms of Three Alternatives

| 1. Marxism — Key concepts: |
| hegemony, struggle, contestation over meaning, relative autonomy of culture, historical analysis, capital accumulation, class relations, commodification |
| **Criticisms:** |
| i) determinism (last instance) |
| ii) lack of clear strategies or policies |
| iii) limited focus on intrinsic meaning of sport for participants and spectators, on different levels of sport, such as mass or 'recreational' |
| iv) over-estimates the importance of sport and leisure in securing social stability |
| v) the importance of gender divisions in the rise of sport is under-theorised (this comment is less applicable to Clarke and Critcher than Gruneau and Hargreaves) |

| 2. Foucault and Others — Key concepts: |
| discourse, articulation, the body, bio-power, disciplinary society, normalisation, post-marxism |
| **Criticisms:** |
| i) discursive reductionism |
| ii) structuralist determinism |
| iii) meaning in sport and its uniqueness ignored |
| iv) preoccupation with the 'extrinsic' qualities of sport over 'intrinsic' qualities |

| 3. Feminist analysis — Key concepts: |
| patriarchy, gender divisions and relations, public-private, hegemonic masculinity — established feminism |
| **Criticisms:** |
| i) essentialism |
| ii) differences between women |
| iii) relativism |

'Gramscianism' in sociology of sport and leisure

In the 1980s three aspects of Gramsci's work in particular were taken up in critical sociological writings on sport and leisure in Britain and Canada (Gruneau, 1983; Critcher and Clarke, 1985; Hargreaves, 1986):

1. the concept of 'hegemony', meaning cultural or ideological 'leadership';
2. the importance of culture/popular culture and leisure in the struggle for socialism and reform;
3. the potential for conflict between different traditions of culture and values surrounding sports and leisure activities — emergent, residual, as well as dominant cultures.

In a useful overview Gruneau (1988) accepts that previous Marxist accounts had helped place an emphasis upon the understanding of power and ideology in cultural analysis, not least in studies of sport (Hoch, 1972; Brohm, 1978). But these accounts had also been over-deterministic in their approach which effectively left the question of sport's popular appeal and the possibility for resistance to dominant values unanalysable. For Gruneau sport, as part of culture, is relatively autonomous from political and economic relations — although far from completely independent of them. The nature of work under capitalism and the long-term tendency for 'commodification' to increase have obviously constrained culture, sport and leisure. Despite this, Gruneau suggests that sport as popular culture is always subject to contestation or negotiation between different value systems — emergent, residual, as well as dominant. In the case of sport this contestation can be about the structure of sport, the meaning of the sports tradition, and definitions of 'legitimate' sports practice. In his own studies Gruneau also views sport as a form of culture, which can often symbolise the conflicts between different cultural values in wider society.

Gruneau (1988) uses the headings "Modernization" and "Hegemony Theory" to contrast the work of Guttman (1978) with his own. Particularly distinctive is the way his approach deals with social change, social inequality, power and sport. Since conventional modernization theory tends toward descriptive, cultural and evolutionary biases in explaining social change, this considerably limits the capacity of the theory to consider the different value systems indicated above. For Gruneau (1988: 20) the history of sport, as part of popular culture, "is a history of cultural struggle" to define the dominant forms and meanings of sports practices and the 'legitimate' uses of time and the body.

If time permitted an extended comparison of the work of Rick Gruneau, John Clarke and Chas Critcher (1985) and John Hargreaves (1986) on sports development and leisure would further demonstrate the strengths of the focus they have in common. All three draw upon Gramsci; are critical of what they portray as 'idealistic' histories of sport (such as Guttman's) and 'pluralist' theories of leisure (such as Roberts, 1978); and demonstrate the value of using historical material to build up a picture of the conflicts and politics of sport and leisure. The key concepts for Gruneau in neo-Marxist approaches to sport and leisure remain the familiar Marxist ones of 'capital accumulation', 'unequal
3. the terminology of Gramsci is combined with that of Foucault to produce an analysis of 'athleticist technology', where initially the athletic body comes to symbolise the ideal bourgeois male form, ideal citizen and representative of the nation (via the mass media, public schools, and later state schools, and physical education) and then more recently consumerists discourses underpinning contemporary health and fitness regimes are used to 'normalise' the population and control deviants.

A number of critical consequences follow from the Foucauldian or post-structuralist approach. First, there is the problem of discursive reductionism, wherein the relationship between discourses and the non-discursive (i.e. material, physical, reality) more or less disappears. The approach is too radical in its epistemological and ontological consequences. It re-establishes a form of discursive determinism. Secondly, in a Foucauldian position self-determination as a potential form of human development is automatically foreclosed. As Haug et al. (1987: 206) put it, Foucault "treats human beings as wriggling fish caught in so many nets". In John Hargreaves' work, no attempt is made, for example, to consider media sport audience competencies or how participants themselves see sport and recreation when they play or watch it (Harris, 1992: 156-7). A third criticism of Hargreaves' position, and other Gramscians, is that the diversity of meaning in sport and its uniqueness as a form of popular culture requires a diversity of sociological theories and methods to comprehend it (Haywood, 1986; Morgan, 1985, 1988). A preoccupation with the 'extrinsic' qualities of sport ignores those 'intrinsic' to it — especially its non-utilitarian, play forms.

Despite these criticisms it is possible to identify here a largely unacknowledged transition from a purely 'Gramscian' analysis to embrace aspects of 'Weberianism' as the result of the attempts to 'enrich' and 'elaborate' Gramsci's writing by introducing ideas from Foucauldian post-structuralism (see also Home, 1993).

Women, sport and feminist analysis

Whilst there are several feminist perspectives in sociology — the simplest contrast between 'the feminisms' being: liberal-reformist feminism; radical feminism; and socialist or Marxist-feminism (Abbott and Wallace, 1990) — most feminists analysing sport and leisure would share the view that the history of 'free time' has up to now been largely one of male ascendency (Deem, 1986, 1988). Sport has actually helped to sustain gender divisions between men and women. Women's achievements in sport have often either been ignored, trivialised, or sexualised — i.e. presented in terms of a sportswoman's sexuality, rather than her speed, power or strength. Whilst sport remains an area where biological differences are celebrated and used as a reason for women's subordination to men (Connell, 1987; Kidd, 1987; Messner, 1988), figurational analysis, although being 'first in the field' in some respects (Sheard and Dunning, 1973), has once again developed in isolation from other approaches which arguably are now more mainstream.

Jennifer Hargreaves (1992) provides the most recent relevant critique of figurational analysis from a feminist perspective. In essence she argues that the figurational authors have tended to downplay and often ignore the work of

class relations and powers', 'commodification', and 'hegemony'. We do not deny that these approaches obviously leave a number of issues less than fully resolved:

1. determinism — how and in what respects is sport (relatively) autonomous, and thus able to transcend its social context?;
2. strategies or policies to overcome sport as a form of social control are limited;
3. their focus is predominantly on the growth of commercial, mass spectator sport, and hence are less concerned with the exploration of its meaning for participants and spectators, or other levels of sport, such as 'mass' or 'recreational';
4. the focus upon sports' role in the political control of the working class may over-estimate the importance of sport and leisure in securing social stability (a point made by Critcher (1988: 206) in a review of Hargreaves' book);
5. they recognise, but tend to downplay in footnotes, asides, or parting comments, the importance of gender divisions in the rise of sport (this comment is less applicable to Clarke and Critcher than Gruene and Hargreaves).

Critics of Gramscianism such as Harris and the figurationalists obviously do have a point. What needs to be acknowledged, however, is how valuable are the new emphases arising from Gramscian and from cultural theory and that to a degree these absences can be repaired. In considering attempts to repair these absences we next consider the development of John Hargreaves' view of sport and leisure and the attraction of Michel Foucault and post-structuralist ideas in theorising the body in society.

Foucault and others: theorising the regulation of bodies

Using Foucault's ideas (1977, 1979) in combination with Gramsci, John Hargreaves (1986) points to the increasing government and regulation of all bodies (regardless of gender), of 'bio-power'. Although Hargreaves is obviously influenced by Bryan Turner's work in medical sociology (1984, and subsequently 1987, 1992) his work can also be seen as resting on developments within 'post-Marxism', most notably the work of Laclau and Mouffe, 1985 (see also Jowers, 1989). Focusing on hegemony as discourse and the concept of 'articulation', Hargreaves considers the way that discourses about Physical Education originating in the 19th century were designed to 'normalise' the population and control 'deviants'.

In Harris's view Hargreaves (1986) Sport, Power and Culture "offers a classic account of 'elaborated Gramscianism'" (Harris, 1992: 149). Hargreaves' argument can be summarised as follows:
1. in England in the late 19th century state intervention, prompted by moral concern over working-class youth, attempts to coerce and direct them in 'rational' forms of recreation, including sport;
2. codification by the English public schools and former public schoolboys leads to sport, especially mass spectator sport, acting as demonstrations of bourgeois morality (e.g. players are sent off more in 'proletarian' soccer than 'middle-class' rugby);
feminist sociologists. For her three issues in particular stand out:

1. the figurational non-engagement with feminist research, for example on violence against women;
2. the rigid and unchanging conceptions of masculinity and femininity which are used when discussing gender, for example in Sheard and Dunning (1973) and more recently Murphy (1990), which are at odds with their concern for the historically specific;
3. the associated under-theorisation and under-problematisation of masculinity.

In discussing the relative ‘balance of power’ between the genders there is a tendency to consider female ‘influence’ comparable with male ‘power’. In suggesting recently that women might be used to ‘tame’ men’s behaviour at English football grounds the figurationalists demonstrated a very limited view of masculinity and femininity (Murphy, 1990).

As Jennifer Hargreaves concludes, “the figurational perspective is markedly masculinist” (1992: 164). Even if the physical and symbolic violence perpetrated amongst women by men — rape, battery, incest, child abuse, sexual harassment, pornography, and so on — may have only actually appeared to increase in recent years as a result of greater social sensitivity and the willingness of women to reveal these aspects of private oppression, vague figurationalist generalisation that this is either a product of a lowering in the threshold of repugnance against such forms of violence, or a sign of a reversal in the civilizing process fails to advance the analysis any far. Modern sport was formed at the end of the 19th century — in the context of an earlier wave of feminism, the suffragette movement. Does the development of sport in society relate to changes in gender relations and ‘paternal relations’? Neither the figurationalists, nor the work of Gruneau or John Hargreaves, have dealt with such questions adequately. New theories of patriarchy and non-reductionist materialist approaches could provide an improved basis for analysis (Walby, 1992).

Summary

Whilst a critique of Gramsci was in cultural and leisure studies has been made recently (Harris, 1992) it can be suggested that what this actually deals with is the attempt to ‘enrich’ and ‘elaborate’ the Gramscian approaches by introducing ideas from Foucauldian post-structuralism (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Hall, 1988; Hargreaves, 1986) which is itself related to Weberianism through a common Nietzschean ancestry (Turner, 1992). Earlier sociological accounts of Grunsc have identified him as both “the Durkheim of modern Marxism” (Lockwood, 1988: 75), but also “the Weber of Marxism” (Bocock, 1986: 88). Thus, it can be suggested that a convergence of European social thought underpins recent sociological writing in Britain on sport and leisure. This in turn has led writers from each tradition in the direction of seeking “theories of the middle range” (Critcher, 1992; Moorhouse, 1989). It is in this light that we want to present an ‘alternative’ basis for a sociological study of sport and leisure:

1. which avoids reductionism of any kind and hence emphasises the need for a 'integral' theory of sport and society — the aim being to explain Society in Sport as much as Sport in Society;
2. which advocates specific critiques of historical and cultural situations on the basis of empirical sociological research;
3. which goes some where to overcoming theoretical dilemmas such as human action and social structure, consensus and conflict, the development of modernity, and the problem of gender, that have dogged sociology recently.

It is suggested in the next section that some, although not all, of these features are to be found in Anthony Giddens’ recent writings (especially Giddens, 1990, 1991, 1992). At the same time we will also discuss Dunning’s defence of the figurational view (notably Elias’ position) in comparison with Giddens’ structuration theory. This defence is a direct response to our previous advocacy of the potential utility of Giddens’ perspective in expanding the focus of the sociology of sport and leisure (especially see Dunning 1992: 235-240).

The structuration theory of Anthony Giddens as a proposed research framework

As with our previous identification of approaches and theories complementary to figurational sociology, we have reservations about aspects of Giddens’ formulation, especially his degree of emphasis on the ‘contingency’ of change (an emphasis which is, in fact, shared with Elias and the figurationalists) (see Bryant and Jary, 1991). However, in his more recent work, from our point of view, Giddens has adopted a far more satisfactory — ‘utopian realist’ — emphasis in his discussion of social change. There are also other problematic features of Giddens’ work, discussed below. But for the general reasons to be elaborated, Giddens will be seen as providing an improved (and increasingly expanded) general framework for sociological research into sport and leisure.

Our main argument about structuration theory (partly stated in previous articles, but elaborated here) is that it provides:

1. an improved general model of ‘structure and agency’ taking on board but modifying important recent additions in sociological theory stemming from ethnomethodology and structuralism, from Foucault’s post-structuralism (especially conceptions of ‘knowledge/power’ and ‘surveillance’), and in addition (via the work of Goffman and the time-geographers) an enhanced framework for discussion of the interrelations between macro and micro (especially Giddens, 1979 and 1984);
2. a valuable general formation of ‘authoritative’, ‘allocative’ and ‘cultural’ dimensions of social order, the virtue of which is to allow a fuller, although a far from uncritical, incorporation of Marxian insights and issues (especially Giddens, 1984, 1987) which is particularly useful in its focus on a ‘dialect of power’ and ever present possibilities of contestation (in ways taken further by Gruneau);
3. (especially in his most recent work, Giddens, 1990, 1991, 1992) an attempted synthesis of theories of modernity and globalisation which also embraces
recent thinking (including feminist, as well as Foucauldian thinking) on the 'body' and emotionality, linking these with a general account of new forms of politics ('life politics' as well as 'emancipatory politics') and the new social movements associated with these. What this adds up to is a far wider discussion of the globalisation process, and issues of modernism/postmodernism, than the more loaded conception of a 'civilizing process'.

Dunning's response to our contention that 'alternative approaches can now provide a fuller elaboration of the “duality” of structure and agency than figurational sociology has typically managed' (Home and Jury, 1987: 108-9; cited in Dunning, 1992: 236) is characteristically dismissive. Prefacing his argument with the statement that he: "could not disagree more strongly, with our suggestion", Dunning lists in all six main objections to Giddens' structuration theory:

1. the conception of 'structure' as 'out of time and space' is 'non-testable' and "metaphysical" (p. 238);
2. (relating) the formulation of "structure" only in its "instantiations" or as "memory traces" is dismissed as "subjectivist" and failing to capture the "relational dimension" of social structures" (p. 239);
3. the focus on 'rules' neglects non-normative sources of social structure, e.g. the relation between "material density" and the division of labour as discussed by Durkheim (p. 239);
4. the idea that structures are not "independently given ... but a duality" is "little more than a play on words, ... a form of word magic" and does not resolve the agency and structure dilemma (p. 239-40);
5. by providing a subjectivist definition of structure, not only does Giddens "arguably reduce structure to agency, he also arguably reproduces the agency-structure dilemma" by introducing a dichotomic distinction between 'structure' and 'system' (p. 240).
6. Giddens' concept of agency is over-rationalistic and pays too little attention to emotional life. As noted by Urry (1991), Giddens' framework finds it difficult to provide a conceptualization of "pleasure-producing activities such as travel, leisure, holiday making, sightseeing, playing sport, visiting friends" (p. 240).

Dunning's contention is that, the concept of 'figuration' provides a "more adequate resolution of the agency-structure dilemma than Giddens' more abstract formulation. The grounds for this claim are, first, the particular qualities of the figuration concept and, second, the Eliasian provision of an empirical rather than a philosophical account of the historical conditions in which the agency-structure dilemma arises. It is also a great strength, according to Dunning, that Elias (reflecting the Comtean roots of his thinking on this aspect), while giving careful attention to epistemological issues, repudiates the kind of emphasis on ontology central in Giddens. Finally, while acknowledging Giddens' "considerable talents [in] critical exposition of the work of others", Dunning sees Elias' 'originality' and interdisciplinary 'synthesis' as simply far greater (p. 256).

Table 4 provides an overview summary of Dunning's methodological claims for figurational sociology and his critique of structuration theory. The table also

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<th>FIGURATIONAL SOCIOLOGY—DUNNING'S SYSTEMATIC OUTLINE</th>
<th>GIDDENS' STRUCTURATION THEORY—DUNNING'S CRITIQUE</th>
<th>OUR COMMENTARY</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. General interrelation of individual and society; action and structure -- reflected in the concept of 'figuration'.</td>
<td>'duality of action and structure' involves greater abstraction and a 'metaphysical' formulation of concept of 'structure' as 'memory traces'.</td>
<td>Dunning fails to convey the sophisticated incorporation of ethno-methodology and structuralist conceptions accomplished by Giddens, and also conflates Giddens' separate concepts of 'structure' and 'social structure'. Problems with the lack of empirical definition of 'rules', but rules are not merely 'normative' and 'resources' are also central in Giddens' framework. It is because Giddens is more open to the world of others that his synthesis is wider and has such potential utility.</td>
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<td>2. Methodology a) Epistemology: neither empiricism or rationalism; neither essentialism or relativism; both subjective and objective; involvement and detachment.</td>
<td>Elias' emphasis on a socially grounded epistemology, more useful than Giddens' elaborated emphasis on ontology.</td>
<td>Elias a mix of Positivist-empiricist 'received view' and post-empiricism, but with less reference to mainstream methodological debate than Giddens.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Giddens' flight into philosophy, and an elaborated ontology seen as more metaphysical, and leading to subjectivism.</td>
<td>Giddens' ontology allows him to incorporate social phenomenology/ethnomethodology and structuralist/post-structuralist approaches. No in principle emphasis on agency rather than structure.</td>
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summarises our own overall response to Dunning's view of structuration theory. While a number of Dunning's criticisms find their target, most do not, and some involve major misunderstandings of Giddens. Thus, in our view, they do nothing to undermine the very great potential of structuration theory as a research framework to extend the sociological analysis of sport and leisure. As we see it, Giddens' embracing of the work of others and the resulting synthesis is far more wide ranging than Elias' and, as suggested by Urry (1986), can be seen as "the most systematic attempt so far to develop an approach that transcends the dichotomies of determinism and voluntarism, society and individual and object and subject". In our view, Dunning simply fails to convey the scope and utility of Giddens' incorporation of contemporary theoretical ideas within the single framework of structuration theory. Partly because he underestimates the importance of structuralism and ethnomethodology, Dunning seriously misrepresents Giddens' conception of structure as 'subjectivist' and 'normative'. Since in addition he also conflates Giddens' separate concepts of 'structure' and 'social structure', he fails to adequately convey the true sophistication of Giddens' formulation of 'duality'. Our response to Dunning's verdict (Dunning, 1992: 23-67) that Elias' "greatest strength lay in his capacity as an original thinker and in the synthesis he began to forge" and that Giddens' "talents are most evident in his lucid presentation and critical exposition of the work of others" is that it is precisely because Giddens is so open to the work of others and strives so hard to incorporate this work in his own view that his synthesis has such potential utility in research. The emphasis in Giddens' work may be ontological rather than epistemological, but ontology is valuable in leading Giddens to a much more systematic — and original — analysis of general conceptual issues than Elias-Dunning achieve. Though epistemology undoubtedly is less central in Giddens' work, even in the area of epistemology Giddens' writing often carries the advantage of far greater relation — and dialogue — with the literature (e.g. Giddens, 1973).

The central aspect of Giddens' structuration theory which claims to be more comprehensive than the figuralist approach, adding to its potential value as a research framework for the study of sport and leisure, is its multidimensional emphasis on 'allocaot' (economic), 'authoritative' (political) and cultural dimensions of institutions, structuration and power; giving it a greater capacity for a more flexible incorporation of Marxian/Gramscian issues. As well as this, where Dunning offers the problematic notion of civilizing process, Giddens' framework offers, we believe, a far wider analysis of globalisation and what he refers to as the 'time-space distanciation' of societies, along with a wide-ranging treatment of issues of modernisation/post-modernism. If the social context Elias mainly responded to was the Europe of the twentieth and thirties and the reference of his work is obviously dated, every nuance of Giddens output, as the jet-setting social theorist par excellence, remains always 'bang up to date'. Giddens constantly borrows, incorporates, synthesises others theories (see Bryant and Jary, 1991). As noted, Giddens' analysis of modernity/post-modernity sometimes shares a weakness with the Elias-Dunning view, namely an anti-evolutionary stance and an emphasis on 'contingency' in social change which threatens to limit any very
systematic explicit exploration of a possible ‘directionality’ in human history. However, as also noted, recently Giddens has seemed far more willing to explore directionality (e.g. his references to ‘utopian realism’) and the sweep of his analysis (substantively as well as philosophically); especially in embracing the full panoply of modern/post modern issues in social theory, carries Giddens well beyond a merely Eliasian ‘research programme’.5. Tables 5 and 6, taken from Giddens (1990), illustrate the width of focus and the kinds of issues now embraced by Giddens’ framework. It is the conception of ‘radicalised modernity’, now central in Giddens’ discussion of the threats and opportunities of modernity, which we would suggest is likely to prove particularly useful for sports and leisure sociologists to explore.

Table 5: Environments of Trust and Risk in Pre-Modern and Modern Cultures

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<tr>
<th>ENVIRONMENT OF TRUST</th>
<th>PRE-MODERN</th>
<th>MODERN</th>
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<tr>
<td>General context:</td>
<td>General context: trust relations vested in disembodied abstract systems</td>
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<td>overriding importance of localised trust</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Kinship relations as an organising device for stabilising social ties across time-space.</td>
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<td>2. The local community as a place, providing a familiar milieu.</td>
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<td>3. Religious cosmologies as modes of belief and ritual practice providing a providential interpretation of human life and nature.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ENVIRONMENT OF RISK</td>
<td>1. Threats and dangers emanating from nature, such as the prevalence of infectious diseases, climatic unreliability, floods, or other natural disasters.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. The threat of human violence from marauding armies, local warlords, brigands or robbers.</td>
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<td>3. Risk of a fall from religious grace or of malicious magical influence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Threats and dangers emanating from the reflexivity of modernity.</td>
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<td>2. The threat of human violence from the industrialisation of war.</td>
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<td>3. The threat of personal meaninglessness deriving from the reflexivity of modernism as applied to the self.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


Table 6: A Comparison of Conceptions of “Post-Modernity” (PM) and “Radicalised Modernity” (RM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PM</th>
<th>RM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Understands current transitions in epistemological terms or as dissolving epistemology altogether.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Focuses upon the centrifugal tendencies of current social transformations and their dislocating character.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sees the self as dissolved or dismembered by the fragmenting of experience.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Argues for the contextuality of truth claims or sees them as “historical”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Theorises powerlessness which individuals feel in the face of globalising tendencies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sees the “emptying” of day-to-day life as a result of the intrusion of abstract systems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Regards coordinated political engagement as precluded by the primacy of contextuality and dispersal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Defines post-modernity as the end of epistemology / the individual / ethics.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>


A more particular claim made (e.g. Rojek 1992: 11) for the advantages of the Elias-Dunning formulation compared with Giddens’ framework in its handling of the sociology of the emotions can also be discussed in the light of the above. We have no wish to deny the heroic proportions of Elias’s pioneering focus on the social construction of emotions, the increasing control over the body by states and by individual selves and the ‘controlled decontrol of excitement’ represented by
sporting activities. Equally, however (as Jary 1989 has argued elsewhere), there are clear limitations in the extent to which the Elias-Dunning model succeeds and parts of the proposed framework remain programmatic and promissory rather than fulfilled:

1. Elias's strictures on the importance of the biology-sociology relation remain programmatic and in many ways relatively trite;
2. the application of Eliasian models — notably the violence control model — fits some sports well but not others (cf. Critcher, 1988), as indeed Dunning (1992) appears to accept;
3. the 'spare-time spectrum' variously presented by Dunning has been little developed and its limitations widely noted (Jary, 1987 and Critcher, 1988);
4. Figurationalist commentators such as Wouters (1989) and more recently Maguire (1995) are right to argue that the Elias-Dunning framework offers a research programme which is useful in ensuring an escape from purely descriptive, merely individualistic approaches, but they too are aware of the relative narrowness of the figurational framework and have argued for the benefits of extending this (especially see Maguire, 1992). Even if Elias is a clear precursor of current concerns with 'the body', how much of this contemporary feel to his work is due to our nowadays Foucauldian readings of his work?
5. Finally, it is also arguable that strong work in the area of individual-society 'relations', which figurationalists as well as sports and leisure sociologists generally now identify — e.g. sociability, self-actualisation, peak experiences, imagination, consumerism, life style — lie mainly outside a narrow figurationalism. Giddens' greater openness to new work and its incorporation within his framework is evident especially in his most recent work (see Giddens, 1991 and 1992, e.g. his discussion of 'intimacy' and 'friendship').

Just a few of the themes explored by Giddens which we think may be worthy of development in relation to sports and leisure are: the many forms of 'lived time' and 'time-spaces'; 'life style as an adopted motive'; therapy as personal growth; pathologies of self-control (e.g. anorexia nervosa).

What is finally particularly important about Giddens' overall focus here and elsewhere, in our view, is the interrelation of the individual and the local with the global and the general provided by his general framework. Unfortunately there is no time to explore more fully at present these aspects of Giddens' work. However, we would argue that Giddens' handling of issues of individual relationships and personal experiences, using concepts central in structuration theory (not least his valuable emphasis on an ever present 'dialectic of power' and more general view that power everywhere is an enabling and not only a constraining conception) are likely to prove useful to sports and leisure sociologists, especially in a context in which modernity/post modernity are so often experienced as dialectical relation of liberation and disorientation; exhilaration and anguish (cf. Berman, 1983).

Likewise, Giddens' recent formulations of the dilemmas and opportunities of an expanded 'life politics' (see Figures 1 and 2, from Giddens, 1990), while, as ever, consisting of a characteristic mix of others' insights, is seen by us as a synthesis of great potential value to leisure theorists and researchers in locating issues within a flexible overall framework relating the general and the particular, the local and global, in fruitful ways.

It should be noted in all of this — another area where, in our view, Dunning simply gets Giddens wrong — that Giddens' overall structurationist framework is intended as a sensitising research framework not a formal resolution of the agency and structure dilemma. It is in these overall terms that we believe Giddens structurationist approach has much to offer to sport and leisure sociologists.

Conclusions
We greatly welcome the more conciliatory stance adopted by Rojek and, to a lesser extent, by Dunning at some points in Sport and Leisure and the Civilising Process. Signs of a reduction in their preoccupation with a promotion of the
exclusive claims of the figurational approach and a willingness to be much more open to the work of others are no less welcome. However, this shift in the orientation of figurationalists remains partial. As one reviewer of *Sport and Leisure and the Civilizing Process* (Cashmore, 1993) has remarked, “Securing Norbert Elias’s admission into sociology’s pantheon has become one of those near mythical aspirations, like discovering Shangri-La”. The same reviewer also notes that a number of the chapters within the volume “are reverential acknowledgements of Elias, written *con amore*” and that there “is an element of self-congratulation in many of the arguments”. Like Cashmore, we would certainly not wish to detract from the obvious achievements of the figurational sociology of sport and leisure. We are on the record (Jary and Horne, 1987), for example, as unreservedly acknowledging Dunning and Sheard’s *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* as a major landmark in the historical sociology of sport and leisure.

We would concur with another reviewer of *Sport and Leisure and the Civilizing Process* (Mouzelis, 1993: 252) that the volume “provide[s] a basis for moving from a ‘gladiatorial/monologic’ to a more ‘dialogic’ approach to their study”. Our view remains, however, that there is some way to go before this can be said to be accomplished.

### Notes

1. For a similar general view see Pels (1991), also noted in Table 2.
2. The present article was written prior to the publication of Dunning et al., 1993. However a consideration of that volume changes relatively little. Although within it the language of Dunning and his colleagues is again ‘conciliatory’, in the whole the language in which conciliation is couched is patronising to alternative approaches seen as having some merit while dismissive of other approaches variously accused of theoreticism, lacking objectivity, etc. The outcome remains that the ‘figurational’ approach to social analysis is ‘confirmed’ as far superior to and as having relatively little to learn from alternatives.
3. Stephen Mennell’s (1989) diagram (below) is intended to clarify the Elsonian argument on involvement and detachment but, to our minds, merely succeeds in underlining the caricature and contentiousness involved in the operation of the distinction.

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

4. It is worth comment that another of our figurationalist critics, Maguire, 1993, is content merely to repeat Dunning’s six points.
5. On the question also raised by Dunning of Elias’s prior influence on Giddens, there may be some justification in the claim that Giddens must have learned from Elias during his period as a lecturer at Leicester. Giddens, however, plays down these links, interestingly, describing Elias’s ‘civilising’ hypothesis as involving a ‘generalised evolutionism’ (Giddens, 1984: 241).
6. Significantly perhaps, Chris Rojek, the more marginal to the figurationalist circle of our two critics, is more alive than Dunning to the potential of Giddens’ width of approach, and is far more in tune with the benefits to the sociology of sport and leisure which can arise from a fuller interaction with the literature of modernism/post-modernism.

### References


II: Leisure, the City and the Nation-State
LEISURE IN DIFFERENT WORLDS

Volume I

LEISURE: MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY AND LIFESTYLES

Edited by Ian Henry

LSA
Publication No. 48
Pakistanis) and African Caribbean, as well as smaller numbers of individuals whose origin is, for example, South American.

Where our material is drawn very directly from a source such as the annual report of a voluntary organisation or Census data, we use the form of words used by that particular agency.

'Race' is a social construction as opposed to a biological one. We always place the term 'race' in inverted commas to highlight this social dimension.

'Racial group' is a term used within the Race Relations Act (1976). It is a term which we use only as it is required by the Act. We are opposed to its usage otherwise in so far as it implies that differences between individuals or groups can be attributed solely to their 'race'.

'Racism' is used in a variety of ways to describe attitudes, values, behaviour and service provision which treat people from the black and minority ethnic communities less equitably than those from the white communities.

'Multiracial' is the best compromise term which we have been able to develop to indicate that there are many ethnic groups in Scotland and that some of those are picked out and racialised.

'White-led' is used to signify organisations and institutions the values of which are the Eurocentric values of the majority white communities, whose managers and policy makers are, for the most part, white, and where the process of change has yet to begin. Most organisations and institutions in Scotland can be said to be 'white-led'.

Words are used in different ways in different contexts and at different times. Some people will disagree with our terminology; in a year or two the terminology which we use here may have changed. The important thing about terminology is that it should be a tool to greater understanding. We hope that by clarifying our use of words, we have increased the possibility that our article can be read and appreciated in its own terms.

June 1995
The first section considers differences between England and Scotland in terms of migration patterns, ethnic minority populations and racism.

The second section focuses upon racism in professional Football in England and Scotland.

The third section outlines the Anti-Racism campaigns and their achievements to date.

The fourth part considers the future prospects for anti-racist campaigns based upon football in both England and Scotland. At the same time it is noted that football research remains a predominantly masculine concern. It would be interesting, and important, in the future to investigate the position of both ethnic minority and ethnic majority women in sport in Scotland.

ETHNIC MINORITY POPULATIONS, SECTARIANISM AND RACISM

As a result of distinct patterns of immigration, the compositions of ethnic minority populations in England and Scotland differ considerably. Accurate data on population flows has been difficult to obtain. It was only in the recent decennial population census, conducted in 1991, that a question on ethnic origin was included for the first time. Details of the ethnic minority population for the whole of Great Britain showed that ethnic minority groups made up 5.5 per cent of the total GB population, 6.2 per cent of the population of England, but only 1.3 per cent of the Scottish population.

The Scottish population has often been considered in terms of emigration rather than immigration. Yet along with the rest of Britain since 1945, and especially during the 1960s, the black and Asian population has been growing. Information on this population has been collected on an ad hoc basis. Table 2 shows is one estimate of the growth of the Asian ethnic minority population in Scotland over the last 40 years.

---

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population: by ethnic group and region 1991</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thousands and percentages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from Social Trends, 24, January 1994, Table 1.9, p. 25

Table 2


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>600</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the 1991 Census, Scotland's non-white ethnic minority population totalled more than 60,000, or 1.3 per cent of the total population of around 5 million. The vast majority is of Pakistani or Indian origin, about 20 per cent are Chinese and a small fraction is Afro-Caribbean (table 3).

Almost two-thirds of the non-white population are concentrated in specific areas of Glasgow and Edinburgh. In Leith, one quarter of the young are black. The proportion of non-white groups ranges from 1.7 per cent in Lothian Region to 0.5 per cent in Borders Region and Orkney Islands.

Partly because of the small number of black and Asian people in Scotland, especially compared to the South East, Midlands and Northern regions of England, it has been possible for issues such as racism to be kept off the political agenda in Scotland. Yet whilst the Scottish National Party provides...
an inclusive definition of Scottish people - 'those who stay (i.e. live) and work in Scotland and who want to contribute to the Scottish community' - it is a highly selective view of the past and the present that sustains the myth that racism does not exist in Scotland.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number (thousands)</th>
<th>Percentage of total Scottish population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>4873</td>
<td>98.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (Caribbean)</td>
<td>0.918</td>
<td>0.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (African)</td>
<td>2.724</td>
<td>0.055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (other)</td>
<td>2.564</td>
<td>0.052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>9.904</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>20.67</td>
<td>0.419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladeshi</td>
<td>1.105</td>
<td>0.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>10.32</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asian</td>
<td>4.518</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8.524</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish born</td>
<td>49.14</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4934</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OPCS 1991, p.230

The reasons why Scottish politics did not become 'racialised' to the same extent as in England have been examined by Robert Miles and Lesley Muirhead (1986) and Anne Dunlop (1993). In the 1960s and early 1970s debate about black people in England had been couched in terms of the numbers of immigrants and therefore the question of maintaining the 'enemy without'. These ideas were fuelled especially through the speeches of Enoch Powell and other Conservative politicians in the 1960s. Following the economic crisis of the 1970s, a moral panic about a form of street crime labelled 'mugging', and the urban disorders of the early and mid-1980s, the idea developed that the black - especially Afro-Caribbean - population in England represented the 'enemy within' (Hall et al 1978; Solomos 1985; Small 1994).

Over the past thirty years, whilst there have been shifts in these discourses over 'race relations', major political issues - immigration, crime and law and order in general - have been 'racialised' in England to a much greater extent than in Scotland, where these discourses on 'race' have been reflected, but also refracted, in the Scottish-based mass media. Reporting of the speeches of Enoch Powell in the 1960s and the urban disorders of the early 1980s was often couched in such a way as to sustain the notion that in Scotland, with its distinctive pattern of non-white immigration, the relatively small size of the ethnic minority - and especially Afro-Caribbean - population, and the 'essential' sense of fairness and decency shared amongst the Scottish people, there was 'no problem here' (Dunlop 1993, pp.89ff).
In fact, of course, racist ideas have been generated and reproduced in Scotland, and have been used to comprehend and resist the migration of labour in the past, just as in the post-1945 situation in England. In the case of Scotland these ideas were initially applied to a white ethnic minority group before the mid-20th century - the Irish, who have been emigrating to Scotland since the 19th century (Miles & Muirhead 1986, pp.125ff). As table 3 demonstrates, Irish born residents remain the largest ethnic minority group in Scotland today. So one explanation why Scottish politics were slower to become 'racialised' than in England was because 'Scottish' class relations, especially in the West of Scotland, around Glasgow, had been fractionalised along sectarian lines. As Dunlop (1993, p.92) writes:

sectarian divisions became institutionalised not only in denominational schools and the 'Old Firm' - rivalry of Celtic and Rangers football teams.

The extent to which the sectarian divide still has salience in contemporary Scotland is the subject of much debate. We will return to this in discussing football in Scotland.

The absence of a strong neo-fascist tradition and the diminishing importance of the Conservative Party since 1945 have been additional factors contributing to the relative absence of 'racialised' politics in Scotland (Dunlop 1993, pp.92-3). A final strand in the explanation of this relative, although not absolute, absence from the Scottish political scene, relates to nationalism and nationalist politics in Scotland.

The relation of nationalism to racism is specific to particular historical circumstances and in Scotland nationalism became an influential political force in the 1960s and 1970s. Scotland has held a distinct state apparatus and national identity since the Treaty of Union with England in 1707 (McCrone 1992). In this context, Miles argues that political nationalism has tended to focus on the perceived economic and political disadvantages of the union:

Nationalism in Scotland during the 1960s and 1970s therefore identified an external cause of economic disadvantage/decline, without reference to 'race', while in England the idea of 'race' was employed to identify an internal cause of crisis, the presence of a 'coloured' population which was not truly British (Miles 1993, p.78)

In Scotland the 'national question' has partially (although not entirely) displaced the influence of racism in constructing the political agenda in this period. Racism has not been as central to nationalism in Scotland as it has in England. The result of this has led some observers to deny, or at least downplay, the existence of racism in Scotland (Maan 1992, pp.201-7).

Now whilst at one overt political level this may have been possible until recently, at the level of popular racism it remains apparent that racist discourse prevails in Scotland. As Miles (1993, p.77) points out:

the post-1945 Asian migrants to Scotland have not been the object of a systematic and hostile political agitation as happened in England (although this is not to deny that racist images of these migrants are commonly expressed in everyday life in Scotland)

The conclusion that there is no racist problem in Scotland - still voiced by some institutions of government in Scotland - is ultimately mistaken because there always exists the potential for a process of 'racialisation' to occur - racist attacks, racist abuse and racist chanting at football matches being examples of this.

It was during the 1980s that anti-black racism entered the Scottish political agenda. Verbal abuse, physical assault, and other forms of racism have become a common experience for black people in Scotland (Armstrong 1989; Bell 1991, Scottish Eye 1994). Since 1984 there has been an annual anti-racist march and rally in Glasgow. Between 1988 and 1990 racial incidents reported to the police increased by 100 per cent in the Lothian and Borders regions and by 283 per cent in Strathclyde (figures cited in Young 1993).

RACISM IN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH FOOTBALL

Professional Football in Scotland

Bert Moorhouse, based at Glasgow University, has maintained a steady flow of analyses of Scottish football and its distinctive characteristics compared to England (1986, 1991, 1993, 1994). His argument in a nutshell is that five features have structured Scottish professional football (Moorhouse 1991, p.202):

- The domination of Scottish football’s professional competitions by two clubs from one city - Rangers and Celtic of Glasgow;
- The explicit linking of many Scottish professional football clubs, and especially Rangers and Celtic, to ethnic groupings and antagonisms - 'Protestant', 'Catholic', 'Irish' - which have existed in the wider society and have other institutionalised forms (for example in church, schools and neighbourhoods);
- The economic dependence of most Scottish football clubs upon the transfer of talented players to the English league;
- The position of the Scottish football team as a major force for the expression of a dislike of 'England' and the 'English';
- The existence of a larger number of clubs in its league than in most other countries - currently 40 league clubs for a total population of 5 million people, compared with 92 clubs in England and Wales which have a population ten times that size.

Moorhouse has argued that in the future Scottish football's distinctiveness will likely be compromised by changes in the game which are forced by European-wide, even global, trends. Yet in considering a number of football-related issues in the 1970s and 1980s, such as hooliganism and the growth of 'fanzines', he has highlighted the idea that 'Scotland appears to contradict claims about trends in British football culture which are rooted in English evidence' (Moorhouse 1994, p.177). Is this also the case for the issue of racism in Scottish football?

Racism in English Football

Whilst sport has often been seen as offering a 'level playing field' and to be above political ideology, its symbolic power actually renders it extremely vulnerable to ideological exploitation in the service of a range of sometimes contradictory beliefs - including popular racism, nationalism, sectarianism and xenophobic attitudes (Hargreaves 1986; Jarvis 1991; Sugden & Bairner 1993). In England in the 1980s this came to the surface in a stark fashion as more and more black - predominantly Afro-Caribbean - athletes came to the forefront of English sport. Nowhere was this growth more apparent than in professional football.

Before the 1980s, football role-models for young Afro-Caribbean Black Britons were few and far between. There had been a few black professional footballers in the history of the English game ever since the late 1880s, but they were isolated cases (Vasali, forthcoming). It was only in the late 1970s and early 1980s that significant numbers of black footballers began making it into the top professional level of the game. Until 1975 not a single black player had represented England at football at any level and there were fewer than 20 black professional players. In November 1978 Viv Anderson became the first black player ever to represent England. He is currently one of the very few blacks ever to have held a managerial position in English professional football. Today, around 25 per cent of the 2000 or so English football professionals are black. Yet only around 1 per cent of supporters of the top English clubs have these origins (Carling Report 1994). Different clubs have different levels of black support but many football stadia remain largely unattractive and inhospitable places for black and Asian people in England and elsewhere in Europe (BBC 1994; Kick It 1994).

The involvement in sport of Black - at least Afro-Caribbean - people and the racist assumptions underpinning the links between them and sporting excellence have been well documented in the USA (Coakley 1994) and to a lesser extent in England (Cashmore 1982). Both Maguire (1988; 1991) and Mason (1989), for example, have considered the stacking phenomenon - the disproportionate concentration of ethnic minorities in certain positions in a sports team - in the context of English Football in the 1980s. Maguire (1991, pp.112-3) concluded:

The cumulative evidence does suggest that stacking exists in English soccer, that further qualitative data from interviews with players and managers supports the notion that this is related to centrality and that this pattern appears to be closely connected to stereotypes held within the game by those making the key recruitment, selection and retention decision-making.

Indeed it is less than ten years ago since 12 English First Division football managers were reported as stating that they would not sign a black player because 'they lack bottle, are no good in the mud and have no stamina' (quoted in Chaudhry 1994). One of the Premier Division teams, Everton Football Club, of Liverpool, have only recently signed a black player after many years of being celebrated as 'all white' by their racist contingent of supporters. The following quotations spanning ten years provide two examples of racial abuse at English football matches:

When the England under-21 team defeated Denmark 4-1 in Copenhagen last month a group of London fans made a point of jeering almost every time one of the four black members of the team - Barnes, Davis, Whyte and Regis - touched the ball (Lacey 1982)
We could see quite clearly, as the teams warmed up before the kick-off, that banana after banana was being hurled from the away supporters' enclosure. The bananas were designed to announce, for the benefit of those unversed in codified terrace abuse, that there was a monkey on the pitch (Hornby 1992, p.188)

The 'monkey' in question here was John Barnes, making his debut for Liverpool away at Arsenal in the 1987-88 season. The fans throwing the objects of racist abuse were therefore Liverpool 'supporters'.

**Racism in Scottish Football**

As we have seen, racism has often been denied, or at least downplayed, in Scotland and yet research at different levels of analysis has demonstrated the existence of serious and widespread forms of prejudice and discrimination against Black and Asian ethnic minorities (Bell 1991). An understanding of racism in Scotland is complicated however by the debate over the extent to which sectarian divisions - especially anti-Irish/Catholic prejudice and discrimination - remain potent as sources of deep-rooted social conflict in contemporary Scotland (Bruce 1985, 1988).

Historical research has confirmed the extent to which sectarianism has played a major part in the division of allegiances in football in Scotland (Murray 1984; Finn 1991a, 1991b, 1994). Moorhouse (1993, 1994) suggests, however, that anti-Irish bigotry and religious sectarianism are no longer so prevalent in Scottish football or in the wider society. Sectarianism is ritualistically conveyed in some football fanzines and football fans still sing sectarian songs and display different symbols of allegiance, but without it being of major significance to the rest of Scotland. He questions how much meaning there is to the term 'sectarian' in a society with widespread social and cultural interaction and a great deal of intermarriage.

In response to Moorhouse (1993), one reader of The Absolute Game wrote a letter in which he pointed out that given the proximity of Northern Ireland to the West of Scotland there was 'cause to worry about the persistence of sectarian allegiances in the statements of cultural affirmation made by young Scottish working-class males' at football matches (Horton 1993). For these young Scots, sectarianism is not perceived as 'history'. There may well remain a real and historical basis for the promotion of divisive bigotry among some sections of the Scottish working-class, particularly on the West coast.

In addition there has been a renewal of media coverage of sectarian-related issues in recent years. The death of the Labour Party leader John Smith in May 1994 gave rise to a by-election in the political constituency of Monklands which was largely fought out amidst accusations of sectarianism in local Scottish politics (Clouston 1994). As one commentator has observed, football may remain a 'vital lightning conductor' and,

...recent controversies in education and local government suggest that the capacity of religious-based or religion-related issues to cause social and cultural divisions has not been exhausted (Walker 1993, p.305).

With respect to sport, and professional football in particular, sectarian divisions between supporters of the 'Old Firm' are an ever present reality (The Sunday Mail, 2nd October 1994). The signing of a Catholic, Mo Johnston, by Glasgow Rangers in July 1989 broke a 116-year tradition, similar to that which the racist Everton supporters had celebrated with respect to the absence of black players. Yet it did not pave the way for many more non-sectarian signings, nor did it see the replacement of explicitly sectarian practices at Rangers and Celtic home games.

With respect to black players in Scotland, there is evidence that they have encountered racial abuse from the terraces consistent with, if not greater than, that meted out in England to the likes of John Barnes:

One of the great delusions of Scottish society is the widespread belief that Scotland is a tolerant and welcoming country and that racism is a problem confined to England's green unpleasant land. Mark Walters' arrival at Ibrox [Rangers' ground] blew the whistle on that myth. Week after week, the young black winger was subjected to a barrage of racial abuse, as prejudice squads at Parkhead [Celtic], Tynecastle [Hearts] and Fir Park [Partick Thistle] threw bananas, chanted like monkeys and banged the jungle drums in a desperate bid to put the player off his stride (Cosgrove 1991, p.128).

Whilst Mark Walters was the first black professional footballer to be transferred from a leading team in the English League to a Scottish club, when he joined Rangers in 1988, as in England black players had first appeared in Scottish sides long before this. John 'Darky' Walker of Leith Town had signed for Heart of Midlothian in 1898, and at the beginning of the 1950s Celtic had signed a black American striker from the US amateur team Chicago Maroons - Giles Heron - who became known as 'The Black Arrow' (Cosgrove 1991, p.129). Shortly after Walters' move north of the border Paul
Elliot, another black player, was signed by Celtic. Yet soon after arriving Elliot revealed to the Scottish press that the racial abuse in Scotland was far worse than anything he had experienced before in his playing career in England and Italy (Cosgrove 1991, p.130). Elliot, who has now retired from the game through injury, has been one of the leading black footballers in the campaign against racism in the game (see The Absolute Game 28, May/June 1992).

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### Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Player</th>
<th>Club</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noel Blake</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>Defender</td>
<td>Kingston, Jamaica</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Cadette</td>
<td>Falkirk*</td>
<td>Attacker</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gus Caesar</td>
<td>Airdrie*</td>
<td>Defender</td>
<td>N/K</td>
<td>N/K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin Fashanu</td>
<td>Hearts*</td>
<td>Attacker</td>
<td>N/K</td>
<td>N/K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerren Nixon</td>
<td>Dundee Utd</td>
<td>Attacker</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wes Reid</td>
<td>Airdrie</td>
<td>Defender</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
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<td>Basile Boli</td>
<td>Rangers**</td>
<td>Defender</td>
<td>Adjame, Ivory Coast</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin Harper</td>
<td>Hibernian**</td>
<td>Attacker</td>
<td>Oldham</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justin Jackson</td>
<td>Ayr Utd**</td>
<td>Attacker</td>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rod McDonald</td>
<td>Partick Thistle**</td>
<td>Attacker</td>
<td>N/K</td>
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</tbody>
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* 1993-4 only
** 1994-5 only (or came to prominence in 1994-5)
+ Transferred to Millwall FC in November 1994

Source: Scottish Football Today, July & August 1994; Scottish Football League 1994

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In Scotland in 1994 football is still predominantly a 'white man's game'. There are still proportionately far fewer black football professional players in Scotland than in England. In the 1993-4 season there were only six prominent black players out of a little over 1000 in the entire Scottish League. In 1994-5 there are currently eight out of 1084 - a little over 1.5 per cent compared to 25 per cent in England (Scottish Football League 1994).

Whilst black football players do inevitably feature in the sports pages of the national newspaper press, neither of the terrestrial television stations - BBC TV Scotland and Scottish TV - featured black players in the thirty-second long credits which introduced their weekend football magazine programmes in the first weeks of the 1994-5 season (Sportscene - Match of the Day and Scotsport respectively). The jacket and most of the contents of the Scottish Football League's premier annual reference book is equally devoid of black representation (Scottish Football League 1994). In an, admittedly unsystematic, survey of the Scottish press in 1994, I found that the vast majority of items on racism in football in 1994 were responding to the launch of the Let's Kick Racism out of Football campaign in January.

The question is, why are not more black players involved in Scottish football? Is it because they do not constitute a sufficiently large proportion of the Scottish population? Are there greater economic opportunities open to them in the Scottish labour market and hence are the restrictions that operate in England to channel young blacks into sport as a possible route of social esteem and mobility less in evidence? Or is it because of the perceived racism in the Scottish game? At present we can only pose these questions, not provide any clearcut answers.

Additionally, there is altogether much less information available about Asian - Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi - involvement in sport and leisure than about Black Afro-Caribbean. This has started to be rectified in England, but again in Scotland, despite the greater relative size of the Asian population compared with England, little is known about Asian involvement in sport (Fleming 1991, 1993; Westwood 1990). There are no full-time professional Asian football players in England, and about 60 semi-professional and amateur players (Chaudhary 1994; Khan 1994). Racist assumptions about the physique and temperament of Asians may help to explain why only one Asian player is on the full-time books of a Premier Division club - Glasgow born Jaswinder Jutla of Rangers (Scottish Football League 1994).
ANTI-RACISM CAMPAIGNS IN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH FOOTBALL

From the mid-1980s onward the black presence in English football became more and more prominent. Various governmental attempts to alter the basis of football support in the wake of the Heysel stadium incident (which involved the death of thirty-nine fans as a direct result of a ritual 'taking of the ends' by Liverpool supporters) - including a membership card scheme strongly supported by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher - generated a popular reaction - most notably in the formation of the Football Supporters Association (FSA) and the proliferation in the number of football fanzines (see Taylor 1992, for an account of football supporters and Jary, Horne & Bucke 1991, on fanzines).

Both developments can be seen as constituting forms of cultural contestation in the game which have played a large role in establishing and keeping the issue of racism in football on the political agenda. The FSA has established itself in less than 10 years as a major focus for independent football fan opinion, at least in England. Football fanzines, whilst extremely variable in quality and often very parochial in focus, have also provided a medium for the circulation of ideas necessary for the establishment of an alternative football network. Often using information derived from the fanzines, by the end of the 1980s the mainstream mass media began to uncover implicit and often explicit racism in football and other sports. The position of black people in English sport became an issue. Two television programmes in particular - The Race Game in 1990 and GB United in 1991 - brought to a larger public examples of the racist practices within sport that the research of Maguire and Cashmore had pointed towards.

More official initiatives, begun in the early 1980s partly to offset football-related racism and bring black and white youth together through participation in football, such as the Football in the Community scheme, have often been seen as insufficiently publicised and largely ineffective (BBC 1994). But by the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s two former leading black football players - Garth Crooks and Brandon Batson - had gained prominent positions in the Professional Footballers Association - the players' trade union' in England and Wales. Another important development in terms of the decision to use football as the basis for an anti-racism campaign was the appointment of Herman Ouseley - with a long-standing involvement in sport and recreation issues - to the chair of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE).

It is important to note that the legislative context in England and Scotland is different with regard to racist abuse at football matches. In England the Football Offences Act (1991) was introduced following the report which Lord Justice Taylor wrote after 96 people were crushed to death in 1989 at Hillsborough stadium, home of Sheffield Wednesday. With the awareness that racist abuse and chanting could contribute to crowd disorder, the Taylor Report recommended a legislative solution. Section 3 of the 1991 Act states that:

(1) It is an offence to take part at a designated football match in chanting of an indecent or racialist nature.

(2) For this purpose -

(a) 'chanting' means the repeated uttering of any words or sounds in concert with one or more others; and

(b) 'of a racialist nature' means consisting of or including matter which is threatening, abusive or insulting to a person by reason of his colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins.

In 1991, the year the Act came into force, six people were prosecuted under it and five were convicted. In 1992 there were 31 prosecutions and 21 convictions. In 1993 there were only five convictions (Kick It 1994; BBC 1994). Whilst section 3 makes indecent or racialist chanting an offence per se - unlike previous legislation there is no requirement that the 'words or sounds' be directed at any one in particular - there remain loopholes. The main one is that an individual racist, who can prove that they were acting alone, and not 'in concert with one or more others', can avoid conviction. This may act as a deterrent to the police from proceeding with a prosecution on this basis.

Awareness that racism cannot simply be legislated away led to the campaign - Let's Kick Racism Out of Football - finally being launched in England and Wales in the autumn of 1993 and subsequently in Scotland in January 1994. The campaign sought to stimulate clubs to implement an action plan to combat racism amongst their supporters and in and around their stadia (see figure 2).

In its first year the campaign included the display of posters in grounds, antiracist statements in matchday programmes, leaflets, stickers and the production of a magazine - Kick It. Varying degrees of support for the campaign were given by all but one of the 92 fully professional Football
League clubs in England and Wales - only the management of York City declined to support it overtly, producing their own version.

Figure 2
Action Plan for England

Let's Kick Racism out of Football

Action plan for football clubs

1. Adopt a policy statement outlining the club's opposition to racism, and the actions it will take on supporters who shout 'indecent or racist chanting' (as outlined by the Football Offences Act 1991). This should be included in match programmes, and displayed permanently in a prominent part of the ground.

2. If racist chanting occurs at matches, make a public announcement condemning such behaviour.

3. Ensure that a condition for season-ticket holders prohibits them from racist chanting, throwing missiles onto the pitch, etc.

4. Take action to prevent the sale or distribution of racist literature in and around the stadium on match days.

5. Take disciplinary action against players who racially abuse players during matches.

6. Liaise with supporters clubs to make the club's opposition to racism clear.

7. Ensure that stewards and police have a strategy for working together to eject supporters (or to take appropriate action with those who are contravening the Football Offences Act). If, in the case of individuals who are behaving in a racist or otherwise anti-social way, it would seem dangerous or inappropriate to take action against them during a match, those individuals should be identified and barred from all further matches.

8. Remove all racist graffiti from the grounds as a matter of urgency.

9. Adopt an equal opportunities policy in the areas of employment and service provision (see Department of Employment's ten-point plan on Equal Opportunities).

The popular comic book Roy of the Rovers (cf. Tomlinson, forthcoming 1995) ran a story over four editions along the themes of the campaign in England, featuring the character Paul 'Delroy' of the Rovers' Ntende, a young black player who receives racist abuse from the crowd. Letters to the editor about the story have been reported as 'overwhelmingly positive' (CRE 1994). A poster featuring 'Delroy' and 'Rocky Race' has subsequently been produced. In England, at the beginning of the 1994-5 season the campaign restarted with a press conference and the distribution of an anti-racist fanzine.

- United Colours of Football - coordinated by the Football Supporters' Association (FSA) during a week of action (15-20 August). The FSA had prioritised racism as a major campaigning issue in the 1990s (Crabbe 1994).

In Scotland, before the Let's Kick Racism campaign a supporters-based anti-racist campaign was launched in 1990-91. SCARF. (Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football) was the result of an initiative by Hibernian and Hearts fans partly in response to the abuse meted out to Mark Walters another black player noted earlier. The campaign received some financial assistance from Lothian Regional Council and lead to an inter-agency conference.

The Let's Kick Racism campaign kicked off in Scotland in January 1994 with a slight modification to the Action Plan and the posters, to make them more appropriate to the different cultural and legislative context. Initially the CRE were going to launch it as a campaign in both England and Scotland in August 1993, but Scottish agencies managed to delay it when it was discovered that the posters were going to feature pictures of the England team manager (at the time, Graham Taylor) and were to be printed in colours identifiable with only one of the 'Auld Firm'!

Less systematic monitoring of the response to the anti-racism campaign has been undertaken, but 27 of the Scottish professional clubs supported the campaign when it was launched and I have been informed that 'most of the 40 professional clubs have indicated some kind of positive support for the campaign' (CRE Scotland, Personal Communication 1994).

The CRE commissioned a survey of English football supporters by a market research company during the 1993-94 season. A random sample of 477 supporters were interviewed at 7 football grounds, including the Premier Division clubs, Aston Villa and Sheffield Wednesday. The survey found a fairly positive response to the campaign. The small number of black fans included in the survey are reported as feeling that things have been improving (CRE 1994). These findings are consistent with those in the Carling Report (1994) conducted by the Sir Norman Chester Centre for
Scottish Research, but both surveys reached only a very small number of non-white respondents. Although Hornby (1992, pp.188-191) reminds us that levels of ethnic minority support for clubs varies throughout the country, in most grounds white males are likely to constitute the vast majority of the crowd. There are many grounds in England which are seen as especially threatening to black supporters (BBC 1994). Unfortunately at present there

Figure 3
Scottish Action Plan

Let's Kick Racism out of Football

Action plan for Scottish football clubs

1. Adopt a policy statement outlining the club's opposition to racism, and the actions it will take on supporters who shout indecent or racist chanting, throwing missiles, or abusing or intimidating other supporters. This should be included in match programmes, and displayed permanently in a prominent part of the ground.

2. If racist chanting occurs at matches, make a public announcement condemning such behaviour.

3. Ensure that a condition for season-ticket holders prohibits them from racist chanting, throwing missiles onto the pitch, etc.

4. Take action to prevent the sale or distribution of racist literature in and around the grounds on match days.

5. Take disciplinary action against players who racially abuse players during matches.

6. Liaise with supporters clubs to make the club's opposition to racism clear.

7. Ensure that stewards and police have a strategy for working together to eject supporters (or to take appropriate action with those) who are behaving in an abusive or offensive way. If, in the case of individuals who are behaving in a racist or otherwise anti-social way, it would seem dangerous or inappropriate to take action against them during a match, that those individuals be identified and barred from all further matches.

8. Remove all racist graffiti from the grounds as a matter of urgency, and alert the local authorities to remove graffiti from the vicinity of the grounds.

9. Adopt an equal opportunities policy in the areas of employment and service provision (see the CRE Code of Practice on Equal Opportunities).

has been no systematic research on the effectiveness of the campaign or the level of ethnic minority support for football clubs in Scotland.

THE FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR ANTI-RACIST CAMPAIGNS IN FOOTBALL IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

In England the way forward for the anti-racism campaign is likely to involve the FSA, anti-racist activists at particular football clubs, and the producers of football fanzines, in a more sustained campaign to create an anti-racist counter-culture amongst football supporters. This will also require the involvement and interest of members of ethnic minorities themselves. A recent television programme produced for the BBC's Multicultural Programmes Department (BBC 1994) suggests that whilst there may be some interest in the game amongst black people in England, there is still a long way to go before they will find football stadia welcoming places to visit.

In Scotland the FSA and 'fanzine movement' have operated differently according to Moorhouse (1994). The former has not been so effective, he suggests, because there already existed better relations between the football clubs and their supporters, who are largely myopic anyway when it comes to broader issues than the fortunes of their own team. The latter phenomenon, the establishment of several hundred football fanzines since the mid-1980s, is considered by Moorhouse to be less significant in Scotland than earlier writers had made out. He writes that fanzines and their producers reflect subordinate working-class values; they are essentially accommodative, defensive and parochial. This 'does not matter much since...fanzines have a very limited power to influence events' (Moorhouse 1994, pp.190ff).

Moorhouse's comments and assessments are made after a very limited amount of research. He cites 12 different fanzines in his list of those consulted and yet these include 3 each from Celtic and Hearts supporters. His article only considers two fanzines in detail (Not The View - Celtic and Follow, Follow - Rangers) and no reason for the selection of these particular fanzines is provided, so we cannot assess accurately whether his general claims about fanzines in Scotland and their relationship to fan's identities and sectarianism are fully warranted. In a personal communication, Richard Giulianotti has informed me that at least two, now defunct, fanzines (The Proclaimer - Hibernian and The Northern Light - Aberdeen) carried explicit anti-racist messages in the late 1980s and early 1990s. His research, currently being undertaken at the University of Aberdeen, promises to be much more comprehensive in this respect than that of Moorhouse, but clearly
there is still room for further systematic analyses of Scottish football culture (Giulianotti 1991, 1993, 1994a, and 1994b).

Football, or 'terrace', culture is both regressive and progressive - it is highly patriarchal and myopic, and yet it does provide a source of great pleasure and personal meaning for participants, some of whom may be changing in a more explicit socially progressive direction (Hornby 1992). It is too simplistic to say that fanzines are largely 'irrational' and an irrelevance. Certainly without further investigation of football fans it will not be possible to assess the effectiveness of the the anti-racism campaigns. There are, however, a number of additional comments which have to be made.

The focus on the professional game ignores semi-professional, amateur and local league football, which may be more important for consolidating and possibly transforming racist attitudes. There is a growing awareness of the need to understand these levels of football culture (Williams 1994), and it is hoped that in the future the involvement of ethnic minorities in the wider football, and sports, community will be better understood and appreciated (Chaudhary 1994).

In Scotland ethnic divisions are complex - it may be useful to consider the situation as one in which 'colour-racism' and 'cultural-racism' co-exist (Modood 1994). Institutional support for sectarianism remains in place through separate schools, housing areas and the 'auld firm' rivalry which helps sustain anti-Catholic/Irish sentiments (see Bradley (1995), published when this article was at the proof stage). It has to be admitted that there are only a small number of black professional football players in Scotland. A campaign based simply upon a 'we-tooism' response (i.e., if England does it, 'we-too' should) may not be adequately sensitive to the specific set of 'race relations' in Scotland. Racism exists in Scotland but it takes a different form from that in England.

Owing to the different ethnic minority population structure, and the fact that many of the distinctive features which have structured and created the Scottish game may be in the process of collapse (Moorhouse 1991, pp.202-3) football talent scouts and coaches may be forced to look more closely in the future at the so-called 'New Scots', Indians and Pakistanis especially, who after the Irish are the largest immigrant group to settle in Scotland (Maan 1992, p.36). Certainly according to research conducted by the Sports Council in England football is more popular amongst Asian youth than white youth - with 60% Bengali, 43% Pakistani, and 36% Indians playing regularly. There are estimated to be 300 Asian soccer teams in Britain, many of them formed by temples and community centres when Asian youth have felt discriminated against elsewhere (Chaudhary 1994). Further research will be needed to reveal the extent to which these teams exist in Scotland and if Black and Asian players face the same forms of racist exclusion in football that research south of the border has uncovered (Highfield Rangers 1993). A focus on the relationship between football clubs (at different levels) and their local communities in Scotland would require consideration of the involvement of predominantly Asian ethnic minority groups in football. In relation to other team games in Scotland and England, historical and anecdotal evidence suggests that patterns of exclusion and inclusion similar to those in football have emerged (see for example on cricket Jack Williams 1994).

It is also vitally important that a degree of reflexivity is adopted in this research area. A critical consideration of the upsurge in the popularity of football and football-related issues in the mass media and amongst academics would reveal that, whilst its has become increasingly 'respectable', football research remains a predominantly masculine pursuit. It would be interesting, and important in the future, to investigate more thoroughly the position of both ethnic minority and ethnic majority women in movements and campaigns around sport in Scotland. Otherwise there is a danger that an adjustment in patriarchal power might be produced without necessarily laying the basis for a real challenge to that power (Arshad and McCrum 1989, Lovell 1991, Raval 1989).

Finally, it is important for academics, coaches, school-teachers and others involved in teaching in a pluralistic and multi-ethnic society to recognise the need to engage critically with these issues. Several initiatives could be of assistance here. Firstly, research is required to see how far racism permeates school sport in Scotland (on England see Fleming 1993, 1994). Secondly, analysis of the patterns of recruitment, selection, preparation and curriculum for teacher training in physical education is required. This could begin through a careful monitoring of statistical information now routinely collected at Moray House Institute. Thirdly, the articulation of black and Asian perspectives on these and related matters in sport and leisure, that also avoids the problem of 'false universalism' (by acknowledging black and Asian heterogeneity), is required. In this paper I hope to have started the ball rolling in the direction of a greater awareness of, and more adequate response to, racism in Scottish sport and leisure.

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January 1995
This article focuses attention on an ongoing antiracism campaign in association football (soccer) launched in England and Wales in the fall of 1993 and subsequently in Scotland in January 1994. The "Let's Kick Racism out of Football" (LKROOF) campaign is the product of the London-based "race" equality organization, the Commission for Racial Equality, working in conjunction with the football associations of England, Wales, and Scotland. The article argues for the need for campaigns such as LKROOF to recognize the specificity of racism in different social (national/regional) contexts. It has been suggested that Scotland often "appears to contradict claims about trends in British soccer culture which are rooted in English evidence." The author will investigate the question "Is this also the case for the issue of racism in Scottish soccer?" In addition, recommendations are made for further research and for the development of sport-based antiracism campaigns in the future.

It may be unduly idealistic to subscribe to the view that sport can serve as a means to resolve social inequalities and conflicts; however, it is nonetheless worthwhile looking at attempts to challenge different forms of oppression associated with sport. This article focuses attention on an ongoing antiracism campaign in association football (soccer) launched in England and Wales in the fall of 1993 and subsequently in Scotland in January 1994. The "Let's Kick Racism out of Football" (LKROOF) campaign is the product of the London-based "race" equality organization, the Commission for Racial Equality, working in conjunction with the football associations of England, Wales, and Scotland.

The article argues for the need for campaigns such as LKROOF to recognize the specificity of racism in different social (national/regional) contexts. It has been suggested that Scotland often "appears to contradict claims about trends in British soccer culture which are rooted in English evidence" (Moorhouse, 1994, p. 177). I will investigate the question "Is this also the case for the issue of racism in Scottish soccer?" In addition, recommendations are...
made for further research and for the development of sport-based antiracism campaigns in the future.

The first part provides a discussion of racism in English and Scottish professional soccer and highlights historical and contemporary data on Black participation in soccer and differences between England and Scotland in terms of migration patterns, ethnic minority populations, and traditions of racism. The second part outlines the background to the LKROOF antiracism campaigns and their achievements. The third part discusses the future prospects for antiracist campaigns, such as that based on soccer, in the light of recent debates about racism and antiracism in contemporary Europe (Rattansi & Westwood, 1994; Wrench & Solomos, 1993).

RACISM IN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH SOCCER

Sport often has been seen as offering a “level playing field” and to be above political ideology, but its symbolic power actually renders it extremely vulnerable to ideological exploitation in the service of a range of sometimes contradictory beliefs—including popular racism, nationalism, sectarianism, and xenophobic attitudes (Hargreaves, 1986; Jarvie, 1991; Sugden & Bairner, 1993). In Britain in the 1980s, this came to the surface in a stark fashion as more and more Black—predominantly Afro-Caribbean—athletes came to the forefront of British, or to be more precise, English, sport. “The Race Game,” a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) television documentary broadcast in May 1990, revealed that more than 50% of Britain’s track-and-field athletics squad and 50% of British boxing champions were Black. Nowhere has this growth to prominence become more apparent in England than in professional soccer.

THE BLACK PRESENCE IN ENGLISH SOCCER

Prior to the 1980s, soccer role models for young Black Britons were few and far between. There had been only a few Black professional football players in the English game from its formation in the 1860s to the 1970s (Vasili, in press). With postwar immigration from its former colonies, the British Black and Asian population grew in the 1950s and 1960s, but it only has been since the late 1970s and early 1980s that significant numbers of Black footballers have begun making it into the top professional level of the game.

Until 1975 not a single Black player had represented England at soccer at any level and there were fewer than 20 Black professional players. In November 1978, Viv Anderson became the first Black player ever to represent England. He is currently one of the very few Blacks ever to have held a managerial position in English professional soccer.

The involvement in sport of Black people and the racist assumptions underpinning the links between them and sporting excellence have been well documented in the United States but to a lesser extent in England and elsewhere (see, e.g., Cashmore, 1982). The existence of “stacking”—the disproportionate concentration of Black or other ethnic minorities in certain positions in a sports team—systematic bias toward minorities in certain sports and the economic disadvantages of minorities performing below the elite sports-star level have been the main focus for debates in the United States since the late 1960s (Coakley, 1994; Edwards, 1969; Loy & McElvogue, 1970). In the context of English football, both Maguire (1988, 1991) and Mason (1988), for example, have considered the stacking phenomenon. Assessing data from the mid-to-late 1980s Maguire (1991) concluded,

The cumulative evidence does suggest that stacking exists in English soccer, that further qualitative data from interviews with players and managers supports the notion that this is related to centrality and that this pattern appears to be closely connected to stereotypes held within the game by those making the key recruitment, selection and retention decision-making. (pp. 112-113)

It is less than 10 years since 12 English First Division soccer managers were reported as stating that they would not sign a Black player because “they lack bottle, are no good in the mud and have no stamina” (quoted in Chaudhary, 1994). This racist “worldview,” internal to sport, which posits Blacks as “naturally” more able in certain sports, according to Tony Mason, fell easily from the mouths of players, coaches, and managers in the 1980s. Certain stereotypes stuck despite evidence to the contrary: “Two favorite ones among the football cognoscenti are that black players are lazy and they have no bottle; in other words, they will avoid the hard, physical challenge which is sometimes necessary to win the ball” (Mason, 1988, p. 17).

External to sport are the racist ideas and practices of soccer fans. It is these that the LKROOF campaign attempts to address. In the next section, we will look at research into racism among English soccer supporters.

RACISM AND ENGLISH SOCCER FANS

In 1968 Philip Goodhart and Christopher Chataway wrote that in America “sporting hooliganism, apart from racial disturbances, seems to be largely unknown” (p. 144). Guttmann (1978, p. 132) refers to the banning of high school night matches to control racial disturbances in the United States. In Britain the expression of racist sentiments in a soccer context is not new either, but until the 1970s such incidents were largely “individualized, unorganized and sporadic” (Williams, Dunning, & Murphy, 1984, p. 150). By the end of the 1970s, as more Black players began to make significant breakthroughs in the
English professional game, the expression of hostility toward them had become an increasingly regular feature of soccer crowd behavior in England. Organized groups from the far Right, such as the National Front (NF), became prominent on the football terraces as they attempted to recruit disaffected young working-class men to their racist cause (Centre for Contemporary Studies, 1981). The NF youth newspaper, Bulldog, devoted a regular column to articles "On the Football Front" that featured a regular league table of racist hooligan activity. Although mainly concentrated in the London area, teams in other cities with high proportions of Black and Asian people were targeted, such as Leeds United in Yorkshire. Leeds fans regularly topped the racist league table (Haynes, 1993b). Although the fortunes of the NF were rising and racist coordination of soccer fans was being attempted, oppositional, antiracist forces, such as the Anti-Nazi League (ANL), intervened directly on the terraces. The achievement of the "Soccer Fans Against the Nazis" campaign is difficult to assess. Research conducted at the time revealed that confusion about political positions remained widespread among young people (Robins, 1984). In some quarters concern was noted, often about the anti-Semitic nature of the abuse at soccer games, as much as the anti-Black crowd behavior, the football authorities—the Football Association and the Football League—tended to play down its significance until the late 1980s.

That racial abuse at soccer matches continued to grow during the 1980s is illustrated by the two following quotations:

When the England under-21 team defeated Denmark 4-1 in Copenhagen last month a group of London fans made a point of jeering almost everytime one of the four black members of the team—Barnes, Davis, Whyte and Regis—touched the ball. (Lacey, 1982, p. 18)

We could see quite clearly, as the teams warmed up before the kick-off, that banana after banana was being hurled from the away supporters' enclosure. The bananas were designed to announce, for the benefit of those unversed in codified terrace abuse, that there was a monkey on the pitch. (Hornby, 1992, p. 188)

Williams et al. (1984) identified the context of the first incident—an international match featuring an under-21 side representing England—as a symbolically important one from the standpoint of racist hooligan groups: "It is, after all, the England side and hence, according to the thinking of such groups, ought only to contain players who conform to their ideas of 'Englishmen'" (pp. 179-180). Among England supporters at the World Cup Finals held in Spain earlier in 1982, Williams et al. (1984, p. 56) had noted that substantial sections of popular songs were devoted to the theme of the forced repatriation of British citizens of the "New Commonwealth" (i.e., Black and Asian people) with lines such as "There ain't no Black in the Union Jack, send the bastards back," and "If you're White, you're all right. If you're Black, send 'em back." As Williams (1986) concluded in a later article, it was a problem that appeared likely to grow:

Racist abuse has been aimed, unchallenged, at black players in England for years. It is either ignored or casually dismissed by the game's administrators as "just the latest fashion." After all, they argue, mixed football gangs (black and white youths) attack Asians and their properties. How, therefore, can this be racist? (pp. 17-18)

Nearly a decade later (in the 1994-1995 season), more than 20% of the English soccer professionals are Black, yet only about 1% of supporters of the top English clubs have these origins (Carling Report, 1994). Different clubs have different levels of Black support, but most soccer stadia remain largely unattractive and inhospitable places for Black and Asian people in England and elsewhere in Europe (BBC Multicultural Programmes Department, 1994). In the next section the focus will be on the situation "north of the border," in Scotland.

RACISM AND SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND

Partly because of the small number of Black and Asian people in Scotland—especially compared with the South East, Midlands, and Northern regions of England—it has been possible for issues such as racism to be kept off the political agenda in Scotland. Yet it is a highly selective view of the past and the present that sustains the myth that racism does not exist in Scotland (Armstrong, 1989; BBC Education, 1988). Research at different levels of analysis has demonstrated the existence of serious and widespread forms of prejudice and discrimination against Black and Asian ethnic minorities in the 1980s and 1990s (Bell, 1991).

The reasons why Scottish politics have not become "racialized" to the same extent as in England have been examined by Robert Miles and Lesley Muirhead (1986) and by Anne Dunlop (1993). In the 1960s and early 1970s, debate about Black people and "race relations" in England had largely been couched in terms of restricting the numbers of immigrants and therefore the question of controlling the "enemy without." These ideas were fueled especially through the speeches of Enoch Powell and other Conservative politicians in the 1960s. Beginning with the economic crisis of the 1970s and a moral panic about a form of street crime labeled "mugging," and the urban disorders of the early and mid-1980s, the idea developed that the Black—especially the Afro-
enemy within (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978; Small, 1994; Solomos, 1988).

Over the past 30 years, although there have been shifts in discourses over "race relations" in Britain, major political issues—immigration, crime, and law and order in general—have been "radicalized" in England to a much greater extent than in Scotland, where these discourses on race have been reflected, but also refracted, in the Scottish-based mass media. Reporting of the speeches of Enoch Powell in the 1960s and the urban disorders of the early 1980s in England were often couched in such a way as to sustain the notion that in Scotland, with its distinctive pattern of non-White immigration, the relatively small size of the ethnic minority—and especially Afro-Caribbean—population and the "essential" sense of fairness and decency shared among the Scottish people, there was "no problem here" (Dunlop, 1993, p. 89).

In fact, of course, racist ideas have been generated and reproduced in Scotland and have been used to comprehend and resist the migration of labor in the past, just as in the post-1945 situation in England. In the case of Scotland, these ideas were initially applied to a White ethnic minority group prior to the mid-20th century: the Catholic Irish, who have been emigrating to Scotland since the 19th century (Miles & Muirhead, 1986). As the 1991 Census data demonstrate, Irish-born residents remain the largest ethnic minority group in Scotland today. One explanation, then, as to why Scottish politics were slower to become radicalized than in England was because Scottish class relations, especially in the West of Scotland around Glasgow, had been fractionalized along sectarian lines. According to Dunlop (1993), "Sectarian divisions became institutionalized not only in denominational schools and the Orange order, but also in sport with the 'Old Firm' rivalry of Celtic and Rangers soccer teams" (p. 92).

The extent to which the sectarian divide still has salience in contemporary Scotland is the subject of much debate. Following Miles (1993, p. 41), it is our contention that to understand racism in Scotland we must dispense with the idea that the only or most important racism is that which has Black people as its object. It is more helpful to consider racism in Scotland with the distinction proposed by Tariq Modood (1994) between cultural and color racism in mind. Modood is critical of the emphasis on color racism because it excludes groups whose identity is felt most keenly through religion and culture rather than color. Cultural racism assumes that a group identified as culturally different is internally homogeneous and imposes "stereotypic notions of 'common cultural needs' " on them (Brah, 1992, p. 129).

A final strand in the explanation of this relative, although not absolute, absence of racism from the Scottish political scene relates to the connection between nationalism and racism—always specific to particular historical circumstances. In Scotland, although it has held a distinct state apparatus and national identity since the Act of Union with England in 1707, nationalism became an increasingly influential political force in the 1960s and 1970s (McCrone, 1992). In this context, Miles (1993) argued that political nationalism in Scotland has tended to focus on the perceived economic and political disadvantages of the union with England:

Nationalism in Scotland during the 1960s and 1970s therefore identified an external cause of economic disadvantage/decline, without reference to "race," while in England the idea of "race" was employed to identify an internal cause of crisis, the presence of a "colored" population which was not truly British. (p. 78)

In Scotland, the "national question" has partially (although not entirely) displaced the influence of racism in constructing the political agenda in this period. Racism has not been as central to nationalism in Scotland as it has in England. The result of this has lead some observers to deny, or at least downplay, the existence of racism in Scotland (Maan, 1992, pp. 201-207). Now, although at one overt political level this may have been possible until recently, at the level of popular racism it remains apparent that racist discourse prevails in Scotland. As Miles (1993) pointed out:

the post-1945 Asian migrants to Scotland have not been the object of a systematic and hostile political agitation as happened in England (although this is not to deny that racist images of these migrants are commonly expressed in everyday life in Scotland). (p. 77)

The conclusion that there is no racist problem in Scotland—still voiced by some institutions of government in Scotland (most notably the Scottish Office)—is ultimately mistaken because there always exists the potential for a process of radicalization to occur—racial attacks, racist abuse, and racist chanting at soccer matches being examples of this. It was during the 1980s that anti-Black racism entered the Scottish political agenda more explicitly than hitherto. Verbal abuse, physical assault, and other forms of racism have become a common experience for Black people in Scotland (Armstrong, 1989; Bell, 1991). Since 1984 there has been an annual antiracist march and rally in Glasgow. Between 1988 and 1990, racist incidents reported to the police increased by 100% in the Lothian and Borders regions and in Strathclyde, which includes Glasgow, by 283% (figures cited in Younge, 1993). It is in this context that we can consider racism in professional soccer in Scotland.

RACISM IN SCOTTISH FOOTBALL

Bert Moorhouse, a sociologist at Glasgow University, has maintained a steady flow of analyses of Scottish soccer and its distinctive characteristics
Black players in the credits that introduced their weekend soccer magazine programs in the first weeks of the 1994-1995 season (Sportscene—Match of the Day and Scotsport, respectively). The jacket and most of the contents of the Scottish Football League's premier annual reference book was equally devoid of Black representation (Scottish Football League, 1994). A small content analysis of the Scottish daily newspaper sports pages I conducted during the 1994-1995 season revealed that little coverage was given to Black football players, whether in the Scottish or English leagues.

In Scotland in the 1994-1995 season, soccer was still much more predominantly a “White man's game” than in England. There were proportionately far fewer Black soccer professional players in Scotland than in England. In the 1993-1994 season, there were only 6 prominent Black players out of a little more than 1,000 in the entire Scottish League. In 1994-1995, the Scottish Football League reports that there were only 7 out of 1,084—a little more than 1% compared with nearly 25% in England (Scottish Football League, 1994).

An immediate question is, why are more Black players not involved in Scottish soccer? Is it simply because the resident Black population does not constitute a sufficiently large proportion of the Scottish population? Are there greater economic opportunities open to them in the Scottish labor market and hence are the restrictions that operate in England to channel young Blacks into sport as a possible route of social esteem and mobility less in evidence? Is it because of the greater economic opportunities open to them in the English football league? Or is it because of the perceived racism in the Scottish game? At present we can only pose these questions, not provide any clearcut answers.

In addition, there is altogether much less information available about Asian-Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi involvement in sport and leisure than about Black Afro-Caribbean. This has started to be rectified in England, but in Scotland, despite the greater relative size of the Asian population in Scotland's ethnic minorities compared with England, little is known about Asian involvement in sport (Fleming, 1991, 1993; Westwood, 1990). There are no full-time professional Asian soccer players in England and about 60 semi-professional and amateur players (Chaudhary, 1994; Khan, 1994). A project entitled “Asian's Can't Play Football,” so named after the American basketball movie “White Men Can't Jump,” has been launched in England to investigate the involvement of Asians in football specifically (Brown, 1995). Commonsense racist assumptions about the physique and temperament of Asians may go some way to explain why only one Asian player is on the full-time books of a Scottish Premier Division club: Glasgow-born Jaswinder Juttla of the Rangers (Scottish Football League, 1994). Without further research, we do not have more than informed speculation to go on.
FOOTBALL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN SCOTLAND

Historical research has confirmed the extent to which religious sectarianism has played a major part in the development of soccer in Scotland (Bradley, 1995a, 1995b; Finn, 1991a, 1991b, 1994; Murray, 1984; Walker, 1990). In his latest writings on soccer, Moorhouse (1993, 1994) suggested, however, that anti-Irish bigotry and religious sectarianism are no longer so prevalent in Scottish soccer or in the wider society. Sectarianism is ritualistically conveyed in some soccer fanzines and soccer fans still sing sectarian songs and display different symbols of allegiance, but without it being of major significance to the rest of Scotland. He questions how much meaning there is to the term sectarian in a society with widespread social and cultural interaction and a great deal of intermarriage.

In response to Moorhouse (1993), one reader of the soccer fanzine The Absolute Game wrote a letter in which he pointed out that, given the close geographic proximity of Northern Ireland to the West of Scotland, there was reason to be concerned about the ongoing sectarian allegiances in the affirmations about culture made by Scottish working-class young men at soccer matches (Horton, 1993). For some young Scots, sectarianism is not perceived as "history." There may well remain a real and historical basis for the promotion of divisive bigotry among some sections of the Scottish working class, particularly on the West coast.

In addition, there has been a renewal of media coverage of sectarian-related issues in recent years. The death of the Labour Party leader John Smith in May 1994 gave rise to a local by-election in the political constituency of Monklands, which was largely fought out amid accusations of sectarianism in local Scottish politics (Clouston, 1994). An independent investigation of the claims recently concluded that there was evidence that there had been pro-Catholic sectarian bias in the allocation of jobs and building projects in Monklands (MacMahon, Scott, & Crainey, 1995). As another commentator has observed, soccer may remain a "vital lightning conductor" and "recent controversies in education and local government suggest that the capacity of religious-based or religion-related issues to cause social and cultural divisions has not been exhausted" (Walker, 1993, p. 305).

With respect to sport, and professional soccer in particular, sectarian divisions between supporters of the "Old Firm" are an ever present reality. The signing of a Catholic, Mo Johnston, by Glasgow Rangers in July 1989 broke a 116 yearlong tradition, similar to that which the racist Everton supporters in England have celebrated with respect to the absence of Black players. Yet it did not pave the way for many more nonsectarian signings, nor did it see the replacement of explicitly sectarian practices at Rangers and Celtic home games—the singing of songs and flying of flags identifying with the loyalist (Protestant) and nationalist (largely Catholic) causes in Northern Ireland. It is possible that the signing of Johnston was a matter of simple expediency. The Rangers needed to signal to the European football authority, Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), that they were not the sectarian bastion they were accused of being.

Clearly, an understanding of racism in Scotland is complicated by the unresolved debate about the extent to which sectarian divisions—especially anti-Irish/Catholic prejudice and discrimination—remain potent as sources of deep-rooted social conflict in contemporary Scotland (Bruce, 1985, 1988). In the light of these observations, the anti-racism campaigns launched in 1993-1994 will now be considered.

ANTIRACISM CAMPAIGNS IN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH FOOTBALL

As noted above, it was from the mid-1980s onward that the Black presence in English soccer became more and more prominent. At the same time, both English and Scottish soccer faced intervention from central government. These attempts to alter the basis of soccer support were in the wake of the Heysel stadium incident—which involved the death of 39 Juventus fans as a direct result of a ritual "taking of the ends" by Liverpool supporters at the 1985 European Cup Final—and several other disturbances and tragedies associated with soccer spectators that occurred mainly in England in the early 1980s. These moves by government—including a soccer club membership card scheme strongly supported by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—and the revulsion felt by many "ordinary supporters" at the state of the game generated a popular reaction. Most notable was the formation of the Football Supporters Association (FSA) and the proliferation of a number of soccer fanzines from 1985 onward (see Jary, Horne, & Buckle, 1991, on fanzines; Redhead, 1993, for a collection of articles looking at soccer terrace culture in the 1990s; and Taylor, 1992, for an account of soccer supporters).

From a cultural studies perspective (Ingham & Loy, 1993), developments in soccer terrace culture since 1985 can be seen as constituting forms of cultural contestation, resistance, and defence to changes in the game. Supporters' associations have played a key role in establishing and keeping the issue of racism in soccer on the political agenda (Redhead, 1993, p. 3). The FSA has established itself as a major focus for independent soccer fan opinion, at least in England. Football fanzines, although extremely variable in quality and often very parochial in focus, have also provided a medium for the circulation of ideas necessary for the establishment of an alternative soccer network. Often using information derived from the fanzines, by the end of the 1980s, the mainstream mass media in Britain had begun to uncover implicit and often explicit racism in soccer and other sports. The position of Black people in sport became an issue as the British media, including television documentaries on
both public service and commercial television channels, brought examples of the racist practices within sport that sociological research in North America and in England had revealed to a larger public audience.

By the beginning of the 1990s, two former leading Black soccer players, Garth Crooks and Brendon Batson, had gained prominent positions in the Professional Footballers Association (PFA)—the players’ "trade union." Equally important, in terms of the decision to use soccer as the basis for an antiracism campaign, was the appointment of Herman Ouseley—with a longstanding involvement in sport and recreation issues—to the chair of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE).

Doubts may still exist about the commitment of soccer’s governing bodies to antiracism, however, as the Football Association and the Football League have maintained a low profile since official initiatives begun in the early 1980s to offset soccer-related racism. One such scheme, aiming to bring Black and White youth together through participation in soccer, was the "Football in the Community" scheme. Run by the PFA, "Football in the Community" involved the appointment of community liaison officers to the English league clubs. The scheme has been criticized for being insufficiently publicized and largely ineffective (BBC Multicultural Programmes Department, 1994). Out of 81 community officers in 1994, about two thirds were ex-professional players, but only 3 were Black (J. Williams, personal communication, November 1994). As Thomas (1995) remarked, the fact that LKROOF "has been prompted by an outside body (the CRE) and carried along by supporters and the PFA, rather than the clubs and the football authorities, shows the need for caution" (p. 96).

**LKROOF IN ENGLAND**

Awareness that racism cannot simply be legislated away led to the campaign LKROOF finally being launched in England (and Wales) in the autumn of 1993 and subsequently in Scotland in January 1994. A product of the Commission for Racial Equality, working in conjunction with the football associations of England, Wales, and Scotland, the campaign sought to stimulate clubs to implement an action plan to combat racism among their supporters and in and around their stadia. The Action Plan for England included the following suggestions:

1. Adopt a policy statement outlining the club’s opposition to racism and the actions it will take on supporters who shout "indecent or racist chanting" (as outlined by the Football Offences Act, 1991). This should be included in match programs and displayed permanently in a prominent part of the ground.
2. If racist chanting occurs at matches, make a public announcement condemning such behavior.
3. Ensure that a condition for season-ticket holders prohibits them from racist chanting, throwing missiles onto the pitch, and so on.
4. Take action to prevent the sale or distribution of racist literature in and around the grounds on match days.
5. Take disciplinary action against players who racially abuse players during matches.
6. Liaise with supporters clubs to make the club’s opposition to racism clear.
7. Ensure that stewards and police have a strategy for working together to eject supporters (or to take appropriate action with those) who are contravening the Football Offences Act. If, in the case of individuals who are behaving in a racist or otherwise antisocial way, it would seem dangerous or inappropriate to take action against them during a match, that those individuals be identified and barred from all further matches.
8. Remove all racist graffiti from the grounds as a matter of urgency.
9. Adopt an equal opportunities policy in the areas of employment and service provision (see Department of Employment’s 10-point plan on Equal Opportunities).

In its first year, the campaign lead to the display of posters in grounds, antiracist statements in match-day programs, leaflets, stickers, and the production of a magazine aimed at young people by the CRE, Kick It (1994a). Varying degrees of support for the campaign were given by all but 1 of the 92 fully professional Football League clubs in England and Wales; only the management of York City declined to support it overtly, producing their own version.

The popular soccer comic book *Roy of the Rovers* (see Tomlinson, in press) ran a story over four editions along the themes of the campaign in England, featuring the character Paul "Delroy of the Rovers" Ntende, a young Black player who receives racial abuse from the crowd. Letters to the editor about the story were reported as "overwhelmingly positive" (CRE, 1994b). A poster with an antiracist message featuring "Delroy" and "Rocky" Race was also subsequently produced.

In England at the beginning of the 1994-1995 season, the campaign restarted with a press conference and the distribution of an antiracist fanzine, *United Colours of Football*, coordinated by the FSA during a week of action (August 15-20). At its annual general meeting, the FSA also formally prioritized racism as a major campaigning issue in the 1990s (Crabbe, 1994).

A striking feature of the most successful campaigns at the local level has been the stimulation or partnership with the public authorities. Campaigns at Leeds, Millwall, Orient, and Charlton in London have all been tied to local authority finance in some way. At Leeds United, for example, the local authority bought the club ground, Elland Road, in 1986 to bail the club out of financial difficulties. As a result the local authority gained representation on the club
There are still many grounds in England that are seen as especially threatening to Black supporters (BBC Multicultural Programmes Department, 1994).

In Scotland, less systematic monitoring of the effectiveness and response to the antiracism campaign has been undertaken. No systematic research into the level of ethnic minority support for soccer clubs in Scotland has so far been carried out either. Twenty-seven of the professional clubs indicated their support for the campaign when it was launched in January 1994 and I have been informed that, by the end of the season, “most of the 40 professional clubs have indicated some kind of positive support for the campaign” (CRE Scotland, personal communication, August 27, 1994). This has included minimally the donation of advertising space in match-day programs and advertising boards around the pitch and poster displays near and inside the stadium. A more systematic study of the campaign’s impact is planned for 1995.

In England, the way forward for the antiracism campaign is likely to involve the FSA, antiracist activists at particular soccer clubs, and the producers of soccer fanzines in a more sustained campaign to create an antiracist counterculture among soccer supporters. In England fanzines have been an important part of the wider campaign against racism. For example, Marching Altogether, fanzine of the Leeds Fans United Against Racism and Fascism, was first launched in November 1988:

We bring out three or four issues a season and distribute them free to fans on certain match days. That is free is crucial ... we wanted to communicate with all fans, especially younger ones who might easily fall into racially abusing black players and fans. The fanzine is not about politics—its [sic] about our love of Leeds United and football, and uses that to tackle racism and other forms of prejudice head-on. (Thomas, 1995, p. 99)

The next steps will include more attention being paid to the involvement and interest of members of ethnic minorities themselves. A recent television program produced for the BBC's Multicultural Programmes Department (1994) suggests that, although there may be some interest in the game among Black people in England, there is still a long way to go before they will find soccer stadia welcoming places to visit.

In Scotland the FSA and “fanzine movement” have operated differently according to Moorhouse (1994). The former has not been so effective, he suggests, because there already existed better relations between the soccer clubs and their supporters, who are largely myopic anyway when it comes to broader
issues than the fortunes of their own team. The establishment of several hundred soccer fanzines since the mid-1980s is considered by Moorhouse to be less significant in Scotland than earlier writers had made out (Jary et al., 1991). Moorhouse (1994) suggested that fanzines and their producers reflect subordinate working-class values, and they are essentially accommodative, defensive, and parochial. This "does not matter much since ... fanzines have a very limited power to influence events" (p. 190).

Yet Moorhouse's comments and assessments of fanzines are made after a very limited amount of research. He cites 12 different fanzines in a list of those consulted and yet these include 3 each from Celtic and Hearts supporters. His article only considers two fanzines in detail (Not The View, Celtic; and Follow, Follow, Rangers) and no reason for the selection of these particular fanzines is provided, so we cannot assess accurately whether his general claims about fanzines in Scotland and their relationship to fans' identities and sectarianism are fully warranted. In a personal communication (November 12, 1994), Richard Giulianotti informed me that at least two, now defunct, fanzines in Scotland (The Proclaimer, Hibernian; and The Northern Light, Aberdeen) carried explicit antiracist messages in the late 1980s and early 1990s.8 Others that I have consulted have included discussions of racism and sectarianism, and the free antiracist fanzine United Colours of Football was distributed in Scotland.

FURTHER RESEARCH

In Scotland, racial and ethnic divisions are complex. Although nowhere near as significant as in Northern Ireland, institutional support for sectarianism remains in place in Scotland through separate schools, housing areas, and the "auld firm" rivalry that helps sustain anti-Catholic/Irish sentiments (see Sugden & Bairner, 1993, on Northern Ireland). Compared with England the Black and Asian population is small. There are only a small number of Black professional soccer players in Scotland. A campaign based simply on a "we-to-ooism" response (i.e., if England does it, "we-oo" should) may not be adequately sensitive to the specific set of racialized relations in Scotland. Yet racism exists in Scotland even though it takes a different form from that in England.

Owing to the different ethnic minority population structure and the fact that many of the distinctive features that have structured and created the Scottish game may be in the process of collapse (Moorhouse, 1991), soccer talent scouts and coaches may be forced to look more closely in the future at the so-called New Scots, Indians and Pakistanis especially, who after the Irish are the largest minority ethnic group to settle in Scotland (Maan, 1992, p. 36). According to research conducted for the Sports Council in England, soccer is more popular among Asian youth than White youth—with 60% Bengali, 43% Pakistani, and 36% Indians playing regularly (Verma & Darby, 1994). One area where research is required is to see how far and in what forms racism permeates school sport in Scotland (on England see Fleming, 1993, 1994). A related analysis of patterns of recruitment, selection, preparation, and curriculum for teachers training in physical education could also be conducted (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993). It is important for academics, coaches, schoolteachers, and others involved in education to recognize the need to engage critically with the issues involved in teaching in a pluralistic and multi-ethnic society.

There are estimated to be 300 Asian soccer teams in Britain, many of them formed by temples and community centers when Asian youths have felt discriminated against elsewhere (Chaudhry, 1994). Further research will be needed to reveal the extent to which these teams exist in Scotland and if Black and Asian players face the same forms of racist exclusion in soccer that research south of the border has uncovered (Highfield Rangers, 1993). A focus on the relationship between soccer clubs (at different levels) and their local communities in Scotland might consider the involvement of Asian ethnic minority groups in soccer. In relation to other team games in England, historical and anecdotal evidence suggests that patterns of exclusion and inclusion similar to those in soccer have emerged (see, e.g., on cricket, Williams, 1994c). The articulation of Black and Asian perspectives on these and related matters in sport and leisure, which avoids the problem of "false universalism" by acknowledging both Black and Asian heterogeneity, is also required.

The focus on the full-time professional level of soccer ignores semiprofessional, amateur, and local-league soccer, often associated with pubs and clubs, which may be important sites for consolidating and possibly transforming racist attitudes. There is a growing awareness of the need to understand these levels of soccer culture (Williams, 1994a, 1994b) and the correspondingly different forms of attachment to, and identification with, the game. It is hoped that in the future the involvement of ethnic minorities in the wider soccer and sports, community will be better understood and appreciated.

It is also vitally important that a degree of self-critical reflexivity is adopted in this research area. A critical consideration of the upsurge in the popularity of soccer and soccer-related issues in the mass media and among academics in the past 10 years would reveal that, although it has become increasingly "respectable," soccer research remains a predominantly masculine pursuit (see Haynes, 1993a). It would be interesting and important in the future to investigate more thoroughly the position of both ethnic minority and ethnic majority women in movements and campaigns around sport in Scotland and elsewhere. Otherwise, there is a danger that a small adjustment in patriarchal power might be produced without necessarily laying the basis for a real challenge to that power (Arshad & McCrum, 1989; Lovell, 1991; Raval, 1989).

Finally, soccer, or "terrace," culture is both regressive and progressive; it is often highly patriarchal and myopic, and yet it can provide a source of great
pleasure and personal meaning for participants, some of whom may be changing in a more explicit socially progressive direction (Redhead, 1993). Certainly, without further investigation of soccer fans, it will not be possible to assess the effectiveness of the antiracism campaigns in either England or Scotland. In this article I hope to have posed some questions that will lead to a greater awareness of, and response to, racism in both English and Scottish soccer.

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NOTES

1. "Black" and "Afro-Caribbean" are used interchangeably in this article, although in some places "Black" is used inclusively to signal a politically forged identity between Afro-Caribbean and Asian people.
2. Reprinted by permission of The Guardian®.
3. The "monkey" in question here was John Barnes, one of the young England players featured in the first quotation, making his debut for Liverpool playing away at Arsenal in the 1987-1988 season. The fans throwing the objects of racist abuse were therefore Liverpool "supporters." Everton Football Club, Liverpool's great Merseyside rivals, only signed a Black player (Nigerian international Daniel Amokachi) at the start of the 1994-1995 season after many years of being celebrated as "all-White" by their racist contingent of supporters.
4. As a result of distinct patterns of immigration, the composition of ethnic minority populations in England and Scotland differs considerably. Accurate data on population flows have been difficult to obtain until recently. The Scottish population has often been considered in terms of emigration rather than immigration; yet, along with England since 1945 and especially during the 1960s, the Black and Asian population has been growing. It was only in the last decennial population census conducted in 1991, that a question on ethnic origin was included. Details of the ethnic minority population for the whole of Great Britain showed that ethnic minority groups made up 5.5% of the total population of Great Britain, 6.2% of the population of England, but only 1.3% of the Scottish population (Central Statistical Office, 1994). In 1991, Scotland's non-White ethnic minority population totaled more than 60,000, out of the total population of about 5 million. The vast majority are of South Asian, largely Pakistani or Indian, origin; about 20% are Chinese; and a small fraction are Afro-Caribbean. Almost two thirds of the non-White population is concentrated in specific areas of the two largest cities, Glasgow and Edinburgh. In Leith, home of Edinburgh's docks, one quarter of the young are Black. The proportion of non-White groups ranges from 1.7% in the Lothian Region (which includes Edinburgh) to 0.5% in the Borders Region and Orkney Islands Area.
5. The absence of a strong neo-Fascist tradition and the diminishing importance of the Conservative Party since 1945 have been additional factors contributing to the relative absence of "racialized" politics in Scotland compared with England (Dunlop, 1993, pp. 92-93).
6. Moorhouse's (1991, p. 202) argument about the distinctiveness of professional soccer in Scotland can be summarized in five propositions:

1. The domination of Scottish soccer's professional competitions by two clubs from one city: Rangers and Celtic of Glasgow;
2. The explicit linking of many Scottish professional soccer clubs, and especially the two mentioned above, to ethnic groupings and antagonisms—"Protestant" Rangers and "Catholic," "Irish" Celtic—which have existed in the wider society and have other institutionalized forms (e.g., in churches, schools, and neighborhoods);
3. The economic dependence of most Scottish soccer clubs on the transfer of talented players to the English league;
4. The position of the Scottish soccer team as a major force for the expression of a dislike of "England" and the "English";
5. The existence of a larger number of clubs in its league than in most other countries: currently 40 league clubs in a "nation" of 5 million people, compared with 92 clubs in England (and Wales), which has a population 10 times that size.

7. It is important to note that the legislative context in England and Scotland is different with regard to racist abuse at soccer matches. In England the Football Offences Act (1991) was introduced following the report that Lord Justice Taylor wrote after 96 people were crushed to death in 1989 at Hillsborough stadium, home of Sheffield Wednesday F.C. With the awareness that racist abuse and chanting could contribute to crowd disorder, the Taylor report recommended a legislative solution. Section 3 of the 1991 Act states that

3 - (1) It is an offence to take part at a designated soccer match in chanting of an indecent or racist nature.
   (2) For this purpose -
      (a) "chanting" means the repeated uttering of any words or sounds in concert with one or more others; and
      (b) "of a racist nature" means consisting of or including matter which is threatening, abusive or insulting to a person by reason of his colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins. (Football Offences Act, 1991)

In 1991, the year the act came into force, 6 people were prosecuted under it and 5 were convicted. In 1992, there were 31 prosecutions and 21 convictions. Yet in 1993 there were only 5 convictions (BBC Multicultural Programmes Department, 1994; CRE, 1994a). Although section 3 makes indecent or racist chanting an offence per se—unlike previous legislation, there is no requirement that the "words or sounds" be directed at any one in particular—there remain loopholes in the law. The main one
is that an individual racist, who can prove that he or she was acting alone and not "in concert with one or more others," can avoid conviction. It is thought that this may act as a deterrent to the police from proceeding with a prosecution on this basis.


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TRENDS

Daniel L. DeNeui
Daniel A. Sachau

SPECTATOR ENJOYMENT OF AGGRESSION
IN INTERCOLLEGIATE HOCKEY GAMES

This study was designed to examine how player aggression in intercollegiate hockey games is related to spectator enjoyment of the games. The study tested the hypothesis that enjoyment of hockey is as highly related to aggressive aspects of the game as equally dramatic but nonaggressive aspects of the game. Six hundred twenty-four male and female spectators rated how enjoyable they found 16 games. Measures of enjoyment were correlated with a variety of game statistics. Results of the study indicated that aggression-related indexes, such as penalty minutes, were more highly related to enjoyment of the game than were nonaggression indexes such as score difference, shots on goal, and saves. However, power play minutes, which are related to both aggression and competition, were also highly related to enjoyment of the game.

According to existing literature on spectators, there are basically three types of theories that explain why spectators may enjoy the aggressive aspects of sporting events. Vicarious dominance theories (Adler, 1927; Cheska, 1979) suggest that asserting dominance over others is a basic need and that this need can be met vicariously by watching people behave aggressively. The catharsis models of aggression suggest that either participating in or watching aggressive sports releases pent-up feelings of hostility (Lorenz, 1966). Although widely accepted by the public and media, there has been very little empirical support for the catharsis theories (Geen & Quayt, 1977; Zillmann, 1979).

A third type of spectator theory could be called drama models. These theories (Beisser, 1967; Johnson, 1971; Zillmann, Bryant, & Sapolsky, 1979; Zillmann, Hay, & Bryant, 1975) suggest that aggression is interesting to watch because it is essentially good drama. The aggressive athlete is a demonstrably competitive athlete who is apparently willing to risk his or her well-being, as well as the opponent's, to win the contest. For a detailed discussion of these theories see Goldstein's (1983) Sports Violence.
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'Sakka' in Japan

John Horne

Introduction

The question of the applicability of the concept of globalization to the sociological study of sport has been part of an ongoing debate since at least 1960 (see, for example, Lasswell in Society & Culture Vol.1, 1972; Sports Science Research 23(1), 1997; and Sociology of Sport Journal 11(3), 1994). This essay poses questions about the applicability of the concept in the context of a discussion about sport and more specifically, the relatively recent growth of 'Sakka' in Japan. The structure of the recently launched professional soccer J. League and its first three seasons of operation (1993, 1994, 1995) are analyzed. Attention focuses on the problems of the commercial interests involved, the media and J. League officials and some sponsors, the soccer workers (the soccer players and managers) and the consumers (spectators and fans of the J. League teams). A number of issues and areas for further research are identified.

Why study Japan?

The Japanese experience has hardly been fitted very well into models of social development based on that of much Western societies. It is, therefore, an ideal case study for the increasingly popular concept of globalization. Furthermore, because discussions of Japanese society and culture have often been distorted by 'Japanism', stereotypic of the culture have hardly been examined rather than investigated. Little is also known about soccer in Japan, and yet it was the next Winter Olympic Games in Nagano in 1998, and is promoting a diversity ranked fifth in the world.
‘Sakka’ in Japan

John Horne

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION, HERIOT-WATT UNIVERSITY, SCOTLAND

Introduction

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Why study Japan?

The Japanese experience has usually not fitted very well into models of social development based on that of north Atlantic-rim societies. It is, therefore, an ideal test-bed for the increasingly popular concept of globalization. Furthermore, because discussions of Japanese society and culture have often been distorted by ‘Japanism’, stereotypes of the culture have usually been confirmed rather than investigated. Little is also known about sport in Japan, and yet as host to the next Winter Olympic Games in Nagano in 1998, and in promoting a lavishly funded bid to be the first

Asian host for the soccer World Cup Finals in 2002, Japan and certainly the Pacific-rim (with South Korea the co-host for the 2002 World Cup and Sydney, Australia staging the Olympic games in the year 2000) are likely to be at the centre of attention of the world's sports bodies, participants and audiences as the millennium draws to a close. To date, there has been very little sociologically informed research about the position of sport in contemporary Japan published in English. For all these reasons, therefore, it is timely to produce some theoretical knowledge and information about sport in Japan.

Varieties of globalization theory/understanding global variety

In discussions of globalization, as with postmodernization, we are dealing with the relationship between changes in social conditions and changes in social consciousness. The two leading writers on globalization — Roland Robertson (1990, 1992) and Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991) — offer different views of the significance of globalization and the relationship between changes in the social world and attempts to conceptualize the social world. In the sociology of sport there has been a tendency for one of these views to prevail, and in looking at soccer in Japan this paper attempts to begin to reorient discussion towards a greater appreciation of the importance of Giddens’ work for understanding sport and leisure in late modernity (see Jarvie and Maguire, 1994: 250ff; Waters, 1995).

Whichever of the approaches to globalization is found to be most persuasive, one thing is certain: the research agenda into it has been expanding. One welcome feature of this growth has been the recognition of the need to examine the cultural meanings attached to social changes involving sport and leisure activities in particular places. The meanings attached to sports may differ from one place to the next and without detailed research — ‘ethnosociologies’ as John MacAloon (1992) calls them — little progress can be made in unravelling cultural diversity in the meanings of sport. Alongside global processes sociologists of sport also have to study specific places situated in particular historical and cultural contexts. If good sociological practice can be defined as the combination of the sociological imagination with historical and comparative analysis, the new sociological interest in place, space and localities, amidst contemporary debates about globalization, should help us make better sense of both the ‘orient’ and the ‘occident’.

In dealing with the lived and symbolic cultures — including sports and leisure practices — of society’s other than ‘our own’ — that is, ‘the Other’ — we often desire and strive to achieve a degree of detachment which enables us to utilize our findings in the development of ideas about that society. Thus May (1989: 167) suggests that:

Sport is one of a variety of cultural expressions that can serve as a text for the examination and interpretation of a society’s lived culture. In the sports that a group of people choose to play and that capture their imaginations, one is provided with vivid portrayals of the system of meanings that inform that society’s orientation to experience.

Of course, social analysts themselves inhabit ‘lived cultures’ and ‘realities’ which are equally amenable to ‘de-construction’, and are as equally ‘constructed’ and ‘imagined communities’ as those which we wish to understand. In the study of Japanese society and culture these issues are particularly acute and interesting (Ben-Ari et al., 1990). In writing about Japan it is especially important to develop an understanding which helps to ‘evaporate the inscrutability’ surrounding the country and the people (Hendry, 1995: 222ff).

Yet ‘Exotic Japan’ has often been the favourite image for Western observers of Japanese culture and society. In sports literature, too, the emphasis has been upon the exotic and the un-Western — sumo, the martial arts and ‘samurai baseball’. Hence, for example, it is known that a form of kemari, or kickball, was borrowed from China and embraced by Japanese nobility in the 6th and 7th centuries. While resembling soccer, kemari was not played as a competitive game in Japan but rather as ‘a cooperative effort to keep the ball in the air through an intricate pattern of kicking and passing’ (May, 1989: 170). Kemari was an aesthetic experience, with four trees symbolizing the four seasons marking the boundaries of the playing area and a burning incense stick measuring the playing time. Indeed, throughout the last half of the 19th century Japan was described as ‘a nation whose men flew kites, studied flower arrangement, enjoyed toy gardens, carried fans, and manifested other effeminate customs and behaviour’ (cited in Roden, 1980: 513). These expositions of the exotic and inscrutable nature of Japan reveal as much about the attitudes of the observers as they do about 19th-century Japanese culture and society.

More recently, Robert Whiting’s The Chrysanthemum and the Bat (1977) identified a ‘samurai code of baseball’. In its Japanese translation (Kiku to Batto), Whiting’s idea has enjoyed enormous popular appeal because of its links with the principles of nihonjinron (literally ‘discussions of the Japanese’) — the genre of literature which explores the uniqueness of Japanese society and culture. Baseball has become yet another site for the construction of this Japanese obsession with their own uniqueness. The ‘samurai baseball’ perspective has been the lens through which a number of articles about sport in Japan written in English has been filtered. This social psychological approach has arguably obscured a wider, popular cultural understanding of baseball’s appeal in Japan. As May (1989: 176-7) suggests, ‘while sport has become an increasingly complex institution in Japanese life, the simple pleasures — a local shrine festival, a game of
catch, a cold beer — remain the foundations of a popular appreciation of sport in Japan today'. He concludes that

without a more sensitive understanding of Japanese sports, we will continue to use the worn-out lens of ‘samurai sports’ and to arrive at the same conclusions about Japanese sports, Japanese life and Japanese culture that have prevailed since the nineteenth century. (May, 1989: 185)

It is partly in the spirit of attempting to overcome this aspect of ‘Japanism’ that the following is written.

The development of modern sport in Japan

According to Ruud Stokvis (1989), since the latter half of the 19th century the diffusion of modern sport has been shaped by competition for dominance among the core industrial capitalist countries. England was predominant, alongside Germany, in the 19th and early 20th centuries. During the 1920s, the USA and the USSR emerged as dominant world powers, yet in sport it remained a matter of English dominance, except in the USA, US colonies and the Pacific rim, including Japan. So, from this perspective, Americanization might be perceived as the dominant influence on the growth of sport in modern Japan. Viewed from an alternative angle, the history of sport in Japanese society has been seen as dominated by two major themes:

First from the beginning of organized society in Japan political and economic leaders have augmented their prestige and power by supporting a succession of sporting styles, fashions and practices. Imperial courtiers, medieval warriors, the rising merchant class, the westernized elite of the nineteenth century and modern companies have all demonstrated their status by importing, inventing and re-shaping major forms of sport, training and physical exercise. Secondly sport has played a vital if intermittent role in Japan’s long struggle for international recognition. Early emperors adopted Chinese pursuits to signify civilization and significance, and nineteenth- and twentieth-century leaders saw success in Western sports as a pathway towards international dignity. This complex process reached its climax in the Tokyo Olympics of 1964. (Daniels, 1993: 186-7)

It will be suggested that rather than reaching an end, the use of modern sport for non-sports purposes in Japan has increased since 1964. This is certainly an important factor explaining the recent development of professional soccer in Japan.

Although Japanese sport has hitherto operated very much within the American sphere of influence and soccer has established itself as a mass participation sport in the USA and in Japan, consideration of a number of key differences between the two countries suggests that attempts to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1</th>
<th>Comparison of potential for soccer in the USA and Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Soccer a mass participation sport</td>
<td>USA: Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Degree of entrenchment of existing spectator team sports</td>
<td>USA: High — deterrent to entry of ‘new’ sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Extension of geographical territory</td>
<td>USA: Long distances between main centres creating difficulties for the establishment of national league</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Role of sport in defining national identity</td>
<td>USA: Identity defined primarily in terms of distinctively ‘American’ sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Planned use of sport in ‘social engineering’</td>
<td>USA: Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Specific factors currently favouring Japan as site for 2002 World Cup</td>
<td>USA: Asia — a FIFA preferred site: Japanese economic capacity and relative political stability attractive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


establish soccer in Japan start with a number of clear advantages compared with the USA (see Table 1)
and the Japanese mass media. Second, more research into the key actors and interests behind the J. League and the associated campaign to host the 2002 World Cup Finals is required. Third, more research into the J. League supporters is warranted — who are they? Why do they support the teams they do? How much has football become a part of the identity of young Japanese people? Fourth, more research into the professional football players in Japan is needed — the composition of the teams and the influence of foreign players on Japanese football styles of play and their aspirations.

The development of soccer in Japan

It was only in the post-1945 period, and especially since the 1960s, that soccer's popularity in Japan has grown (Murray, 1995). The men's game did not get properly underway until the formation of the first Japanese amateur soccer league in 1965. Composed of company teams, it produced players such as Sugiyama (Ryuichi) of Mitsubishi and Kamamoto (Kunishige) of Yammar, who helped fuel interest in the sport through their success in Mexico in 1968, when the Japanese Olympic team gained a third place bronze medal. In the 1970s and 1980s, while a few solitary individuals played in professional leagues in Europe and elsewhere, the promise of the Olympic Games achievement was not maintained. There was no broad-based grassroots organization of soccer like that of baseball. Club soccer in Japan did not take off again until the end of the 1980s when three club sides played in the finals of the Asian Champion Teams’ Cup — two of them emerging as winners (Furukawa in 1986 and Yomiuri in 1987).

By 1991 soccer ranked 22nd in terms of sports participation by the total population and significantly, was second in popularity to baseball among the 15–19-year-olds (Asahi Shimbun, 1992: 65, 66). Soccer has enjoyed greater involvement and more popularity than baseball in schools since the end of the 1980s. As it is arguably the schools that are the most important institutions for the growth of broad-based participation and interest in sport, these were healthy signs for soccer. A survey conducted in December 1992 found 31.4 percent of respondents wanting to attend a J. League game at a stadium, compared with 33.5 percent for baseball. Soccer was most appealing to children and young adults. In addition, in what is still considered by many as a strikingly patriarchal society, Japanese women's soccer has been quite successful. There is an organized national women's competition and in the FIFA Women's World Championships Japan qualified for the finals held in China in 1991 and in Sweden in 1995. The seeds of Japanese interest in soccer are clearly apparent.

Soccer in Japan in the 1990s

In May 1995 the Japanese Football Association officially applied to host the 2002 World Cup Finals. After Mexico dropped out of the bidding, the only other contender was South Korea. Whatever the decision reached these finals would be the first to be based in Asia. Indeed, shortly after this article was completed FIFA's 21-member executive committee inspected the proposed venues and facilities planned for the finals and made its unprecedented decision to allow South Korea and Japan to co-host the 2002 Finals. Discussion of the implications of this decision and its impact on 'sakka' in Japan are, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this article. The Japanese 2002 bid, which was originally inaugurated in 1989, can be seen alongside the launch of the Japan Professional Football League (J. League) in 1993 as a two-pronged strategy to raise both the level of public interest in, and quality of, Japanese football.

Japan has previously hosted the Toyota Cup in 1980, the FIFA World Youth Championships, and the Asian Cup in soccer, as well as the multi-sport event World Student Games, Asian Games (twice) and the summer and winter Olympic Games (the latter for a second time in 1998 in Nagano). The bid to host the 2002 World Cup has cost £40 million alone. Local government authorities in 15 different prefectures — from Hokkaido and Aomori in the north to Hiroshima and Oita in the south — are involved in projects to build new soccer stadia by the year 2000 or before, some with minimum capacities of 40,000. In Yokohama, the second largest city in Japan and adjacent to Tokyo, the Marinos and AS Flugels will share the largest one, to be completed by 1997 at a cost of £375 million. Clearly, even though the 2002 finals must be shared, a lot of money will be made by Japanese television stations, sports outfitters, advertising agencies, magazine companies, stadium builders and concrete suppliers. Sony Creative Products has already recently obtained exclusive rights as merchandiser of products for the next soccer World Cup Finals, to be held in France in 1998.

The rise of the Japan Professional Football League (J. League)

In 1992, while the national side won the Asian Cup, amateur teams like Mitsubishi Motor, Furukawa Electric and Toyota Jidosha were lucky to attract 2000 spectators. In 1993, however, full-time professional soccer in the shape of the J. League — was launched with a massive injection of capital — possibly totalling £20 billion — and a large marketing campaign. Reborn as Urawa Red Diamonds, JEF United Ichihara and Nagoya
Grampus Eight respectively, each with a mascot, team song and colours, these three teams, along with seven others, were expected to attract between 15,000 and 30,000 fans twice a week. This they did in the first half of the 1993 competition, and they have continued to play to sell-out crowds ever since.

The J. League chairman, Kawabuchi Saburo (1993: 78) has revealed that the original plan was to begin the J. League with just six teams, as in his estimation there were only about 100 players in Japan capable of playing in the professional level at the end of the 1980s, when the idea for its development was laid down. This plan also took into account the allowance of three professionals from abroad for each team (as in Japanese baseball). A condition for joining the J. League was a stadium of at least 15,000 capacity with the opportunity for turning it into a community-based sports centre. To date no team has been allowed to be based in central Tokyo. Verdy's application to relocate after their success in the first season was turned down by league officials partly on the grounds that the J. League is seen as a major tool of urban redevelopment and relocation away from the capital. Nonetheless, most of the J. League teams are located in the large population centres stretching out from Chiba Prefecture in the east to Hiroshima in the west.

From the outset it has been planned to expand the J. League to 16 or 18 teams gradually over ten years and, eventually, to allow relegation and promotion between the J. League and the semi professional/amatuer Japan Soccer League (now Japan Football League or JFL). Until then the teams in the JFL that wish to be considered for J. League status have not only to finish in the top two of the JFL but also to pass certain basic stadium requirements and other criteria, such as potential of spectator interest and local community support. Table 2 shows how the J. League line up evolved from May 1993 to the start of the fourth season in March 1996.

In the first three seasons of the J. League all clubs played each other four times on a home and away basis, in two stages. Hence in 1995 the 'Suntory' first stage ran from mid-March to mid-July and the second 'Nicos' stage from mid-August to mid-November. Teams receive three points for a win of any kind. Unlike British and most other European leagues, if scores are level after full-time, a period of 30 minutes extra time is played. If the game is still tied results are resolved on the basis of a penalty kick shoot-out, as in the World Cup finals held in the USA in 1994. Teams losing a penalty shoot-out got one point from the 1995 season (World Soccer April 1995: 45). With the gradual expansion of numbers of teams in the J. League and hence the potential number of competitive games per season increasing, the J. League was reorganized for the 1996 season. The two-stage system has been abandoned in favour of a single format with two (home and away) meetings each season. There was still a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Club</th>
<th>Main sponsors</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verdy</td>
<td>Yomiuri, Nihon (press, TV)</td>
<td>Kawasaki</td>
<td>1,153,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marinos</td>
<td>Nissan (motors)</td>
<td>Yokohama</td>
<td>3,211,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antlers</td>
<td>Sumimoto Metal, Kashima</td>
<td>Kashima</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEF United</td>
<td>JR East (rail) Furukawa Electric</td>
<td>Ichihara, Chiba</td>
<td>265,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urawa Reds</td>
<td>Mitsubishi (motors)</td>
<td>Urawa</td>
<td>417,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanfrecce</td>
<td>Mazda (motors)</td>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
<td>1,062,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamba</td>
<td>Matsushita Electric ('Panasonic')</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>2,512,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS Flugels</td>
<td>All Nippon Airways (ANA), Sato Kogyo</td>
<td>Yokohama and Kyushu Island (West Japan)</td>
<td>3,211,000 and not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimizu S-Pulse</td>
<td>Yamaha, Capcom, Nippon Ham</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>2,098,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grampus Eight</td>
<td>Shizuoka (TV)</td>
<td>Shimizu</td>
<td>240,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellmare</td>
<td>Toyota, Tokai Bank</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>2,098,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitatsuka</td>
<td>Fujita</td>
<td>Hitatsuka</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubilo Iwata</td>
<td>Yamaha</td>
<td>Iwata</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerezo Osaka</td>
<td>Yanmar, Capcom, Nippon Ham</td>
<td>Nagai, Osaka</td>
<td>2,506,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashiwa Reysol</td>
<td>Hitachi</td>
<td>Kashiwa</td>
<td>308,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyoto Sanga</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Kyoto</td>
<td>1,399,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avispa Fukuoka</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Fukuoka</td>
<td>1,205,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *from 1994; † from 1995; ‡ from 1996.

break in the summer to enable the national team to compete in the Atlanta Olympics and a League Cup competition to take place.

Verdy Kawasaki — reportedly playing in a Brazilian style, with zonal rather than man-to-man marking and a strong midfield — won the first and second Suntory championships in 1993 and 1994. Mike Plastow and Michi Ishijima, the Japan football correspondents in World Soccer had commented after the first 1995 stage that 'the standard looks higher this season, and the J. League's playing field is now about as level as it can get' (World Soccer July 1995: 43). This seems to have been confirmed by the success
of Yokohama Marinos who won the first stage and, although Verdy won the second stage for the third time, it was the Yokohama-based team that became overall J. League champions in 1995.

After narrowly failing to qualify for the 1994 World Cup finals, the Japanese national team has been in a process of rebuilding. In 1995 the team won the Asian Football Conference Marlboro Dynasty Cup in Hong Kong, playing against China and South Korea. Then, in the summer, Japan hosted the Kirin Cup, in competition with Ecuador and Scotland, and travelled to England for the Umbro Cup, involving Sweden and Brazil as well as the host country. So successful was the latter tournament (for Japan, if not the host country) — which included a narrow 2-1 defeat by England at Wembley Stadium, the home of English soccer — that the World Soccer columnists were moved to write: 'if proof was needed that the J. League is not all hype, it has been given. Just two years since it began, Japan's young sons are rising in every age group of the game' (World Soccer August 1995: 42).

What is the basis for these developments? The next sections will look at commercial and corporate interests in the J. League, the involvement of the mass media, players and managers and the spectators.

Commercial and corporate interests

The J. League Chairman has written that he did not want the soccer clubs in the J. League to be turned into advertisements for their sponsors' (Kawabuchi, 1993: 78). Hence the J. League has resisted the common practice in Japanese baseball of using a company name in the club name, and the name of the home town has to be included in the name of the soccer club — such as Kawasaki, Urawa and Yokohama, etc. — in an attempt to establish a form of identification between the team and the place. Nonetheless, marketing specialists in Japan hoped that Japanese youth would start to favour soccer shirts as fashion items ahead of the traditionally popular baseball clothes. Before the launch of the J. League, the Nippon Life Insurance (NLI) Research Institute projected that professional soccer might create a market worth over ¥110 billion in its first year — ¥37 billion in purchases of JL approved goods, ¥25 billion in purchases of soccer equipment, ¥17.5 billion in media advertising, ¥17.5 billion in payments to the J. League from sponsors and broadcasters, ¥8.5 billion in spending on tickets, transportation and refreshments, and ¥5 billion in fees paid to grounds and stadia (Tomiya and Hazama, 1993: 87).

These have actually proved to be too conservative estimates, as they were based on live attendances of only 11,000 per game and TV viewership ratings of only 7.2 percent, below the actual results achieved. Sales of J. League goods have also exceeded the most optimistic predictions. In 1993 the J. League launched a promotion with Suntory for the Opening round of the J. League Championship, releasing some 150,000 bottles of a branded 统 tracker 72 percent beer and a special edition of the 日刊体育 newspaper. The brand was seen in over 80,000 print advertisements in newspapers and magazines and several million TV advertisements, and a number of license agreements were signed with advertising agencies and department stores. The launch was the first time that a sponsor had linked its own brand with a new league, and the Suntory team received ¥300 million in the form of sponsorship fees and advertising. In 1994 Suntory also sponsored the World Cup in the Klingon language, and in 1995 the company sponsored J. League matches in the Klingon language. In 1996 Suntory also sponsored the World Cup in the Klingon language.

The media

May (1989: 184) points to the importance of the mass media in understanding the spread and development of modern sport in Japan:

A catalytic force behind the popularization of sport in Japan has been the media. Indeed the evolution of the popular press and sports in Japan may be seen as reciprocal developments — the existence of one benefitting the other. The media have always expressed the values of a society in their packaging, presentation and interpretation of sports news, forming a natural union between these two aspects of popular culture. Today the five sports dailies control 12% of Japan's daily newspaper circulation, serving up a steady diet of sports, gambling, gossip, and news from the entertainment world.

Saeki Toshio (1979) has demonstrated that in addition to the student elite who took up modern sports, it was also the emergent newspaper industry, which recognized the selling value of sports news, that helped to popularize sport in Japan at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Newspapers of the early Meiji period had largely been political opinion sheets, but by the turn of the century newspapers were business enterprises built upon simplified writing, news from the wars with

questions.
Russia and China, and 'third page' journalism — consisting of social gossip and sports news. The Asahi Shimbun and Mainichi Shimbun, twin giants of Japanese journalism, inflated their circulations in part by sponsoring and providing the funds for the promotion of sports events.

In contemporary Japan sports magazines abound and sports programmes on television are among the most popular. Additionally, the media are not limited to print and broadcasting, and the values of society embodied in sport can be played out in a number of different sites of expression, such as sports movies and TV dramas. In the 1990s an interest in consumption practices in Japanese society has developed, with several studies of advertising language and imagery (Tobin, 1992). Analysis of athletes and athletic images in Japanese mass media and literature, however, remains as yet an underdeveloped area of research.

The size of television audiences for soccer in Japan has been a real surprise for media analysts. The opening J. League match in 1993 between Verdy Kawasaki and Yokohama Marinos carried a 32 percent viewership rating in the crucial Tokyo area. Until then the best soccer matches rarely achieved more than a 10 percent rating. Later in 1993 the national team games during the early stages of the World Cup qualifying tournament also attracted ratings of 30 percent, but in the final part of the last match against Iraq the figure was nearly 50 percent in the Tokyo area. Elsewhere, at Chiba Television (CTC), angry fans telephoned demanding to know why none of the local J. League team's games (JEF United Ichihara) was being televised. As a result the scheduling was modified to accommodate their requests, forcing the cancellation of some key baseball broadcasts in the process (Tomiya and Hazama, 1993: 87). The chairman of the J. League has estimated that the mass media may have accounted for up to 60 percent of the popularity and success of the J. League (Kawabuchi, 1993: 79). The daily and weekly sports papers used to cover amateur soccer matches in the JSL only by publishing a list of the results. This practice has now changed and regular J. League columns appear in these and other more serious daily papers. Clearly, the broadcast and print media, as well as advertisers, have rethought their strategies in line with the J. League boom.

Players and managers

One of the aims of the launch of the J. League was to broaden the pool of Japanese soccer players. In the 1960s and 1970s there was a handful of good players, but a large supporting cast was lacking. In the 1980s, however, more young Japanese began to play soccer than baseball at school and in university. As a game form baseball has clearly defined roles, yet an outfielder who is not a very good hitter might not even touch the ball during an entire game. Soccer permits everyone (apart from the goalkeeper — usually!) to participate anywhere on the field — the backs sometimes go on attack, the forwards sometimes fall back to help out in defence. As a game form it is arguably one of the most participative, democratic and unpredictable (Sugden and Tomlinson, 1994: 3–4).

In sporting culture in Japan there has been no room for players who stand out for their individuality. This is especially apparent in school sport, as is epitomized in the annual high school baseball tournaments. Practically every player in the tournament has his hair cut so short as to be almost bald. When everyone looks the same, it is held, the team performs better as a unit. In soccer, because of the influence of South America and Europe, more freedom is allowed and many high school players let their hair grow out. Compared with the foreigners hired in the Meiji era to inform Japanese society about Western culture and knowledge, those footballers who have come to play in the J. League are more famous internationally — at least in the world of soccer — and are making more money. Some salaries have been several times that of a minister of state in the Japanese government. At the time of the launch of the J. League in May 1993 most of the coverage in Britain was related to Gary Lineker's £1.8 million annual salary. The first match, in which Lineker's team Grampus Eight were beaten 5–0 by Zico's Kashima Antlers, was a reminder that soccer is a team game. Hampered by injury Lineker's record for the first J. League season was 12 appearances and 4 goals — his four goals thus costing Nagoya approximately $1.75m each! Lineker remained at the top of the salary rankings until his decision to retire from the game through injury in November 1994, at the end of the second (Nicos) stage. Lineker was one of six J. League players to receive an annual salary in excess of £1 million. Only two of these — Kazuyoshi Miura and Ruy Ramos — were Japanese or naturalized Japanese (World Soccer April 1994: 56). In March 1995, Lineker agreed, along with Pele (Brazil), Bobby Charlton (England), Franz Beckenbauer (Germany) and Zico (Brazil), to act as an ambassador for Japanese football and the Japanese bid to host the World Cup Finals in 2002. The high salaries may thus ultimately pay off in indirect ways.

Japan's roll call of the greats of soccer history is still growing (World Soccer December 1994). In the J. League there were five Brazilian and three Dutch managers during the first stage of the 1995 season, although the longest period of office for a manager in the J. League is only 20 months. Brazil is the main source of imported players, but other South American and European countries are also involved. In 1995 there were over 30 Brazilians registered in the J. League, although regulations prohibit more than three foreign players per side from being on the pitch at any one time. Dunga, the Brazil World Cup Champions team captain, heads the impressive list of current Brazilian national team players in the J. League. His addition to Jubilo Iwata (formerly Yamaha) brought to seven the number of Brazilian national team players currently in the J. League (World
Soccer October 1995: 50). Argentinian Hugo Maradona, younger brother of Argentina’s former captain Diego, played for Fukuoka Blux in the semiprofessional JFL. In 1996 he played for the renamed Avispa Fukuoka in the J. League. Another Argentinian, Ossie Ardiles, former player and manager of Tottenham Hotspur, was recently appointed as manager of Shimizu S Pulse (World Soccer March 1996: 42).

The strength of the Brazilian ties are partly due to the large Japanese ethnic population in Brazil. Nearly a million people of Japanese origin live there, making it the largest group of Japanese outside Japan. Most emigrated in the late 19th century or during the 1920s and 1930s as a result of internal repression and the depression. Many J. League matches are televised live in Brazil. Brazilian Ruy Ramos became a naturalized Japanese citizen in the 1980s and has played for the national team 32 times. The flow of talent goes both ways, however. Kazuyoshi Miura, a leading forward in Japan’s national side who recently returned to Verdy in the J. League after a year’s loan with Genoa in Serie A in Italy, spent five years in Brazil (playing for Santos) and regularly trains in Brazil to maintain a permanent residence permit there. Amoroso, Brazilian player of the year in 1994, originally played in the Japanese soccer leagues.

In a discussion of transnational labour migration and Latin American baseball Alan Klein (1994: 198) has suggested that:

Labour migration most often takes place as a response to lack of economic opportunity (deindustrialisation, displacing populations, etc.) as labour costs (salaries plus the reproduction of labour force) become too high to maintain the expected profit margins, or competing capitalist interests open new labour markets elsewhere.

In the case of baseball Japan has come to be a source of economic opportunity — albeit on a small scale — for North Americans, and those who would normally have looked to North America (for example, baseball players in the Dominican Republic) which, as Klein remarks, ‘portends interesting things for the future’. Japanese baseball teams are ‘now short-term acceptable alternatives to major league baseball, a situation which further internationalises both the game and labour migration’ (Klein, 1994: 199). In 1995 this development was highlighted by the signing of the North Americans Shane Mack and Julio Franco to Japanese baseball teams for two years at salaries of US$8 million and US$7 million respectively (the Guardian 4 February 1995).

The motivations of the foreign soccer players in Japan are not solely dictated by financial rewards, but they help! Former world footballer of the year and Brazilian minister of sport, Zico (real name Arthur Antunes Coimbra), Gary Lineker of England and Pierre Littbarski of Germany had, or had virtually, finished their active playing careers in their own countries and came abroad to round off their careers. Alcindor Sartori, on the other hand, brought to Kashima Antlers by Zico, is different. Relatively young and aiming to establish a name for himself in Japan, gain recognition in his home country of Brazil and then play for the national side, ‘Alcindor has been sending videos of his games in Japan back to Brazil for this purpose’ (Ushiki, 1993: 85). This initiative seems to bear out Klein’s suggestion that, whereas in the past the only people interested in playing baseball in Japan were those at the tail end of their careers (‘gaijin sluggers on the way down’), today players have begun to see playing there as a short-term strategy to re-enter their own market at some later date (Klein, 1994: 199).

Supporters

Soccer, male-dominated the world over, is something else in Japan. Singing, dancing, drumming, flag-waving girls pack the stands, some with faces painted in team colors, others in their best kimonos. (Fornander, 1994/95: 25)

The J. League has been a phenomenal success in terms of demand for tickets and the explosion of interest in supporting one of the 10, 12, 14 and now 16 J. League teams. There have not been enough unsold tickets to satisfy demand. Matches are sold out up to four months in advance and, in its first season, more than three million spectators filled the stands. At the outset the J. League Chairman, Kawabuchi Saburo (1993: 79) has admitted that despite needing attendances of 10,000 to be successful, he ‘inwardly thought that we would be doing well to get 5,000’ for each match. Instead, foreign players have been pleased to have the opportunity to play before sell-out crowds week after week. The stadia have been filled to near capacity, with fans enthusiastically waving banners and blowing horns. More viewers are watching the televised J. League broadcasts than key baseball games, and sales of the J. League paraphernalia have been doing much better than expected. Up to a thousand people attend the basic training sessions of some of the teams. The most popular players, such as Miura Kazuyoshi, are treated like rock stars and pursued by young women clutching autograph books.

Halfway through the first stage of the 1993 J. League season ten teams had played 45 games. With total attendance at 885,855, the average per game was 19,686. Not large compared with the average of 30,000 at 1992 baseball games in the Japanese Central and Pacific Leagues, but professional baseball stadia accommodate 30–50,000 spectators, whereas many J. League teams have stadia seating fewer than 15,000. Only 2–3000 people went to see the company teams of the amateur Japan Soccer League before the launch of the J. League. Many of these would have been non-paying spectators. So where have the devoted fans come from? As the quote from Fornander at the beginning of this section indicates, one of the distinctive features of the crowd for J. League matches is the large
proportion of female spectators and their involvement in the chanting, singing and enthusiasm which accompanies each game for the full 90 minutes (or 120 in the event of extra time). Fornander provides the example of Atsuko Kawami, a 29-year-old office worker from Tokyo:

Kawami and five friends recently spent four hours fighting traffic to drive the 80 kilometers from the center of Tokyo to the industrial town of Kashima to see a friendly match between the Kashima Antlers and FC Porto, a Portuguese team. The return journey took another four hours. They had purchased the tickets two months in advance and it rained for the duration of the game. Kawami explains her new-found love of soccer by saying: ‘Baseball is boring. There aren’t any interesting players to look at. Soccer is entertaining’. (Fornander, 1994/95: 26)

An advertising executive based in Tokyo suggests that the large female contingent of supporters is not so surprising:

Women are behind many of the trends here in Japan ... Men follow later. Women are much more independent, while men are forced into a more conventional role ... I think that with the young people who are behind most of the booms, it’s a question of longing to show a little more individuality ... even though they look revolutionary, they are still bound by many social conventions. They want to be individualists but they don’t want to do it alone. So what you really get is a group revolution. (Cited in Fornander, 1994/95: 26)

The J. League has certainly been actively marketed as a unit. As well as securing exclusive rights to the next World Cup Finals in 1998, the design and PR firm Sony Creative Products has exclusive J. League rights and has developed hundreds of J. League products - caps, badges, flags - which are available in more than 100 J. League stores and boutiques across the country. The sports goods maker, Mizuno, supplies exclusive team strips and associated products. In the entertainment district of Shibuya in central Tokyo, the Suntory brewery has also opened the J. Club, a restaurant where waiters are dressed in soccer strips.

Whether through an accommodation with traditional Japanese culture or by association with the creation of new personal and national identities, will the recent promotion of Japanese soccer be successful? It is obviously impossible to give a definite answer here. However, there are several strong influences at work which may help professional soccer to succeed in Japan. Spectators may be experiencing the J. League as an event, rather than as a sports match. It is possible that these are early days and that the level of enthusiasm will die down. Indeed, it may well be that the association of J. League support with young women may form a barrier to the greater involvement of men in supporting professional soccer teams, but there are grounds to suggest that the Japanese public - men and women - have begun to develop an interest in soccer which goes much deeper than a casual identification with attractive players.

Conclusions

The Japanese national soccer team had often been beaten by their near neighbours South Korea in World Cup qualifying matches before 1993, the year of the J. League launch. Iijiri Kazuo (1993: 77) suggests that many Japanese felt that this was acceptable - ‘We beat them at baseball; they beat us at soccer’. For South Koreans, soccer had enjoyed a special position as a sport at which they could regularly defeat the Japanese and thus sustain some national prestige. In the 1993 World Cup Asian Zone qualifying tournament they lost to Japan and some called the defeat ‘the worst humiliation since the 1910 annexation’ (by Japan) (Iijiri, 1993: 77), but the reaction of the Japanese audience also demonstrated a new level of intensity of involvement in the game. Fans regularly ‘sang “Kamigayo”, the [de facto] national anthem before each game of the tournament’ (Iijiri, 1993: 77). On Thursday 28 October 1993, the final matches of the qualifying tournament were played in Doha, Qatar. With 30 seconds remaining Japan were leading Iraq by two goals to one and seemed to have secured a place at the 1994 World Cup Finals. Then, from a corner kick, the captain of the Iraqi team headed an equalizing goal, which sent Saudi Arabia and South Korea, despite their earlier defeat at Japan’s hands, through to the US Finals instead.

For the Japanese team, and over 1000 of their supporters who had accompanied them to the Gulf, there was a sense of disbelief. For those millions of Japanese watching at home - in what, remarkably, amounted to the fifth largest television sport audience ever in Japan - the feeling of anti-climax was profound. Despite failing to qualify, however, the role of co-hosting the World Cup Finals in the Asian continent for the first time can be seen as a form of compensation. This aspiration certainly underpinned the massive investment in soccer which industry and local authorities have pledged over the next ten years. The impact of these developments on Japanese identities and society in general will remain uncertain without further research. What might be the most important questions to ask in a future research programme?

We need specific analyses of the experience and management of globalization in particular places, in addition to descriptions of general global processes. Japanese society does not usually follow the models created by Western academics. It does, however, have a distinctive route to modernity — what Therborn describes as ‘imposed/externally induced modernization’ from above (Therborn, 1995: 132; see also Robertson, 1987, 1990, 1995). This process has involved the Japanese state in the selective incorporation of ideas and practices, including cultural activities, from elsewhere since the end of the 19th century. A problem for this strategy has been to keep both elements of change and tradition moving along at the same pace. In recent years the effects of this strategy have
given rise to debates about homogeneity and cultural diversity, internationalization and nostalgia, and even the key hegemonic principle in Japanese society since 1945 — ‘kigyoushugi’ (enterprisism or belief in the company system — Woodiwiss, 1990).

Goodman (1993: 9) points out that explanations of Japan in terms of culture tend to confirm stereotypes about the way that the society works, unless culture is understood as 'shorthand for the confluence of economic, political and historical forces in an ever-continuing process'. Newly emerging marginal or liminal groups can be described in positive or negative terms, or even seen as tricksters or clowns, depending on the circumstances. Tensions concerning them reflect debates about the relationship between Japan and the West.

The growth of tourism and theme parks can be seen as one way of managing change and the potential for change in Japanese society. Few societies have moved so rapidly from a comparative to economic super partner in such a short space of time. The growth of professional soccer also balances nostalgia and internationalization. There are similarities in the crowd behaviour with the enthusiasm shown at baseball fixtures. In theme parks the West is 'tamed'; in soccer stadia the West is manifested, but not in ways that challenge the basic principles of Japanese society. Both sites of leisure can be seen as 'decompression' chambers from the world of space-time compression, but the growth of soccer is also related to attempts to manage economic, demographic and urban change. Consistent with these is the careful control exercised over sports tourism (apparent in baseball and basketball). Soccer is being manipulated by different interest groups to accommodate demands and initiate new ways of thinking. As has been noted earlier the effects of globalization need to be addressed as an empirical question, and seen more as a process of syncretism and creolization than a simple one-way diffusion of values.

The theoretical and methodological challenges presented are as follows. First, it is necessary to grasp the diversity of the modern world through a de-Westernized, de-centred conception of the global (Thornham, 1995; Ben-Ari et al; 1990). Second, there is general agreement that no one capitalism and no single modernity exists. Globalization does not simply mean 'Westernization'. No single country exerts economic and industrial hegemony anymore. Nonetheless, Waters (1995) sees the West as at the cutting edge of globalization processes and Lash and Urry (1994: 280) state that 'globalization is really advanced capitalist globalization' (including Japan and the north Atlantic-rim societies). It is important, therefore, to retain an understanding of the international dimensions of contemporary global processes. As Hirst and Thompson (1994) point out, militarily and in terms of surveillance capabilities, the USA remains hegemonic.

It is for these reasons that Giddens' approach to globalization, alert to the importance of institutional support for globalization to take place, can be seen to be worth developing further. This will involve retaining a sense of both specificity and broader forces when analysing the globalization of sport and culture more generally. This means, among other things, considering internationalization as well as globalization; recognizing that even if people receive mass-mediated global images, they receive them in specific places which affect the way they are interpreted; and that the conception of the state as being 'hollowed out' is too premature a judgement since the nation state still retains the power (often by utilizing myths of national identity to create 'imagined communities' — Euromyths in Britain; *nihonjinron* in Japan) to develop different national projects and economic relationships. Finally, this approach requires critical ethnographic and anthropological research work, specific analyses of the experience of globalization and the spread of game forms such as soccer, and a recognition of people as active agents, with differential resources, deploying varied strategies in negotiating late modernity.

**Notes**

This article primarily relies upon desk-based research, focusing on contemporary and historical data, and a review of popular magazine and newspaper articles (in Japanese and in English) and sociological and social anthropological writings on sport in Japan. Future research will involve an ethnographic study and in-depth interviews with key actors. I want to acknowledge the assistance of my Japanese acquaintances who have helped me collect information and, in some cases, translated it.

1. In this article some monetary values are expressed in yen, some in pounds and some in US dollars. For the purposes of comparison, £1 was around Y320 in 1985, Y230 in 1989; and Y160 in 1995; US$1 about Y245 in 1985, Y140 in 1989 and Y100 in 1995. A billion, following American convention, is regarded here as one thousand million.

2. A good example is Kashima, a small town (by Japanese standards) of 45,000 people located on the coast 60 miles (80 kilometres) northeast of Tokyo. Kashima Antlers was the potential underdog of the J. League in the first season. Ibaraki Prefecture, the local authority in which the town resides, in collaboration with the biggest local employer Sumimoto Metal, spent more than US$70 million to bring the 1983 world footballer of the year, the Brazilian Zico, out of retirement and to begin building a new stadium.

3. Cerezo Osaka is a good example of the interlocking interests in J. League teams. Cerezo is 60 percent owned by three large Osaka-based companies — Yamar Diesel, Capcorn and Tappon Ham. Other backers include Osaka Gas, Obayashi (construction), Kansai Electric, Daiwa Bank, the JR West Railway Company and eight broadcasting companies. With a newly built 50,000 capacity stadium at Nagai in Osaka Prefecture opened in 1996, Cerezo clearly meets the stadium and diverse ownership requirements of J. League teams.
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THE POLITICS OF SPORT AND LEISURE IN JAPAN
Global Power and Local Resistance

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Abstract This paper was partly stimulated by a dissatisfaction with the recent debates about sport and globalization. It is also meant as a contribution to comparative and political sociology, in which Japan has never fitted particularly well. Rather than seeing the growth of modern sport and leisure in Japan as the product of an unfolding process of diffusion and emulation, attention will be focused on the forms of resistance that have accompanied its development. This approach is outlined in a sketch of movements and campaigns organized over the location of sports and leisure resorts, especially golf courses, in Japan and the Asian-Pacific region.

Key words • globalization • golf • Japan • power • resistance • sport

While a number of recent studies have discussed the politics of sport and leisure in western societies, few have focused on Japan. Therborn (1995a: 132) describes Japan's distinctive route to modernity as 'imposed or externally induced modernisation' from above. Since the Meiji restoration at the end of the 19th century, this has involved the selective incorporation of ideas and practices from elsewhere, including forms of sport and leisure. This process has enabled Japan to develop a route to modernity which positioned it as part of the Asian 'Other' (from the point of view of the modernizing West) and yet simultaneously distinct from (and superior to) its neighbours in the Asia-Pacific region.

This paper discusses the use that the Japanese state and business have made of sport and leisure in the 20th century, either as a tool of internal regulation or as a mechanism for gaining international recognition. Rather than seeing the growth of modern sport and leisure in Japan as the product of an unfolding process of diffusion and emulation, attention will be focused on the forms of resistance that accompanied its development. This approach is outlined in a sketch of movements and campaigns organized over the location of sports and leisure resorts, especially golf courses, in Japan and the Asia-Pacific area. First, however, it is necessary to briefly comment on the sport and globalization debates and the place of Japan within them.
Japan, Sport and Globalization

Theoretically, globalization challenges the ontological and epistemological assumptions of social science, especially the integrity of states and society and the location of social sciences within national boundaries. Japan is viewed as important in this conceptual shift, in so far as it appears to destabilize the neat correlation between the West/East and modernity/pre-modernity dualisms (Featherstone, 1995; Robertson, 1990). Thus Japan helps to de-centre the West, calling into question the centrality of the latter as the cultural and geographical focus for the project of modernity (Morley and Robins, 1995: 160).

Although the inadequacies of both modernization theory and Marxist accounts of Japanese social and economic development have been observed (Lie, 1996), Japan's specific route to modernity, and especially the role of the state, has not yet been studied in sufficient comparative detail in either of these approaches. Recognition of the political dimensions of social development places limits on the notion of the convergence of industrial societies, and leads to the recognition of the diversity of modernities, capitalisms and their welfare regimes. For instance, Therborn (1995b: 334, 347) shows how 'processes of social steering' affect 'actual social development'. In studying sport, the state and politics in Japan it is also necessary to reconsider some of these general assumptions about globalization.

The main theoretical perspectives on sport and globalization are: modernization theory (Guttmann, 1991, 1994; Wagner, 1990); cultural imperialism/cultural hegemony (Donnelly, 1996: 243); process sociology (Maguire, 1993); and post-Marxist cultural studies (Andrews, 1997). Moreover, Donnelly suggests the agenda in the debate about sport and globalization has revolved around three issues: whether we are witnessing cultural imperialism or Americanization under a new name; what impact globalization has had on cultural and national identity; and how the process influences the international flow of sports workers. It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a comprehensive review of each of these theoretical positions. However, it is possible to contrast briefly the ideas of Guttmann, who has referred to Japan in his recent writings, with those of the advocates of hegemony, process and post-Marxist cultural studies, who generally have not considered Japan although they have alluded to the process of 'Japanization'.

Despite being portrayed as a 'liberal' advocate of modernization theory by hegemony theorists in the past, Guttmann's recent writings appear to oscillate between these two positions. Guttmann (1994: 179) has indicated that he accepts the usefulness of hegemony theories in countering the idea that superordinate groups simply impose their will on subordinate cultures. Yet he also baulks at the implication of intentionality in hegemony. Hence he argues for the concept of emulation in understanding the adoption of modern, western sports by culturally dominated groups. Guttmann proposes the introduction and spread of baseball in Japan at the end of the 19th century as an illustration of the theory of cultural diffusion and emulation rather than colonialism and cultural imperialism. Guttmann (1994: 180) argues against the cultural imperialist view on the grounds that the 'take-up' of sports does not operate only in one direction. Guttmann (1994: 160–3) also draws a distinction between traditional and modern sports in modernizing Japan. He argues that traditional sports, such as sumo wrestling, offered resistance to westernization, while modern sports (he focuses on baseball, basketball, and the Olympic Games) offered the opportunity to beat the oppressor at their own game and build the nation within the wider international community and region. He suggests that processes of reverse diffusion occurred later in the 20th century, as martial arts and other body cultural forms travelled in the opposite direction (also see Theeboom and De Knop, 1997).

Guttmann rejects the concept of hegemony because of its implicit intentionality — the assumption that the development of modern sport in Japan was a cover for some hidden agenda on the part of the transmitting culture. Yet invoking the concept of emulation does not remove intentionality but transfers it from the transmitting to the receiving culture. The relevance of the traditional/modern dichotomy to the Japanese context is questionable, given that, in line with the Meiji restoration, sumo wrestling was being reinvented around the end of the 19th century — a fact that Guttmann himself points out.

In cultural imperialism/cultural hegemony approaches, hegemony is understood as a two-way but unbalanced process of cultural exchange, interpenetration and interpretation (Donnelly, 1996: 243). Both process sociology, in which globalization involves flows and resistances, marked by the diminished contrasts and increased varieties of the civilizing process (Maguire, 1994), and post-Marxist cultural studies (Andrews, 1997) share with cultural hegemony theory the notion of hegemony as a contingent phenomenon, with the possibility of reversals. Yet, although two-way processes such as Japanization have been asserted they have not been fully researched or adequately tested. Even in studies of work and organizational behaviour on 'global Japanization' there is little evidence that the concept has a firm material referent (Elger and Smith, 1994). Studies of the spread of martial arts in the West since the 1960s (Goodger, 1986; Goodger and Goode, 1980) do not suggest more than a minority, elite, interest has developed as a result. Nor is the irony-laden development of sumo as a bar sport in Britain in the 1990s — in which people dress up in sumo wrestler costumes to do battle — truly indicative of a counter-hegemonic practice.

According to Donnelly (1996), the focus on Americanization in the initial debates about globalization and sport by Maguire (1990) and McKay and Miller (1991) is symptomatic of the fact that contemporary sport has become increasingly associated with corporate sport. This genre involves televising events designed to deliver audiences to advertisers by relying on a 'show-biz' format, spectacle, high-scoring, and a focus on individual superstars (Donnelly, 1996: 246; also see Andrews, 1998). Thus, while hegemony theorists initially conceive of globalization as a multi-directional procedure, they ultimately conclude that it is uni-directional, in the guise of corporate sport. Process sociologists can be credited with shaping the agenda noted by Donnelly, but their main emphasis has been upon the impact of globalization on identities. In the post-Marxist cultural studies version, 'actionist' philosophy is joined to the analysis of identities formed in articulation with the sports-media-advertising axis. However, there is still a tendency to ignore the wider economic and political dimensions of globalization when discussing identities.
The Development of Sport in Japan

None of the above perspectives adequately explains the development of sport in Japan; the importance of the state and of business have been particularly overlooked. Additionally, the very distinction between tradition and modernity utilized by Gutmann is one of the most potent ways in which the state can project itself and create new meanings of nationhood. As Therborn (1995a) suggests, Japan positioned itself as the pre-eminent nation-state in Asia in the first half of the 20th century by adopting a deliberate strategy of imposed or externally induced modernization from above. This meant that Japan 'opened' itself to western culture, technology and science in order to obtain key benefits while not succumbing to comprehensive cultural domination. The adoption and transformation of traditional sports, such as sumo wrestling and judo, and the Japanization of baseball, were a few of the ways in which this could be achieved. At the same time, involvement in international modern (western) competitions — notably the Olympic Games from 1912 and, a year later, the Far Eastern Games with China and the Philippines — enabled Japan to establish a form of sporting hegemony over its Asian neighbours.

Following Daniels (1991: 186-7), we can view the development of sport in modern Japan as being underpinned by two major processes. First, there are activities of a variety of leaders, such as 19th-century westernized elites, imperial courtiers, medieval warriors, the ascending bourgeois, and company directors, who enhanced their status by promoting an array of 'sporting styles, manners and practices'. The second conspicuous feature is the way in which potenates and modern political leaders adopted foreign sports as a way of attaining international prominence. Daniels maintains that these two interrelated processes attained their zenith in 1964 when Tokyo hosted the summer Olympic Games.

In developing Daniels's argument that sport and leisure in Japan have been strategically used to maintain internal order and to give Japan a semblance of symbolic international expression, it is also important (as hegemony theorists suggest) to consider the ways in which these aims have been contested and resisted. In order to examine these complex processes, it is necessary to turn to writers who have deployed a de-centred model of social development, which recognizes multiple routes of and paths to modernity (Giddens, 1990, 1991; Hall, 1996, 1997; Harvey, 1989; Lash and Urry, 1987, 1994).

Resortification and the Struggle Over Golf

Golf, arguably the other world game after association football (soccer) (Stoddart, 1990), has not yet been fully considered in the globalization literature. Stoddart refers to the significant role that Japan has played in the internationalization of golf in the past 20 years. McCormack (1991, 1996) has drawn attention to the emergence of leisure resort building during the 1980s, and in Japan golf is almost synonymous with resort. Other scholars noted the struggles over golf in South Korea (An and Sage, 1992) and the impact of Japanese golf investment in Australia (Rimmer, 1994). The rest of this section will consider some of this material.

The Golf Boom in the Asia-Pacific Region

The expansion of golf, and Japanese involvement in it, is worthy of detailed attention. As Stoddart (1990: 377) noted, 'Golf represents perhaps the quintessential case study of the inherent relationship between sport, economy, society and environment.' There are estimated to be about 25,000 golf courses in the world (around 15,000 in the USA, 3000 in the UK, and 200 in Japan) and about 50 million players (Shenon, 1994). Conflicts over the economics and environmental consequences of golf have increasingly arisen in the past decade. The expansion of golf in Japan and Asia generally, fuelled partly by Japanese demand and Japanese leisure corporations, has also precipitated struggles against its development.

In 1955 Japan had around 100 golf courses; by 1994 the number was close to 2000 courses — 1680 square km (1/115th) of the total land mass — and the Japan Golf Association estimated there were 13 million players (23.6 percent of men and 26 percent of women). However, very few of these are likely to play even a round because of the very high costs of club membership and green fees. Hence playing ranges have become a ubiquitous part of the urban landscape. Referred to as uchippanshi ('non-stop swings'), most ranges are surrounded by huge high nets to catch the balls and have at least two floors to accommodate the demand for practice. During the 1980s, administrators in the depopulated villages and rural areas came to believe that the future lay in resort development rather than agriculture, forestry or fisheries. In 1990 the capital costs for an 18-hole course in Osaka were estimated to be 2 billion yen. If 100 members subscribed, at an average of 40 million yen, there was already a 100 percent profit. Memberships became a tradeable commodity, quadrupling in value in the 1980s. An attractive feature of membership fees as corporate assets was that they were technically treated as temporarily deposited funds, and not taxable (McCormack, 1996: 90).

In 1990 Japan's outflow of direct foreign investment (US$44.1 billion) surpassed all others. Much of the expansion in the tourism and resort industries in the Pacific rim has been financed by Japanese capital. At the beginning of the 1990s there were over 200 overseas Japanese golf courses and many hotels and resorts. Patterns of the Japanese domestic political economy, such as land-price inflation as a consequence of the golf boom, have been reproduced in parts of Australia, Hawaii, Malaysia and Thailand. Many of the first-class hotels, golf courses, and luxury hotels and apartments on the Australian Gold (sometimes renamed as Gold) Coast and Hawaii are Japanese owned. In 1992 there were 68 golf courses in Hawaii and another 100 planned for development, half of them Japanese owned and run. In Malaysia the number of golf courses reached 80 in the 1980s and was expected to double due to investment and demand from Japanese companies. The same pattern was occurring in Thailand, with the number of courses expected to develop from 86 in 1991 to over 300 by the late 1990s (see Tables 1 and 2).

An editorial in the Independent in April 1993 attributed the 'proliferation of
Table 1 Golf Courses Open and Planned in East Asian Nations in 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Open</th>
<th>Planned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2106</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


golf courses in Taiwan, Thailand, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the west Coast of the US...to the shortage of land in golf-mad Japan. Japanese players found it cheaper to fly to Thailand for a round of golf than pay for exorbitant Japanese membership and green fees. The Economist (9 July 1994) noted that, as late as 1994, 18 holes at a middle-ranking course in Japan would cost US$300 and membership US$1 million (quoted in GAGM, 1994). North (1994) estimated that green fees were (in US$) $200-500 in Japan, $65-150 in Guam, $25-50 on the American mainland, $4-26 in Fiji, $9 in Vanuatu, and $4 in Western Samoa.

Ski, golf and country-club resorts were at the centre of an economic bubble that eventually burst. Between January and October 1990 stock prices on the Nikkei Index plunged 48 percent, equivalent to the third world's outstanding debt. Bloated land prices also began to deflate. Since golf had been at the centre of the bubble it also became the focus for its collapse. By 1995 the average price of membership at one of Japan's leading courses stood at 26 percent of its 1990 value (McCormack, 1996: 92), and in 1997 memberships were as low as 10 percent of their peak value at the beginning of the decade (Higgins, 1997). All Japanese owned golf courses in the USA sustained losses and 70 percent were put up for sale at greatly reduced prices. The construction company Shimizu wrote off 80 billion yen in overseas losses and Kajima lost 66 billion yen on its Australian investments alone. The Japanese EIE company, Australia's biggest foreign investor with holdings in hotels and resorts, was declared bankrupt in 1994 (McCormack, 1996: 94).

Table 2 Golf Courses Open and Under Construction and Number of Golfers in Japan, USA, Australia and Queensland in 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Queensland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of courses open</td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>15000</td>
<td>1430</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Japanese-owned</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of courses under construction</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of golfers (millions)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.315</td>
<td>0.130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Economic and Environmental Issues

A major source of support for Japanese construction of ski resorts, golf courses, marinas and soccer grounds, as well as baseball stadia (in Japan and South Korea), has come from central and local government leaders. There is an in-built potential for corruption in these schemes, since the individuals involved have a vested interest in seeing that the building permits are obtained and local opposition is subdued. The development meets the needs of capital, they enable politicians to entertain friends and foster political support, and golf courses are excellent sites for forming political and social networks and cementing political and business interests. As part of cultural capital, sports such as golf carry significant symbolic meanings.

The golf boom has attracted a number of social, environmental and economic responses and forms of resistance. An editorial in The Bangkok Post in March 1994 stated, 'When the people have no food but the rich are still signing contracts at the 19th hole, where will our society be heading?' (quoted in Shenon, 1994). Even the Scientific American reported in August 1994 that, 'In the newly developing countries of Southeast Asia, the game has become a symbol of the lifestyle of emerging elites that threaten the livelihoods of traditional farmers' (cited in GAGM, 1994). Golf as a game for the rich and as a pursuit of the corrupt and lazy are two views that stand out. For example, luxury courses built in Thailand and Malaysia for Japanese and western tourists exclude all but the wealthiest locals. In response to public opinion in South Korea, the then president, Kim Young Sam, renounced golf as a haven of corruption and market-rigging practices, in order to distance himself from the previous administration, and forbade civil servants and government officials from involvement in it (The Economist, 1994).

Newby (1991: 2) claims that, 'the environment' has both symbolic power — used as an idiom to express deeply rooted anxieties about the nature of human progress — and has a real material referent about the degradation of natural resources and existing systems of production, consumption and exchange. Golf is involved in this environmental concern in a number of ways. In South Korea clumsy excavation by contractors contributed to landslides, such as one that killed 54 people in 1992 (The Economist, 1994). In Japan many courses have been built in forested areas at the foot of mountains. Developers clear-cut the forests and use bulldozers to level off hills and fill in valleys. In this way golf course construction is tantamount to the destruction of forests, pure and simple' (McCormack, 1991: 126). Other environmental consequences stem from the use of considerable amounts of agricultural chemicals and fertilizers. The annual maintenance of just one course involves an estimated three to four tons of herbicides, germicides, pesticides, colouring agents, organic chlorine and other fertilizers. This includes chemicals that are carcinogenic, and ultimately find their way into rivers, ponds, swamps and lakes or sea (Scientific American, cited in GAGM, 1994). At the end of the 1980s the Japanese Ministry of Health found 950 places where the quality or quantity of water had been adversely affected by golf-course development. The Japan Ecological Association has expressed concern at the environmental damage being done, especially the encroachment on
designated national parks. Widespread damage has been reported to seas, rivers, forests, and mountains, as well as animal, bird, insect and marine life. According to the Environmental Agency 628 of Japan's wildlife species and 899 of its wild plants are on the brink of extinction (McCormack, 1996: 96).

As the forces driving the golf expansion in Japan expanded to the rest of the Pacific region, inroads were made into the 'cheap land' countries of communist Southeast Asia. Korean and Taiwanese business men have even been reported as playing on Vietnamese minefields without waiting for the courses to be finished or all the mines defused (McCormack, 1996: 89). Golf also contributes to the undermining of the local economy in poorer countries, with water often siphoned off from paddy fields to maintain optimum playing conditions. A Thai anti-golf activist neatly summed up the economic impact of golf on the hosts:

When a tourist starts his journey he buys a Nikon camera and then flies with Japan Airlines. Arriving in, say, the Philippines for golfing, he takes a Toyota limousine and checks in at a Japanese-owned hotel. He goes up to his room in a Hitachi lift where he takes a drink from a Toshiba fridge, turns on his Sharp air-conditioner and a National TV. (Quoted in Traisawasdichai, 1995: 16)

Resistance

In Japan, South Korea, and other Asia-Pacific countries, groups of concerned citizens have formed alliances to oppose the construction of golf courses on social and environmental grounds (An and Sage, 1992: 379). Protest movements have spread from Hawaii to Malaysia, not only on environmental grounds, but also because of corruption and the displacement of indigenous people. In Japan, where the power of the local authority and local mayor are very strong, a national network against golf-course development has been active since 1988. Lawyers in The Global Network for Anti-Golf Course Action (GNAGA) provide help to local people opposing golf courses. Along with the Malaysia-based Asia-Pacific People's Environment Network (APPEN), GNAAGA has created the Global Anti-Golf Movement (GAGM). These groups have taken a leading part in the opposition movement to golf in Japan and 12 other countries. GNAAGA spokesperson Gen Morita claims responsibility for the cancellation of several hundred proposed courses in Japan since 1988 (GAGM, 1994: 13–14). Different tactics are deployed depending on the circumstances: electing an anti-golf mayor; raising local awareness about the impact of golf-course construction on local people's lives; or adopting a standing tree trust. The latter is described as follows:

We find one property owner and buy live trees on his property. Then we claim legal title to the land under the tree. Even if the land is purchased by the developer, we can claim title to the standing live tree so the developer can't come in to develop the land. (Quoted in GAGM, 1994: 14)

As most prefectures in Japan have a time-limit regulation, it is possible to thwart an application by prolonging a decision on final approval beyond the local time limit, which is usually three years.

Other problems associated with the golf boom in Japan and the Asia-Pacific region include the exploitation of women (Traisawasdichai, 1995) and encroachment on the lands of indigenous and minority peoples and ecologically sensitive areas rich in biodiversity (McCormack, 1996: 94). The combination of resistance and economic recession in Japan since the beginning of the 1990s has helped slow the rate of expansion. Nonetheless, golf is a good illustration of contemporary global economic power since it is not merely Japanese, but also American and Australian capital that is used to fund developments. When Japan began to fall into recession in the mid-1990s, the golf boom continued as locals and tourists from other Asian countries, such as Taiwan and Hong Kong, along with the USA, took their place. The Japanese-American connection is also identified by local activists since most luxury golf courses are made to the American standard and the United States Professional Golf Association regulates the rules of the game and the layout of courses. However, the key player in the golf boom was Japan.

Japanese golf-course development in Australia had indirect origins in budget deficits in the USA in the 1980s. This led to increased spending on foreign-produced goods, including many Japanese products. Japan became the world's largest source of surplus capital for export in the 1980s and US$9 billion of this was invested in Australia (Rimmer, 1994: 234). It was with some foresight, therefore, that Stoddart (1990: 383) suggested that one of the areas worth investigating further would be the potential effects of any decline in the Japanese economy on Australian golf. As Rimmer (1994: 253) suggested, Japan is at the centre of the global economy of the sport:

The concentration of Japanese golf-centred resort development on the Gold Coast illustrates the operation of the global market mechanism. Attracted by its cheap land, Japanese investors found one golf-centred resort profitable and then sought economies of scale from subsequent developments. Without Japanese investors and speculators, this type of golf-centred resort development would not have occurred. If the resultant Japanese resorts on the Gold Coast are swept away, Australia would be worse off, because the development has proved to be an important export earner. The stark choice being presented to Australia is between either foreign debt or Japanese investment (coupled with know-how, market connections, technology and entrepreneurship).

The implications of the latest developments in the Japanese economy are not yet known, but in the new world order — where the only thing worse than receiving foreign investment (or trade or debt) is not to be receiving it (Steven, 1996: 268) — being part of the web of power may be preferable to being beyond its reach. The global economy may involve such enigmatic truths, but resistance is not futile and can have small effects on local conditions.

Conclusion

In the past two decades the base of the Japanese economy has shifted from steel, ships and petrochemicals to the information, high-technology and services industries. More recently it has shifted into leisure industries, thereby vastly
increasing the range and quality of recreational facilities available in Japan. The leisure market in Japan is huge — $10 billion yen (US$ 80 billion) a year in 1996 (The Nikkei Weekly, 1997). Life expectancy, literacy, years of schooling and personal income are extremely high. Per-capita ownership of television sets and electronic equipment is also ahead of the advanced industrial countries of North America and Europe (McCormack, 1996: 78–9). But corporate prosperity does not always signal widespread improvements in the quality of life. Political economy appears to rule that games that people play in contemporary Japan — business comes before pleasure (time) and time spent at work remains high. In corporate Japan the ‘problem’ of leisure is seen as requiring a technological fix, not an adjustment in the quality of life.

Whilst credence to other theoretical positions has been given by Guttmann (1994) in debates about sport and globalization, epistemological and ontological differences remain. This paper has suggested that the development of modern sports and leisure is best understood from a perspective that recognizes sport is shaped by the politics of local resistance against global power. In terms of modern Japan, sport was first used to modernize and then to assert parity with other leading industrial nations; more recently it has been deployed to assist the accumulation of capital through corporate sport. Japan’s route to modernity is not a unique case, but one of three or possibly four routes to modernity and forms of capitalism (Hutton, 1995; Lash and Urry, 1994; Saunders, 1995). In Japan the importance of the state for steering capitalist development has been crucial, although the current economic recession appears to be leading to an alteration in the support that the state is prepared to give to Japanese finance capital (Higgins, 1997).

One general theoretical conclusion underlying the above analysis is that the contradictions of globalization are best understood as fault-lines that produce conflicts and struggles over possible futures (Giddens, 1981). Thus outcomes are not predetermined but shaped by the scope for new alliances which are generated in these struggles. These struggles are not resolved once and for all; they require empirical investigation. The process of globalization has winners and losers without any logical resolution of contradictory forces.

From this perspective the focus is shifted away from the contradictions of systems and toward the ways in which people within systems engage in struggles over possible futures. Globalization therefore need not imply any ‘great Unifier’ of the globe — a new master narrative — but does require a de-nationalized, de-centred conception of the global (Therborn, 1995a: 137). This may not be a satisfactory conclusion for those who want to solve social problems ‘in theory’, but it is likely to lead to a more adequate sociology of sports development in which active agents, possessing differential resources, are studied as they negotiate late modernity using different strategies.

References


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Recent accounts of trends in leisure in contemporary Japan published in English have been descriptive, often atheoretical and largely statistical accounts using information derived from government sponsored surveys and documents. Underpinning these accounts has been an overly sanguine view of social and economic progress and an undifferentiated conception of Japanese society. In addition, little critical consideration has been given to the processes by which the official statistics are produced. The particular theoretical and methodological challenges thrown down in understanding leisure in contemporary Japanese society are briefly discussed in the light of a consideration of the above criticisms.

Introduction

Concluding his survey of trends in leisure in Britain in the 1980s, Roberts explained that ‘trends in leisure become intelligible only when set in their political and economic contexts’ (Roberts, 1989). Yet most of the accounts of trends in leisure (and sport) in contemporary Japan published in English recently have been overly descriptive, often atheoretical and largely present statistical information derived from government sponsored surveys and documents (Nishi, 1993; Harada, 1994; for partial exceptions see Koseki, 1989; Ozaki, 1993; and Uchiumi, 1993). Underpinning many of these accounts is an overly sanguine view of social and economic progress and undifferentiated conception of Japanese society. In addition little critical consideration has been given to the processes through which the official statistics are produced.

In the first section of the paper it will be suggested that these omissions are compounded by the way discussions about Japan and the Japanese in the West have been framed by a form of ‘orientalism’ or ‘japanism’ (Said, 1978). Said argues that ‘Orientalist’ discourses construct and perpetuate stereotypical ideas about the foreign (in this case Japanese) ‘Other’. These have been complemented by discussions about Japanese society and the Japanese people in Japan which have helped to construct similar ‘essentialist’ ideas, a form of ‘auto-orientalism’. In the second section of the paper this distortion affecting views of Japan is considered with reference to the growth in Japanese middle class consciousness. In the third section information about leisure time and leisure space in Japan is evaluated in the light of these discourses. The fourth section of the paper illustrates the problem of essentialism by reference to ideas about ‘typical’ Japanese attitudes towards leisure.
work and leisure. The concluding section advocates caution in interpreting, comparing and assessing developments in leisure in Japan.

Framing Japan

Nihonjinron (literally ‘discussions of the Japanese’) is the Japanese example of a general phenomenon. All major nation states feature a well-developed discourse on national identity - a state ideology to promote national integration or even a civil religion. This ideology helps to explain what it means to be a member of a particular nation state and how it differs from others. Historians refer to the ‘invention of tradition’ as a vital ingredient of this (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1984). Others see the nation itself as the product of ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1983). Thus Japan is not particularly different in producing theories about the nature of its people, culture and society. What makes the Japanese unique is their obsession with the question of what it means to be Japanese. It has been estimated that between 1946 and 1978 around 700 books in the nihonjinron genre appeared (Lie, 1996). Many more have appeared since then. Many became bestsellers in Japan. There is no uniformity of quality or content. One common strategy is to identify one or another aspect of Japanese culture or personality as the key defining trait - curiosity, collectivism, self-uncertainty. Nihonjinron writers seek the key to Japanese economic success in Japanese cultural uniqueness. In the West, Japan remains understood mainly through such stereotypes communicated through the mass media as well as in academic discourses (Moeran, 1996). This has tended to produce two apparently contradictory images of contemporary Japan:

- Orientalist-Japan as an unchanging, traditional, conformist, group-oriented, Asian country, portrayed through images such as the samurai, geisha, and Mount Fuji;
- Modernist (or post-hyper-modernist)-Japan as a modernized, (post-) industrial, westernized and Americanized society, recognized through developments such as the ‘Walkman’, virtual reality leisure centres, and theme parks.

Until recently academic research has largely been silent about sport and leisure in Japan, mainly concentrating on the economy, work and organizational methods. Some social anthropologists and sociologists, aware of the possibilities of distortion from ‘japanism’ in studying Japan, have recently begun to show a renewed interest in leisure, sport and popular culture in Japan (the pioneer in this respect is Linhart (1975, 1984, 1986; see also Manzenreiter, 1995). Anthropologists distinguish between two types of concept - ‘emic’ and ‘etic’. ‘Emic’ concepts are specific and peculiar to a particular culture whilst ‘etic’ concepts are thought to be applicable to all cultures, transcending national and ethnic boundaries. Sugimoto (1997) argues that a way forward in understanding Japan is to strive for a balance between ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ interpretations. If one can establish such an integrated image of contemporary Japan one will be in a better position to consider leisure within it.

Another Japanese sociologist, Seino has suggested the following general and specific features of contemporary Japan (Seino, 1996). Japan is a modernized, (post-) industrialized and westernized society, evidenced through the following features:

i. the second biggest economy (by Gross National Product) after the USA;
ii. the highest waged workers by nominal annual income level;
iii. internationally it is a member of the G7 summit and other advanced country ‘clubs’;
iv. a self-proclaimed ‘western’ economy in the non-western world, located in the far east region;
v. recently some Japanese politicians have been calling for it to become a ‘normal’ country (butsu-no-kumi) and be allowed to change the constitution imposed after 1945 and develop a strong army capable of being sent on peace-keeping duties without limit (although it already has the world’s second biggest military budget after the USA, constitutionally Japan is disarmed with a limited ‘self-defence’ organization).

In addition to having a clear understanding of this Japan, one also needs to recognize Japan’s cultural and social specificity, since it is a non-western, Asian, country with the following features:

i. a strong family structure and ethics, with relatively low separation and divorce rate, a traditional child-centred family and an age-seniority structure (in effect an Asian-type patriarchal authoritarian family);
ii. a collectivist character of thinking and behaviour in everyday life underpinned by the existence of a traditional lifestyle, which some believe to be derived from the rice-growing agriculture and village-type community structure of the recent past;
iii. non-rational behaviour patterns, mainly depending upon both belief in shintoism and ancient ritualism since the Meiji Restoration at the end of the nineteenth century, linked with symbols of the nation - the tenno-sei system (‘emperor worship’), hinomaru (the rising sun flag) and kimigayo (the national anthem);
iv. a ‘workaholic culture’, which spills over into non-working life.

According to Hendry (1993), social anthropological research in contemporary Japan reveals the maintenance of tradition as modernity has developed. Hence the continuing importance of family relationships in domestic household (ie) and associated religious practices which have held up in the face of secularization. Ideal typical classification schemas or concept pairs such as omote (front) and ura (back), sashi (inside) and soto (outside), tatemae (the ‘politically correct’ surface) and honne (the hidden ‘authentic sentiment’), also continue to influence, if not determine, institutional life (Sugimoto, 1997). Norms of obligation and reciprocity are still felt along the lines of the notion of oyabun (adult part) and kobun (child part).
Japanese firm and management style has often been perceived as stressing relative harmony and cooperation through consensus. It has even been suggested that the 'Confucian Ethic' has been to Japanese capitalism what the Protestant Ethic was to the West. Whilst there is something to this, it is also the case that this has led to a tendency to underestimate the role of conflict and the management of conflict in Japanese society (see Lie, 1996). As Sugimoto (1997) suggests:

... studies of Japanese society are incomplete if researchers examine only its tabe, on-mote and soto aspects. Only when they scrutinise the honke, ura, and uchi, sides of Japanese society can they grasp its full picture. To be Japan-literate, they should not confuse outward appearances with inside realities when examining a society in which double codes play significant roles.

The author's view is that, in developing the study of leisure (and sport) in Japan, it is vitally necessary to dissolve the 'inscrutability' that surrounds the country. In offering a critique of 'japanism' (orientalism) and nihonjinron ('auto-orientalism') an attempt has to be made to obtain a more objective position from which to assess differences and similarities between Western European and Japanese experience (Dale, 1986, 1996). This is a major obstacle to incorporating the study of Japan into comparative studies of leisure. In a condition of globality there is a need to transcend the false dichotomy between foreign universalism and domestic nativism. Actually, this is rarely achieved, although a few travel writers, for example the late Alan Booth (1986), do manage to convey the human idiosyncrasies of the Japanese without turning their subjects into ciphers for a whole culture. In the light of these observations, the focus of the next three sections of the paper will be on the problems of interpreting the growth of middle class consciousness in Japan, trends in work and leisure time and the commodification of space in Japan.

Understanding the contemporary Japanese middle class

One characteristic of 'orientalist' discourses on Japan and the Japanese, is the tradition of presenting Japan as a homogeneous society. In Leisure Studies, Harada (1994) writes 'there is a homogeneity and equality among the middle class (which makes up more than 90% of the population)'. This remarkable image is not questioned nor supported by any firm evidence although a government survey in the 1980s did find that as many as 90% of respondents actually believed themselves to be middle-class. That such a high level of 'middle-class consciousness' should be accepted unquestioningly by commentators on leisure seems odd. What factors are involved in the growth of a 'middle-class' conscious society in Japan?

'Middle class consciousness' has partly been created by the high wage levels and urbanized lifestyles of many Japanese which have developed since the 1960s. But their effective consuming power is limited by high taxes and housing costs, which are related to the issue of land ownership. During the second half of the 1980s, the years of the 'bubble economy', wages rose by 1-2%, whilst commodity-prices increased by 2-3%. Despite the relatively high wage levels and the growing value of the yen against the US dollar (doubling in value from 280 yen to one US dollar in 1985 to 140 yen to one US dollar in 1988), living standards and effective purchasing power for most Japanese people actually declined. The Japanese higher education system, into which nearly 50% of the age group enter, also gives the impression that most people (or at least half the population) have the opportunity to enter graduate-level/middle class occupations. Yet as a recent study of the Japanese 'meritocracy' concludes, 'The effect of educational credentials on eco
donomic attainment is no greater in Japan than in the United States and Britain' (Ishida, 1992). In short, Japanese society extols meritoric principles without actually living up to them (Woronoff, 1996). In recent years there has also been increasing residential segregation of the property-owning, high waged workers and professionals from other 'middle class' groups in the largest Japanese cities, a phenomenon regarded by Sassen (1994) as typical of the growth of 'global cities', such as Tokyo, New York and London.

In short, one has to unravel the notion of 'the middle class' in Japan as much as one has to elsewhere (see Savage et al., 1992). There are at least three groups who might claim the label in contemporary Japan:

i. a highly educated professional and property owning 'middle class';
ii. a university educated white collar worker 'middle class';
iii. a relatively high waged blue collar 'middle class', who have 'middle class consciousness', but whose consumption power is limited by the burdens of housing, travel to work and education costs.

It is members of the Japanese professional-managerial class and highly educated young women employees, who are unmarried and without children and are able to behave in ways that previously would have been associated only with men in their leisure time, that attract most attention. Yet, as Henry (1993) has commented with respect to Britain, tempting though it may be to turn the focus on new middle class groups in any analyses of the 'leading edge' trends in leisure, it is at the expense of the other 50, 60 or 70% of the population. That Japan remains a fundamentally differentiated society, along class, gender, ethnic and other dimensions, is confirmed by research into contemporary Japanese society recently reviewed by Lie (1996), Sugimoto (1997) and Weiner (1997).

In accounting for trends in Japanese leisure, it is important to be aware of the dangers of self-affirmatory myths standing in for substantiated knowledge about the society in question. To understand the difference between 'leisure consciousness' and 'leisure activity' in Japan, as elsewhere, it is necessary critically to assess the 'self-images' of the society ('auto-orientalism'), not fall prey to them. This can be seen also by looking at recent commentaries on work and leisure time, space and attitudes to work in Japan.
Work and leisure time

In the West, trade unions have led the working hours reduction movement whilst in Japan it has been the government. In the mid-1980s, partly as a result of international pressure, the Japanese government set out on a drive to reduce average annual working time from around 2200 hours per year to 1800 hours per year by 1992. The government largely accepted the recommendations of the (second) Maekawa Report in 1987 which advocated the move to a five-day working week, the taking of annual holiday entitlements in full and the reduction of overtime. Since the 1970s, various dates have been selected as public holidays to commemorate nationally significant events and institutions. Hence, 11 February has become ‘Founding of the nation day’, 29 March is ‘Green day’ (formerly the birthday of Emperor Hirohito), 15 July is ‘Sea day’ (umi no hi) and 23 December is the Birthday of the current emperor. In addition, some companies recognize customary and informal holidays, such as O-bon (14–16 August) and New Year (29 December–4 January), although, as in Britain, few shopworkers in large stores (dai-i) can escape the demand for them to work during the latter period.

According to McCormack (1991), in 1985 the Japanese leisure market was worth 52 million million Yen, yet the 1989 average work year was 2168 hours, virtually unchanged from the mid-1970s and between 200 and 500 hours more than elsewhere in the industrialized world and on a par with Europe in the 1950s. Less than 20% of workers had a two-day weekend; overtime, averaging 190 hours per year, had increased since 1986 and annual paid leave was on average 9 days compared with 19 in the USA, 24 in the UK, 26 in France and 29 in Germany.

The leisure market in Japan has continued to grow in financial terms, amounting to 84.4 trillion Yen in 1996, but the average male Japanese work year remains relatively unchanged in comparison with elsewhere in the industrialized world (The Nikkei Weekly, 19 May 1997). The discrepancy stems partly from the amount of ‘voluntary overtime’ (sabisu zangyri) or unpaid extra work that employees feel compelled to undertake through a combination of moral and other pressures. The ambitious target of a 1800 hours working year was not reached in 1992 and still has not been achieved, reaching just over 1900 hours in 1996 (The Economist, 31 August 1996). Legislation affecting small firms’ ability to employ workers on very long weekly hours, introduced in 1997, may have some impact in reducing the annual average further, but it cannot be assumed that even this government intervention will produce the desired goal, since it is not likely to alter the work culture significantly. It is changes in this, amongst all other factors, that will determine how far more leisure is actually created in contemporary Japan.

Whilst in the 1980s, fewer than 20% of the Japanese work force had a two day weekend and this has now grown to 40% of men, overtime working has increased since then also. Average hours worked in 1996 amounted to 1919, the second consecutive annual rise after the downward trend since the late 1980s which had encouraged speculation about a leisure ‘renaissance’. Since 1993, the Leisure Development Center has found fewer respondents in its annual survey saying they have more leisure time (The Nikkei Weekly, 19 May 1997).

In order to be in a position to fully appreciate these data on work and leisure time, it is necessary to know a little more about the Japanese labour market. The Japanese labour power structure, the multi-levelled labour market, and the division between public and private sectors, all need to be taken into account. The public sector employs about 25% of the Japanese workforce; large companies (defined as those employing 500 people and over) account for a further 20–25%. This leaves half the workforce in medium-sized firms (30–499 employees) small firms (less than 29 employees) and ‘micro’ firms (employing 4 or fewer people). This half of the Japanese labour force is often left out of the calculations by official statisticians in Japan, either because of the difficulties of actually getting accurate information about it, or because of the design of the survey (see Roberson, 1993 on the distortion this causes in our understanding of ‘working class Japanese’ patterns of work and leisure).

In a paper derived from his plenary address at the 1993 Leisure Studies Association conference in Loughborough, Harada (1994) provided many useful insights into recent developments in leisure in Japan. His account provides, however, two examples of the problems involved in interpreting trends in Japanese leisure time and space. He did not provide any critical account of the structure of the Japanese labour market nor did he reflect on the reliability of the statistics derived from government surveys. In fact there are two sets of official statistics about working time ‘employer-dependent’ statistics and ‘employee-dependent’ statistics (Seino, 1995). Data on hours at work, for example, are derived from reports collected by the Ministry of Labour from monthly returns submitted by employers in firms with over 30 employees. These labour statistics do not differentiate adequately between full-time and part-time employees (defined in Japan as those who do not work more than 35 hours per week) or male and female employees. Whilst female employees (who generally work less than 1800 hours per year) and part-time workers help to depress the actual average, full-time male employees continue, through habit of custom and their working culture which places a strong obligation on them – whether they are part of the ‘core’ workforce or not – to work long hours. This can include unpaid overtime when the agreed company limit of monthly overtime working is reached (varying from 20 to 60 hours per month).

The interpretation of recent working time statistics suggesting some significant change, or leisure ‘renaissance’, can therefore be seen to mask the continuity, particularly for middle-aged male employees and their younger, ambitious, colleagues, of a long working week. This requires a slightly different explanation however, than that offered by Schor (1993) in the ‘over-worked American’ thesis. Schor argues that in the American ‘work-and-spend’ culture this desire for greater consumption is the spur to longer working hours (The Economist, 24 August 1996; Cross, 1993). Many
commentators consider Japan to be the world’s leading ‘consumer culture’ and the study of consumption in Japan is rightly beginning to develop (see Clammer, 1997). In Japan, however, the work culture creates a disposition towards a lifestyle within which most men do not regularly participate with their families in leisure after work. Men may actually find it difficult to do anything else other than work long hours and spend considerable amounts of their ‘after hours’ leisure in the company of workplace colleagues. Their workplace-related leisure culture restricts the creation of an alternative, family- or home-based leisure culture (Linhart, 1986 on the sakuriba, or inner city ‘entertainment zones’, where many men, and a few women, retreat after work).

The existence of the workplace-related leisure culture also helps to explain the under-consumption of holiday entitlement in Japan, again despite government attempts since the 1970s to extend holiday entitlement take-up. Around 40% of annual holiday entitlement (some 8–9 days out of 21) is never taken by the majority of workers who feel compelled instead to return to work after two or possibly three days leave. Whilst employees in some employment sectors – teaching, universities and the civil service, for example, have different patterns – overall the work culture of men in contemporary Japan militates against attempts by the government to reduce working hours further. In the 1980s observers thought that a more leisure-centred culture might be growing amongst some younger workers, but for the majority the likelihood is that they will reproduce the system rather than radically alter it.

The result of this ‘time squeeze’ on the quality of life in Japan is revealed in a number of ways. Indicators of ill-health in Japan show constant increases since the 1950s in high blood pressure and nervous disorder. Sudden death from overwork (karoshi) remains a widely noted phenomenon. The Guardian, (30 March, 1996) carried a front page article entitled ‘Ad agency worker killed himself after 17 months without a day off’ which reported that in the first 11 months of 1995 the Japanese Ministry of Labour recorded 63 deaths due to overwork. As McCormack (1991, p. 121) writes, the trappings of an affluent consumer culture (gourmet foods, overseas travel, cars and electronic gadgets) ‘do not make up for housing inadequacy, lack of basic amenities such as sewerage, too few public parks and spaces, lack of time to do one’s own thing’.

The commodification of leisure space

If time is in short supply in Japan the continuing commodification of space for leisure also restricts the development of a real leisure ‘renaissance’ in Japan. The Comprehensive Resort Region Provision Law (known as the ‘Resort Law’) passed in 1987 specified reliance on ‘utilizing the abilities of private entrepreneurs’ to ensure the comprehensive provision of sporting, recreational, educational and cultural activities in ‘areas possessing good natural conditions’ (McCormack, 1991, p. 123). This created such a scramble for ‘resort area’ status by towns, villages and prefectures throughout Japan that by the end of 1989 19.2% of the entire land area of the country was involved. Had all these plans been carried out, it would have led to more of Japan’s land being used for resorts – containing ski slopes, golf courses and marinas – than for agriculture. Kyushu, the most southerly of the four main islands that comprise Japan, had over 25% of its land area incorporated in plans for resort development. The islands of Okinawa, released from US possession in 1972 and the poorest prefecture in Japan, were all declared a ‘tropical resort’ in 1989.

To understand these developments more fully one has to recognize two aspects of Japan at the end of the 1980s. First, wealth was substantially held in land ownership. In 1990 land constituted 65% of Japan’s national wealth compared with 25% in Germany, 33% in the USA and just 2.5% in the UK (Wood, 1990). Golf course construction and ownership guaranteed profits when land values continued to grow in the late 1980s. Although Japan’s commodity-price inflation level was amongst one of the lowest in the world, the rate of land-price inflation in the 1980s had no parallel as Greenfeld (1994, p. 4) explains:

Between 1985 and 1989, Japan’s GNP grew 25%; the value of Japan’s assets increased 80%. The real estate value of Tokyo, the received wisdom had it, was greater than that of the entire United States plus the asset value of every company listed on the New York Stock Exchange. The value of the Imperial Palace alone, some ten acres in downtown Tokyo, was greater than that of the entire state of California . . . A three-bedroom house on a twentieth of an acre an hour’s ride from Tokyo, which sold for US$ 100 000 in 1979, sold for US$ 1.5 million in 1989.

Secondly, revenues generated from leisure developments, such as golf course operations and ski-course construction, promised to be highly lucrative – especially from membership fees. In Japan, golf club memberships were tradable commodities, appreciating by 400% during the 1980s alone (McCormack, 1991, p. 91). In addition, sports such as golf serve as badges of social status, enabling the upper middle class to display their newfound wealth and status. ‘In short, the golfing phenomenon is more supply-side driven than it is in response to increased demand . . .’ (McCormack, 1991, p. 125).

The environmental consequences of the leisure resort ‘boom’ have been noted by several writers. In Japan many golf courses have been built ‘. . . in forested areas at the foot of mountains. Developers clear-cut the forests and use bulldozers to level off hillslopes and fill in valleys. In this way golf course construction is tantamount to the destruction of forests, pure and simple’ (McCormack, 1991, p. 126). Other environmental consequences of resort developments stem from the use of considerable amounts of agricultural chemicals and fertilizers in their establishment and maintenance. Scientific experts have estimated that in the case of each golf course, three to four tons per year of herbicides, germicides, pesticides, colouring agents, organic chlorine and other fertilizers, including chemicals that are carcinogenic, are used that can ultimately find their way into rivers, ponds, swamps and lakes or sea (see GAG'M, 1994 and GAG'M, 1995).
The 'Resort law' policies announced in the late 1980s were over-ambitious. Dependent upon private capital and land-owning and land-using systems in Japan they have not been very successful. The large scale resort planning itself was seriously criticized and in most places became impossible to actualize, dependent as it was on the changing economic circumstances (the 'bubble economy') and the rapidly rising price of land in designated areas. As McCormack (1996, p. 86) suggests the resort strategy in Japan '... evolved in a very specific national and international context.' It can be seen as the corporate capitalist response to the problems of modernizing Japan. The solution was not to reduce working hours, decentralize the population, or provide facilities for cheap relaxation in natural surroundings. Instead, supported by Government-backed legislation, there was a frenetic series of developments which largely benefited the corporations themselves, rather than the bulk of the people of Japan.

With the benefit of hindsight, therefore, it is possible to see Harada's comment that 'At present, destruction of the natural environment due to large developments is being avoided and the construction of resorts on a reasonable scale that provides profit to local communities is being reviewed' (Harada, 1994, p. 282) was far too complacent a picture of the development of spaces for leisure in Japan in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As Iwamoto (1995) has illustrated, some quite considerable environmental damage has been inflicted on the Japanese coastline in the name of 'progress' in leisure and in turn has generated some local environmental resistance. Another illustration of how the development of leisure/sport spaces in Japan are not without contestation is apparent in Nagano city, site of the 1998 Winter Olympic Games, where a sizable proportion of the local residents dubbed it 'the construction firm Olympics' (see Wall, 1995). These features are indicative of the forms and limits of contestation to sport and leisure developments in contemporary Japan.

The social production of 'workaholism' in Japan

If these criticisms are accepted, where does that leave the understanding of leisure in contemporary Japan? It is argued that in the past 20 years a number of social developments have taken place which disturb the way the world should be comprehended and conceptualized. For Smart (1993) the rapid development of Japan and other East-South Asian societies since 1945 is a prime example of postmodernity - which he defines as 'a different way of relating to modern conditions and their consequences, to present circumstances and future prospects'. According to Featherstone (1995, p. 85), Japan may make 'it necessary to go back to the drawing board to reformulate the models and typologies'. Featherstone argues that our understanding of the project of modernity becomes relativized through two main factors:

- the shifts in the global balance of power away from the West in the second half of the twentieth century; and the increased intensity of transnational flows of commodities, people, images and information which are bypassing the boundaries of the nation-states...this latter aspect...is undermining the once secure

fantasy-based 'we- and they-images', and changing the nature of identity formation to the extent that categories of people are emerging who live more mobile lives and are at ease with more fluid identities. It is this process of mobility and migration, now labelled 'postmodern' by some, which is held to be both the methodological key and the actuality of the contemporary world. (Featherstone, 1995, p. 154).

The rapid rise to economic and international prominence of Japan has played a leading role in this but, whilst it can be agreed that the apparent decentring of the west is a feature of globalization, not all of the new circumstances and potential experiences deriving from this are available to all sections of the Japanese population. Accompanying announcements of postmodern, globalized and post-colonial relations, is a downplaying of the continuities amid the unchanged changes going on within Asian and European societies. In this conceptual environment, the novel fads and fashions in leisure and cultural consumption attract far more attention than the persistence of other, more traditional, economic, political, ideological and cultural relationships. In short, there is a lack of empirical evidence for many of the claims made about the wider social significance of new cultural and leisure forms and expressions. In this regard answers to some very old questions - involving research into history, structural relationships between labour and capital and everyday life - need to be considered before one can draw significant conclusions about these novel developments.

Long working hours are associated with less developed economies and short working hours with advanced industrial societies. Japan appears anomalous. Are the Japanese genetic 'workaholics' as gullible and prone to gross exploitation as two apparently contradictory stereotypes held in the West of them would suggest? Such views share the assumption that the Japanese fall outside the realm of 'normal', i.e. 'Western', experience. In order fully to explain the social production of 'workaholism' and its impact on the Japanese 'at play' some historical evidence has to be considered.

Linhart (1984) demonstrates that Japanese behaviour regarding work and leisure was not exceptional in comparison with European conditions until the start of the Meiji period in 1868. He argues that the notion of the Japanese as 'workaholics' is 'an ideology made for the use of Japan's political and economic leaders to repress the people's national desire for a more leisurely life' (Linhart, 1984, p. 213). Some of the first acts of the Meiji government were to prohibit the exchange of New Year gifts within the family, abolish most of the traditional festivals and introduce a new calendar and with it, the Sunday. But Sunday only had meaning for civil servants, the military and children and not for those who had just been deprived of their traditional holidays. Linhart (1984, p. 213-4) recounts how when in 1918 the International Labour Organization (ILO) asked Japan to introduce a 48 hour working week, the Japanese employers association replied that:

the efficiency of the Japanese worker is low, and unlike the European worker he is not accustomed to educate himself or to devote himself to sport and play. Therefore, the time won by a reduction of working time could not be used by them
and would have bad consequences... For us Japanese naturally 10-12 hours a day is by no means an overly long working time (emphasis added).

The widely accepted essentialist notion that the Japanese people are naturally hard workers imbued with a strong work ethic is thus revealed as the ideological ploy of employers and the ruling classes in modernizing Japan. The Confucian saying: *shojin kankyo shite fusei o nasu* – which means 'If an average person has idle time, it will do him no good' - can be seen as broadly consistent with the well-known English-language statement about 'the devil making work for idle hands' and leading to similar attempts to manage the work and leisure of 'ordinary' Japanese people (quoted in Linhart, 1984, p. 214). The notion of a 'typical' and 'natural' attitude toward work and leisure in Japan can thus be seen as having been systematically built up by the ruling groups since the Meiji period (ibid).

More recent research has shown the effect of the combined influence of work, family and the education system on leisure in Japan. As Fell (1991, p. 40) wrote in her comparison of Japan with British, German and French leisure time at work and in relation to work:

a majority of the respondents, particularly in Japan, appeared to have less of the prerequisites for leisure (i.e. freedom and autonomy) at work than they would like. Most Japanese, but fewer than half the West European respondents wanted less leisure at work. Almost all the Japanese, just over half the British and West German and fewer than half the French wanted more choice in their work activities.

Furthermore, she remarks that the patterns of work and leisure at work could be related to patterns learned at school:

The division between school or work time and 'free time' is not acquired in the same way in Japan as in the west, and just as school is often followed by further learning in 'cram' schools, or by other school activities... many workers frequently do overtime hours. (ibid).

This is confirmed by more recent research into the relationship between work and leisure in middle class and working class experience in Japan (Cole, 1992, Roberson, 1993). To understand fully the meaning of leisure time and space in Japan, one needs to locate leisure within wider notions of culture. In Japan the work culture for men incorporates leisure times and spaces, making it difficult for a leisure culture separate from work to emerge for them. A discussion of the specifics of women's leisure in Japan is beyond the scope of this paper, but Watarai (1996) and Stockman et al. (1995) provide some valuable information.

Most Japanese do not feel that they have an affluent life. In government surveys the central grievances include the very heavy tax burden, long working hours, unsatisfactory housing conditions and the high cost of living. Disposable income for leisure is limited by the demands of the latter two in particular (Cole, 1992). For many Japanese the way of holiday making is in intensive bursts - two or three day visits at the most, with greater per capita spending than other holiday makers at similar places (Harada, 1994). This is not produced by rampant postmodern culture and fluid identity formation, however, but out of cultural obligations and economic necessity.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion it is useful to recall what Barrington Moore Jr (1967, p. 486) wrote thirty years ago:

The assumption of inertia, that cultural and social continuity do not require explanation, obliterates the fact that both have to be recreated anew in each generation, often with great pain and suffering. To maintain and transmit a value system, human beings are punished, bullied, sent to jail, thrown into concentration camps, cajoled, bribed, made into heroes, encouraged to read newspapers, stood up against a wall and shot, and sometimes even taught sociology.

In short one must remember that culture has to be produced. Compliant, hardworking and deferential Japanese workers of the western (and auto-orientalist) stereotypes are made not born. Additionally, it is important to heed the warning made by Goodman (1990, p. 9) about the dangers of accepting explanations of Japanese society (and one would add any society) in terms of 'culture' since they 'tend to reinforce rather than explore stereotypes about the way the society works, unless it is remembered that 'culture' is only shorthand for the confluence of economic, political and historical forces.'

Developments in sport and leisure in Japan have not been discussed nearly as much as work, organizations or the economy. Most popular studies written in English about Japanese leisure and sport have largely been framed by 'japanism' and 'orientalism'; for a sport example see Whiting (1977). Although leisure and sport can be incorporated or 'Japanized', like other nation states, political and economic leaders in Japan have often used sport and leisure for their own purposes of promotion on the international stage and for internal control. From this perspective sport and leisure can be viewed as vehicles for establishing and maintaining hegemony (see Wilson, 1988). Also as Skov (1996, p. 136) reminds us:

The exaggerated attention to what is Japanese and what is Western seems to conceal the fact that Japan is, after all, a country of alarm clocks, commuter traffic and savings accounts, more like Western Europe and North American than most other non-Western countries.

The purpose in advising caution when interpreting recent trends in leisure time and leisure space in Japan is part of an attempt to build up a fresh perspective on modernized, westernized and globalized Japan. Research informed by the concept of globalization, as this is, needs to focus on both the growth of similarity and difference in different places. If we are to make sense of contemporary social transformations, one needs to look at them as empirical questions. One also has to understand better the wider context.
within which statistical information about societies is produced and interpreted.

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References

Appendix 3: Supplementary Research Publications
The Figurational Sociology of sport and leisure of Elias and Dunning: an exposition and a critique

John Horne and David Jary

Introduction

The aim of this article is to outline and appraise the strengths and weaknesses of the Figurational Sociology of Sport of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning. With its 'distinctive' focus on the 'civilising process' (Elias, 1978b and 1982a) and on the 'sociogenesis' and complex 'structural determination' of shifting 'social (con)figurations' (Elias, 1978a). This approach has been strongly advanced not only as offering the best of all possible bases for a sociology of sport but also as able to make a contribution to the mainstream of sociology, by throwing new light on aspects of cultural and social change previously neglected by the discipline. As well as the seminal work of Elias and Dunning (especially see Dunning, 1971a and Elias and Dunning, 1969), a number of significant monographs have appeared, on rugby (Dunning and Sheard, 1979), soccer (Dunning, 1979; Wagg, 1984) and cricket (Brookes, 1978). Under the influence of Dunning, sociologists based at the University of Leicester have also become a force in research and public debate on 'soccer hooliganism' (see Dunning et al., 1982; Williams et al., 1984). A Figurationist 'paradigm' in the sociology of sport and leisure would appear to be well established, and a theoretical text on the sociology of leisure written from the point of view of Figurational Sociology has recently appeared. As its author puts it: 'Figurational Sociology is now a force to be reckoned with in the sociology of leisure' (Rojek, 1985:95).

If the objective of a sociology of sport is now widely recognised as the provision of a theoretically adequate and historically grounded analysis of changing patterns of sport, then Figurational Sociology has contributed strongly to this recognition. Its study of sport's role in the long-term transformation of culture and manners, and of the changes in class and power associated with this 'civilizing process', marked a major step forward in the sociological analysis of sport and leisure. Its thoroughgoing and uncompromising theoretical and empirical sociological focus on the interrelations of social structure and individual 'affects', and its bringing into view aspects of the process of social development previously 'hidden from history', has clearly achieved much more than most earlier approaches. These have been usually characterised either by narrowness of empirical focus or by speculative theory, with little connection between the two. Among the latter approaches rightly criticised by Dunning (especially see Dunning, 1971a and 1975 and also Dunning and Sheard, 1979) we can note the work of Huizinga (1955), who sees 'play' as the 'creative' element in social life now being overwhelmed by the 'overseriousness' of leisure, and Stone (1955), for whom the massification of society and the reduction of much modern participation in leisure to a spectator role – a concentration on 'spectacle and display' – constitutes a 'destruction of play', a literal 'dis-play'. While the Figurational Sociology of Sport incorporates elements of such theories, their limitations are seen to lie in 'Romanticism' and 'elitism', and a yearning for a mythical Gemeinschaft, with little grounding in either sociological or historical study. They are seen as failing to come to terms with the real world complexities of historical or modern sport.

The contribution of Figurational Sociology in achieving a reorientation of the sociology of sport is outlined in the first part of this article. For all its strengths, however, a key question about Figurational Sociology to be addressed in the latter part of the article is: How far its contribution has been the outcome of a 'unique' methodological position – as the Figurationists would have us believe – or how far it has resulted simply from the raising of classical sociological questions, and from recourse to conventional sociological 'best practice', in an area where these had hitherto been conspicuously absent? The latter view will be taken here. In so far as there are methods advocated by the Elias school which can be seen as differing from conventional sociological 'best practice', our argument will be that these methods should not be adopted and are likely to restrict the development of the sociology of sport. Prominent among such methodological orientations are the Figurationists' over-drawn hostility to other, including Marxian, forms of analysis, and also the restrictiveness of their method-
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ological stance on 'involvement and detachment' (see Elias, 1956 and 1978a). In more substantive terms, significant reservations will also be expressed about the theoretical adequacy and empirical fit of the thesis of a 'civilizing process'. Once these criticisms have been made, the way will be clear to underline the rival merits of other approaches to the sociology of sport and leisure (e.g. neo-

Elias, and detraction' stance from that of conventional functionalism in that no necessary reference to the 'maintenance and reproduction' of social systems is involved. This said, however, Figurational Sociology retains roots in functionalist sociology, particularly the functionalism of Durkheim.

Our overall objective then is to acknowledge the achievements of the Figurational Sociology of Sport, but in a way which leaves space for alternatives to it, for approaches which, we will argue, would be best regarded as complementary to the Figurationists' own view and research programme.

The central concepts of Figurational Sociology

The effectiveness of the Elias-Dunning perspective in achieving a reorientation of the sociology of sport can be seen as arising above all from the use in combination of two main concepts:

i) the concept of 'human (con)figuration', and

ii) the concept of the 'civilizing process'.

While the former of these ensures a focus on sport and leisure within a strong sociological frame of reference, the latter provides a general historical model in terms of which sport and leisure can receive systematic analysis. Added to this, there is also the 'accident' of Elias's fondness for presenting the general conception of the human figuration in terms of the metaphor of the 'dance' and the 'game'. Arguably a recourse to such metaphors helps to legitimise a 'serious' sociological concern with sport and leisure, and the acceptability of Elias's theoretical and substantive perspectives in this area.

The concept of the 'social figuration'

What the concept of 'human figuration' refers to is the 'nexus of interdependencies between people', the 'chains of functions' and 'axes of tensions' - both cooperation and conflict - which can be identified for any social context. It should be noted here that the concept of 'function' is presented as altogether different from that of conventional functionalism in that no necessary reference to the maintenance and reproduction of social systems is involved. This said, however, Figurational Sociology retains roots in functionalist sociology, particularly the functionalism of Durkheim.

The primary strength of the concept of figuration from the point of view of its influence on the sociology of sport is that it allows the strong assertion of the 'autonomy of sociology': the rejection of any model of Man as homo clausus - the closed or discrete individual - and the rejection of any suggestion that social explanations can be achieved satisfactorily by any reduction to purely 'individual' agency. So much is made clear in Elias's use of the metaphor of the dance and the game in illustrating his concept of the 'figuration':

The image of the mobile figurations of independent people on a dance floor (or playing sport) ... makes it easier to imagine states, cities, families and also entire (social) systems as figurations. (But) it would be absurd to say that dances (or games) are mental constructions abstracted from observations of individuals considered separately. (Elias, 1978b:262)

On the other hand, any out-and-out assertion of purely structuralist forms of explanation is equally clearly rejected by Elias. The general position advanced involves the repudiation of any form of analysis which views the 'individual' and 'society' as separate entities. A further related central position of particular value for the sociology of sport is an insistence on a recognition of the historical specificity of social figurations, their 'processual' character and their essential openness to change. The adoption of a 'four-dimensional' framework in sociological analysis is seen as essential: the provision within sociological models of a place for both 'structural' dimensions and the 'flow of social time'. The overriding view of the Figurationist is that satisfactory explanations in sociology, of a phenomenon such as modern sport, can only come from the painstaking historical and sociological analysis of the specific as well as the general features of figurations. Such explanations cannot be simply read-off - 'atomistically' - from the universal, psychological characteristics of individuals, nor can they be forthcoming from conceptions of sociology which trade on rigid conceptions of structural and historical necessity.
The 'civilizing process'

The formulation of Elias's conception of a 'civilizing process' is couched in terms of these general requirements of Figurational Sociology. As Abrams succinctly puts it, what the concept of the 'civilizing process' draws attention to are the:

profound redefinitions of 'normal' and 'proper' behaviour, the building of powerful psychological and institutional barriers to the old indiscriminate enactment of feeling (both enthusiasm and aggression) and, as a concomitant of that, the establishment of increasing . . . distance between the civilised and uncivilised members of society. (Abrams, 1982:231)

Thus, farting and spitting, the carrying out in public of all manner of unseemly bodily functions, are increasingly prohibited. Previously popular pastimes like bear-baiting or the ceremonial burning of cats become restricted by law as well as by 'internalised' feelings of revulsion. In his formulation of this process Elias was strongly influenced by Freud's *Civilisation and its Discontents*, which 'presupposes precisely the non-satisfaction (by suppression, repression or some other means) of powerful instincts' (Freud, cited in Bauman, 1979:122).

Elias's view of the 'civilizing process' as outlined in rich detail in his general historical studies (Elias, 1978b and 1982a) is that it constitutes an historical secular tendency in human societies to increasing external and internalised control over individual 'affects' and social behaviour, a tendency for the control of violence and the gradual transformation of manners, and a general distancing from nature. This process is also presented as bound up with increasing social differentiation: the creation of both increased 'individuality' and new bases for social hierarchy, as well as increasing levels of social interdependence ('mutually attuned functions') and increased social density. In general the process is connected with a strengthening in the monopoly of violence and power (and the capacity to enforce laws and standards) possessed by state formations. Along with this Elias also recognises a tendency to 'democratisation' which also brings an intensification of individual and class competition in manners, and which means that competition in terms of standards of behaviour, previously confined to members of 'court society', becomes diffused in the long run to society at large.

The ramifying implications of such a 'civilizing process' constitute the most general of figurational tendencies with which all more specific social figurations, including the forms of sport and leisure, must be seen as bound up.

The Figurational Sociology of Sport

As Dunning sees it, what Elias's general framework achieves is 'to prepare the way for the sociology of sport' (Dunning, 1971a). What Figurational Sociology ultimately succeeds in providing is an account of the origins, codification, diffusion and consolidation, and general character of modern sport.

The historical evolution of sports and games

The phenomenon of modern sport is located by Elias in terms of his general model of the civilising process. Pre-modern sports such as the original Olympic Games or the 'folk games' - the 'semi-institutionalised fights' - which are a significant source of 'tension-release' in pre-industrial societies, are characterised as involving much greater levels of violence than typical of modern sports (Elias, 1971b). This level of violence is directly related to the overall social figurations within which these games were located. The original Olympic games, for instance, were bound up with the military character of Greek society; they also involved pre-modern conceptions of 'honour', which are seen by Elias as far removed from our modern conceptions of 'fairness' and sport. In general in the Ancient World the outcome of games and sporting events could often be bodily mutilation or even death. It is such levels of violence which, according to Elias, were progressively brought under control as a consequence of the 'civilizing process'; aspects of this same process are seen as leading to the new standards of 'fairness' and correct sporting behaviour which modern forms of sport introduce.

For Elias and for Dunning modern sport is 'a specific type of pleasurable excitement' which is markedly different from the less than pleasurable type of excitement that people experience in serious critical situations. Sports along with many other forms of leisure in modern society take on a 'mimetic' quality. In the modern forms of 'combat sports', for example, deeply rooted
emotions are socially channelled into relatively controlled contexts. Modern forms of football – both soccer and rugby – are identified by Elias and Dunning as civilised versions of earlier forms of traditional folk games in which levels of violence are carefully controlled. As games, they must continue to meet the need for excitement in what Elias and Dunning portray as ‘inherently unexciting societies’; but they must do so without threatening the requirement for new standards of social and self-control (Elias and Dunning, 1969).

The internal dynamics of sports games

It is the number and subtlety of the new perspectives on sport and society which Elias and Dunning are able to achieve which give their analysis its strong interest. Exemplification of this is seen in the variety of levels at which their analysis operates. As well as the analysis of the wider social forces impinging on sports and games, the internal – ‘figurational’ – features of particular games which give these games their distinctive appeal also receive analysis. Drawing on Elias’s more general recourse to an abstract, ‘formal’ figurational analysis of games (Elias, 1978a), the capacity of modern football to sustain a controlled ‘excitement’ is analysed in these terms (Elias and Dunning, 1969). Among mimetic ‘combat sports’, soccer in particular is portrayed as notably effective in maintaining a rule governed ‘controlled tension’ while at the same time confining this conflict to those levels acceptable within civilised society.

The social origins of modern soccer and rugby

This initial analysis of football and rugby by Elias and Dunning receives further impressive elaboration in the later work of Dunning, in conjunction with Sheard. Particularly fruitful, both as specific studies and as models of general sociological inquiry, are their studies of Rugby Football (Dunning and Sheard, 1979) and Soccer (Dunning, 1979).

The central questions addressed in both these studies, as summarised by Dunning and Sheard (1979:6), are:

i) ‘the reasons why Britain was the first country to develop modern forms of sport’,

ii) the role of the civilising process in the shaping of modern forms of football,

iii) the ‘novel angles’ which the study of sport can throw ‘on the development of the British class structure’,

iv) the way in which the character of modern sports is still changing in line with the major social and economic forces in modern society.

In each of these areas Dunning and Sheard are able to demonstrate how the development of both soccer and rugby can be interpreted as involving complex responses to industrialisation and to changes in class relations and social power. Their work can be regarded as providing the well grounded account of the rise of modern sports for which Elias (1971b) had called to replace the more speculative histories which hitherto had typified the historical and ‘sociological’ study of sport.

An account of the main phases in the development of modern football as identified by Dunning and Sheard will be indicative of the overall character of their analysis. It is the efforts from the 1830s onwards of influential Public School headmasters like Arnold at Rugby to limit the incidence of pupil-power and unruly behaviour within these schools which Dunning and Sheard see as leading to the introduction of new forms of football. The replacement of disorderly premodern forms of football in the Public Schools by new forms of football more compatible with changing conceptions of ‘proper’ behaviour and the ‘gentlemanly ideal’ is shown as linked with conflicts which are clearly class-related. The drive for change came from schoolmasters, themselves often drawn from relatively humble middle class backgrounds, who were anxious to undermine the ethos and influence of the traditional gentry within these schools, while increasing their own authority. At the same time, they aimed also to increase the appeal of these institutions to a rising urban industrial middle class by providing forms of schooling which would equip its offspring in the intensifying contest over status in modern society.

At every stage leading up to the modern forms of football, class and status considerations continued to exert a profound influence: in the period in which the newly introduced games were gradually codified between 1830 and 1863, at the point of bifurcation between soccer and rugby with the formation of the Football Association in 1863 and the Rugby Football Union in 1871, and in
the later bifurcation of Rugby into its amateur and professional forms of 1895.

In general terms, Dunning and Sheard see modern sports, including soccer and rugby, as first emerging in the context of a conflict between traditional agrarian mores and the competitive ideology and new social controls of modern society. Traditional folk-games had flourished in a social context 'characterised simultaneously by massive inequality and patterns of intimate social mixing in spheres such as sports' (Dunning, 1979:13). In these circumstances social mixing could occur without this posing a threat to the preservation of social distance in other spheres. In contrast, in an era of greater social democratization, the development of modern football occurs in a climate of pervasive class and status competition, status emulation and increasing class conflict.

In this manner, the initial division of football into two codes is convincingly demonstrated by Dunning and Sheard to be the outcome of a class competition between two schools: the 'aristocratic' Eton and the more 'bourgeois' Rugby. Thus the initial trend to the codification of sporting rules arose from a competitive drive to social respectability within the Public Schools, a process also carried forward in the ancient Universities. Subsequently, in a continuation of the process of social emulation, the new sports were adopted by the middle class at large. Finally, in a more general process of intra- and inter-class diffusion, which Dunning and Sheard say still needs to be better studied, the game spread to the working class.

When the professionalisation of soccer occurs this is associated not so much with the outright possession of the game by the working class (cf. Taylor, 1971) but with the game's capture and control by a wider entrepreneurial and commercial middle class than had been responsible for its initial codification. Because of this, the social conflicts which surround the professionalisation of soccer, while also involving differences of view about the amateur ideal, were heavily overlain with the language and strategies of class competition and class conflict. For as long as it remains the dominant ideology in modern sport the amateur ideal acts to preserve for socially privileged groups a sporting advantage over those less privileged and unable to compete as effectively at the highest levels. When overthrown as the dominant mode, the amateur ideal nevertheless lives on as a basis of social closure and social exclusion in leisure pursuits, and also as a basis of wider social differentiation. Illustration of this is seen in the way in which the introduction of professional soccer leads to a switch from soccer to rugby in public schools and grammar schools, ostensibly to escape the 'tainting' of amateur sport by the values of professionalism but also achieving a social class differentiation of sporting pursuits. Rugby's elevation as the socially superior game, which had occurred only after soccer's professionalisation and its increasing adoption by the working class, is secured by this process. It is further assisted by the hiving off from the Rugby Union of the professional Rugby League in 1895.

This split between the two codes of rugby football is again explained by Dunning and Sheard in class terms. Their suggestion is that the leadership of the game of rugby in the 1890s was less socially secure and in closer competition with rising classes than had earlier been so when plainly elite groups had been able to retain overall control of soccer through the Football Association—preserving a single code, while at the same time allowing space for formation of the professional Football League. Battles over professionalisation in rugby, coming somewhat later than in soccer, take place at a time when class competition and conflicts had intensified. Rugby, with its peculiar sharpness of institutional separation into amateur and professional and middle and working class forms, and its division also from soccer, is regarded by Dunning and Sheard as a Durkheimian 'crucial case' allowing clear visibility of the decisive forces underlying the development of modern sport.

'Football hooliganism'

On the face of it, the apparent growth of 'football hooliganism' is a phenomenon which would seem to contradict the thesis of a 'civilizing process'. But to accept such a simple view would be to fail to appreciate the nature of the Elias hypothesis, which refers to a long-run and essentially erratic tendency. This leaves open to the Figurationists a number of possible arguments. Partly it can be suggested that football hooliganism attracts attention precisely because violence is now more exceptional and less acceptable than previously, and generally at odds with the civilising process. Nevertheless, contrary to some views, the Figurationists do not dispute the 'reality' of football violence, although they do dispute that it is an entirely new phenomenon. The thesis of the Oxford
school (e.g., Marsh et al., 1978) who suggest that football ‘violence’ can be seen as mainly ‘ritualised aggression’ and, if left alone, as ‘self-regulatory’, is rejected. The arguments of this school, a ‘theoretical melange’ of phenomenological idealism and structural linguistics according to Dunning (1983) are regarded as ‘ahistorical’ and flawed by ‘individualism’. Instead, an analysis of historical figurations shows clearly (see Dunning, 1981) that the incidence of football violence is broadly related to shifting levels of class frustration and class conflict, although affluence and mobility, as well as media construction and amplification, are also acknowledged as playing a part in recent increases in football violence (also see Williams et al., 1984).

An attempt to explain football violence in terms of class conflict is, of course, not new. Taylor (1971) in particular had suggested so much in seeking to trace football violence to frustrations arising from a greater social distance between players and working-class supporters which he saw as the result of increasing commercialisation and general loss of working-class involvement in the workings of football clubs. However, Taylor’s general thesis is found unacceptable by Dunning and his co-researchers on a number of counts, not least the absence of any evidence that football ever had been substantially under working-class control. The alternative class analysis which the Leicester team themselves present to explain the resurgence of football violence derives from the work of the urban sociologist Graham Sutles (1972) as well as Elias, depending on a Durkheimian ideal type distinction between ‘functional’ and ‘segmental’ bonding. While ‘functional bonding’ is seen as the characteristic form of bonding in modern ‘civilised’ societies, segmental bonding is nevertheless still present, notably in the important representation through sport of concepts of locality and nation. Moreover this latter form of bonding is seen as possessing particular potency within working class localities, especially so in those areas where economic recession has fuelled class frustrations and has helped to bring a reversion of ‘rough’ and relatively ‘uncivilised’ patterns of social behaviour, including football violence.

Contemporary sport

As seen from its account of ‘soccer hooliganism’, and for all its emphasis on the historical role of class conflict in the evolution of sport, it is a relatively orderly picture of contemporary sport which finally emerges from Figurational Sociology. There is a recognition of variations between societies in the pace and the forms of development (e.g., notable differences between Britain and America arising from a different balance in the strengths of the amateur ideal and commercialism – Dunning and Sheard, 1979). But contemporary sport is presented as on the whole well matched to the needs of modern society, and moving ultimately in line with the requirements of the ‘civilizing process’, including the onward march of commercialised leisure and professional sport, now occurring even in such previously sacrosanct spheres as rugby union.

Strengths and weaknesses of Figurational Sociology

Our sketch of the contribution of the Elias–Dunning school to the sociology of sport now completed, it will be useful to summarise what we see as its main achievements:

i) an account of the rule-governed character of modern sport in which ‘mock fights’ on the whole replace true violence,

ii) an analysis and historical account of sport and society in which changes in the division of labour and class relations are shown to be central to the development and institutionalisation of modern sports and games,

iii) a neo-Durkheimian account of the important ‘symbolic’ role of sport in providing significant ‘representations’ of nation and community in modern society, and a source also of ‘personal identities’ (for further indication of these aspects see Dunning and Sheard, 1979, and Sheard and Dunning, 1973).

In all of this, it is not only the generality but the historical detail and the considerable subtlety of the Figurational Sociology of Sport which stands out compared with most previous approaches. We now wish to move, however, to the substantial reservations we have about the claims made in association with Figurational Sociology. As well as questions about the claims made for its ‘uniqueness’ of methodology compared with alternatives, there are also major questions to raise about the concept of the ‘civilizing process’, including its, in some respects, apparently contradictory relation to many of Figurational Sociology’s main methodological precepts.
The success of the Figurational Sociology of Sport, in our view, has had most to do with its being first in the field - armed with its notion of the 'figuration' - in providing a general historical sociology which could effectively interrelate the internal dynamics of sport with the wider dynamics of society. That it was in general able to do this while also avoiding either 'methodological individualism' or a 'reifying structuralism' was a further strength (cf. Turner, 1985). However, any thesis of the distinctiveness or the indispensability of the concept of 'figuration' in making Figurational Sociology's contribution possible must be challenged. What needs to be asserted is that there are other approaches within general sociology which could have achieved the same outcome; or put another way, the same approaches exist elsewhere under other umbrellas within the discipline. As pointed out by Bauman, there exists a clear affinity between the idea of figuration and such rather household sociological notions as 'pattern' or 'situation' (Bauman, 1979:118-19). Bauman and also Abrams (1982) are examples of numerous recent commentators (also see Wolf, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; and Smith, 1984) who, while finding much to praise in Elias's general sociology, firmly reject the claims of its supporters that it constitutes an 'alternative sociology' - Bauman refers to Figurational Sociology as a 'credo'.

Among those sociological commentators particularly persuaded by or centrally involved in voicing Figurational Sociology's more strident claims to special status we can note Wilson, (1977), Mennell (1982) and especially Gouksbom (1977a and b) - at times, a near 'charismatic movement', according to Bauman (1979:112). The fact is, however, that what is valuable in the general approach within Figurational Sociology need not be seen as other than the classical approach in general sociology; it is not now distinctive in the sociology of sport. In addition to this, the Figurational approach seriously underestimates the importance and viability of central approaches in general sociology - especially but not only the marxian - where 'relational' conceptions of structure and agency are found which, although remaining sensitive to problems of reification, make possible a fuller elaboration of the structural forces impinging on sport.

In part, the special pleading for Figurational Sociology can be explained as the outcome of the fact that Elias stood somewhat off the main track of academic sociology at the time he was writing *The Civilizing Process*. This, along with the book's apparent marginality of subject-matter, engendered an isolation for his sociology, compounded also by the irony of the volume's publication in German in the context of war in 1939. Claims for distinctiveness were fostered in this context of exclusion. They were further fired by the search by Elias supporters for explanations for the neglect of his work, so that Elias's reception became interpreted in terms of a blindness induced by central weaknesses of method and perspective in modern sociology, which Elias presented as dominated by 'pseudo dichotomies' (Elias 1978a) - e.g., 'individual versus society', 'order versus change'. However, it can be strongly argued that this picture of modern sociology itself provides a distorted view of the discipline. Whilst the substantive focus of Eliasian sociology was certainly neglected, Elias admits that his own general approach to sociology has been constructed as a continuation of nineteenth-century classical sociology. However, it is simply not true that mainstream sociology has ever lost contact with this tradition; rather it has continuously sought to grapple with the necessity of combining structure and individual agency, and order and change, within one sociology. This lack of distinctiveness may perhaps explain the relative absence of direct use of Elias's work - as well as some criticism of his work - by a number of leading sociologists who studied under or worked with Elias at Leicester (e.g., Giddens, 1984). Rather than mainstream sociology losing reality in a pursuit of 'pseudo dichotomies' it can be suggested that it is Elias and his supporters who have themselves constructed such dichotomies - and most 'figurationally' - in caricaturing the work of others.1 These stereotypes can be seen as preventing any open 'dialogue' between Elias's general sociology and the mainstream, and a clear view of alternative sociologies of sport.

Rather than any methodological 'distinctiveness', then, the 'marginality' of Elias's sociology would seem to be best explained as bound up with the context of the initial publication of his *magnum opus* and with its focus on apparently 'marginal' cultural phenomena. In this context Dunning in particular is to be congratulated on exploiting the possibilities of the focus for the sociology of sport and leisure. This does not mean, however, that the focus on cultural and sporting phenomena embodied in Elias's concept of the 'civilizing process', whatever its productiveness in some respects, can itself escape criticism. It can be seen as an amalgam of fruitful notions and those whose utility is more questionable, including the apparent contradictions in the central methodological prescriptions of Figurational Sociology, especially
a tendency to 'latent evolutionism'. On the positive side, as seen above, the concept of the 'civilizing process' is responsible for the focus on 'combat sports' and the codification and domestication of these in their modern forms. It provides a systematic – if only one – rationale for focus on class, class emulation and class conflict. Against this, however, and variously at odds with some elements of Figurational Sociology's own methodological self-definings, functionalist, evolutionary and related assumptions associated with the concept of the 'civilizing process' have been rightly questioned, for example: 'the apparent irreversibility of the process' (Lasch, 1985), its 'irrefutability' (Smith, 1984), its explicit or implicit reference to 'societal needs' and 'functional requirements'. Of course, there need be no outright objections to functional analysis or the use of 'untestable' general frameworks in sociology – indeed the productiveness of the concept of the 'civilizing process' in these respects is apparent. But there are aspects of the concept of the 'civilizing process' and its implicit functionalism and evolutionism which are one-sided in the questions raised (despite the best intentions of Figurational Sociologists).

Noting this, some observers have wanted to locate Figurational Sociology clearly in the ranks of the 'social order' and 'social control' sociologies, as presenting leisure as performing 'compensatory' functions (Stedman Jones, 1977). Others also note the Figurationalists' relative neglect of countertendencies to the civilising process (e.g., public displays of sexuality, the 'barbarism' of modern warfare – Buck-Morss, 1977 – and some modern sports) and their tendency to overlook more 'negative' aspects of modern social control (e.g., attacks on privacy, pervasive surveillance – Lasch, 1985), including the 'social control' goals of some modern sports administrators. This also can be seen as leading to a relative neglect of forms of leisure potentially more socially transformative in their implications (e.g., the rise of new uncompetitive sports, especially among women). It is an 'oversocialised' and 'one-dimensional' conception of the person and society that emerges in Elias and Dunning's work – with only part of the tradition of Freud apparent. In general, there is a neglect of the overall 'hegemonic' and contested functions of sport within a capitalist society (e.g., the role of sport in fostering competitiveness and possessive individualism). Instead, a focus on 'affect control' and the new 'domestication' of sport holds the centre stage: an emphasis on 'evolutionary' adjustments or on regressions in terms of this process. Dunning's use of Suttles's model in accounting for 'football hooliganism' is revealingly symptomatic of this aspect of the Figurational approach.

The 'functionalism' and 'latent evolutionism' of Figurational Sociology – tending always to override its methodological emphasis on the necessity for detailed historical research – can also be seen in an obvious weakness of the Figurationalists' discussion of gender and sport. Both Elias (1971b) and Sheard and Dunning (1973) rightly stress the general role of modern sport in the social construction of 'personal identities', and are in many ways perceptive on the implications for specifically 'male identity' of the continuation of sports like rugby as a 'male preserve'. However, the background assumptions of this analysis – e.g., changes in the significance of rugby as a male preserve arising from new pressures for increasing gender equality in society (especially also see Dunning, 1986) – are 'evolutionary' ones which short-circuit any great dependence on historical and empirical study. Jennifer Hargreaves (1986), for instance, is critical of both the 'ahistorical' assumption about 'patriarchy' and the 'inevitability' of equality found in this analysis. She also notes the failure of Figurationalists to relate fully to alternative feminist research and theory.

If one-sidedness and a degree of implicit theoretical overclosure can be seen as a problem in Figurational Sociology, at odds with its own explicit stress on the open-endedness of social situations, a source of this apparent paradox can be traced to the ultimately 'empiricist' epistemological position adopted by Figurationalists. Smith (1984) as well as Bauman (1979) see this as a significant problem: the expressed intent of Figurationalists to 'surrender only to the intrinsic logic of the object' of analysis, the attempt never to import into an analysis general frameworks which 'the figurations themselves do not dictate', leads to a failure to achieve a sufficient coverage and range in theories, especially in relation to possible transformations of society. Significantly Elias's approach is praised by Bendix (1978), a sociologist who in recent years has grown noticeably suspicious of theoretical ambition in sociology. For Smith (1984), however, Eliasian historical sociology must be compared adversely with other historical sociologies – e.g., Barrington Moore – which are more willing to take on board explicit theorising about alternative futures. The problems of Eliasian 'empiricism' are also evident in a different form in the recent monographs produced by students working within the Figurationalism frame of reference. The studies by Wagg, The
Figurational Sociology within the sociology of sport – all of them embodying good general sociological practice, sensitivity to history, and a concern to avoid individualist or structuralist traps – we want to round off this article by examining examples of these. These alternative approaches, we want to suggest, possess the same general capacity to focus on the important themes raised by the Figurational approach, but do so in a far broader way. This makes them, if not necessarily a replacement for this approach, very much complementary to it, in ways either ignored by the Figurationalists or misunderstood or misrepresented by them.

The approaches we want briefly to outline are Richard Gruneau’s critical sociology of sport (especially Gruneau, 1983) and research carried out at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) into youth and sport and recreation (see Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Clarke, 1978; Clarke et al., 1979; Hall et al., 1980; Clarke and Critcher, 1985). These represent respectively a critical sociology of sport derived from cultural and historical studies and the work of Giddens, and a cultural studies tradition with its Marxist influences by Gramsci.

Class, sports and social development – the work of Gruneau

As an amalgam of several strands of thinking in recent social theory, including Gramscian Marxism, English Cultural Studies, and also the work of Wright Mills and Giddens, Gruneau’s explicit objective has been to remedy what he sees as the failing of the conventional approach to sports sociology, the downplaying of social conflict and division, in favour of a stress on the integrative and smooth evolution of games and sport.

Two emphases can be seen as uppermost in his developmental sociology of sport: i) the ever present ‘duality’ of ‘liberating’ and ‘constraining’ developments and ii) the limitations increasingly placed on sport and recreation, especially those constraints seen as arising specifically from capitalistic society. While neither of these emphases is entirely absent in the perspective of the Figurationalists, it is the latter in particular which remains understated in their work, and both of these elements receive a more rounded treatment in the work of Gruneau and those like him, which also allows a far greater integration with more general work on class and state power. In contrast with the restrictive doctrines of ‘ethical neutrality’ of Elias and Dunning, a further advantage is

Alternative sociologies of sport

Since in our view there now exist several major alternatives to

Football World (1984), and Brookes, English Cricket (1978), are examples here, possessing limitations which can perhaps be laid at the door of a too literal acceptance of Elsonian precepts of empiricism, leading these studies to get bogged down in minor details of the sports form, without always engaging fully with general issues.

The co-existence of the problems of speculative functionalism/evolutionism and descriptivism in Figurational Sociology would appear to point to unsatisfactory elements of incoherence and incompleteness in its overall framework. The general difficulties here are also exacerbated by the further central doctrines of Figurational Sociology on ‘neutralisation and involvement’ articulated by Elias (1956) and endorsed by Dunning (e.g., Dunning, 1983). Elias supports the general goal of ‘neutralisation’ in sociology, which along with the ‘descriptivist’ emphasis above, he sees as achieved by avoiding philosophical speculation and involvement with values in the research phase of sociology. The failure to do this is seen as a weakness particularly of marxian sociology. This leads some observers (e.g., Smith, 1984) to see Elias and Dunning as foregoing all evaluations, but in fact this is only apparently the problem. In actuality, Elias remains heir to the classical Comtean tradition in sociology, with its criticism of purely speculative philosophy but also its continued goal of reaching well-founded evaluation on a scientific basis. The problem then is not that Elias and Dunning fail to provide social evaluations, but that they do so on the basis of their own allegedly ‘neutral’ findings – while trying to withhold this possibility from other more ‘committed’ – e.g., neo-marxian and feminist – sociologies (e.g., Dunning, 1983 and 1986). As an alternative to this view of knowledge, it would seem more conducive to the pursuit of ‘objectivity’ (see Gouldner, 1976; Becker, 1967) to view sociology of all types as necessarily involving evaluations while always seeking to ground these adequately in sound knowledge and open ‘unconstrained’ discourse between theories. Here, as elsewhere, as long as the Figurationalists persist in special pleading and the differentiation and self-distantiation of their own sociology from other forms, this will only be damaging to the development of the sociology of sport.
that the evaluative position of Gruneau is also far more "up front" and undisguised by epistemology.

Like Dunning and Sheard in their study of English sport Gruneau isolates critical phases in the development of Canadian sport (see Gruneau, 1983:93). In discussing these phases Gruneau engages directly with the work of the Figurationalists, explaining how in the case of Canada 'the formal organisation of football... lagged behind such developments in England until well into the late nineteenth century' (Gruneau, 1983:103-4). In mid-nineteenth-century Canadian society the predominance of mercantile capital and the absence of a strong industrial bourgeoisie are seen by Gruneau as making cricket, instead, the greater attraction: for Canada's colonial merchants and aristocrats

it combined an excellent and enjoyable forum for learning discipline, civility, and the principles of fair play with a body of traditions and rules offering a ritual dramatisation of the traditional power of the colonial metropolis and the class interests associated with it'. (p. 104)

Gruneau largely accepts the Dunning and Sheard thesis that 'the concept of amateurism seems to have evolved in a dialectical fashion as a conscious strategy of exclusion in class relations' (Gruneau, 1983:109). It became a major factor in the establishment of Canadian national governing bodies of sport in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and in the rearguard action against both commercialisation of sport and new conceptions of 'scientific play'. However, in the long run 'a petty bourgeois mobilisation of bias' in favour of commercialisation replaced the earlier amateur ideal. As Gruneau expresses it, 'greater freedom revealed itself, paradoxically, also to be an abstract symbolisation of constraining commodity relations' (p. 121).

It is here and in his treatment of the decisive 'critical' phase in Canadian sports development that the greatest contrast is apparent between the approach of Gruneau and the Elias school. The transition from colonial society to industrial capitalism is seen as bringing in its wake a commodity-like form for 'spectacular game-contests' in which workers became consumers of a product within what Braverman (1974) has called the 'universal market'. Gruneau dates modern corporate sport in Canada as emerging finally during the 1920s and 1930s, and becoming manifest particularly in the 'cartelisation' of ice hockey. Trends established then, such as the 'embourgeoisement' of professional players, and interlocking patterns of team ownership, have since been supported and reinforced by the influence of the mass media and sports sponsorship. In summary, Gruneau argues that:

close cultural ties between working-class recreation and commercial gaming and sporting activities were generated and solidified at a time when such activities were somewhat oppositional features within the hegemony of the late nineteenth century. However, the full-scale incorporation of commercial sports into Canadian capitalism has (now) created a situation where this long-standing cultural attachment appears to have reproductive consequences. (Gruneau, 1983:127-8)

Sport and recreation in twentieth century Canada are thus seen as often indistinguishable from commodity relations, aiding the incorporation of the working class into capitalist relations.

Plainly, although he shares with Dunning an obvious concern to develop a historical sociology in which social processes and class relations are paramount, for Gruneau the history of sports developments explores dimensions which are weakly present or simply absent in the approach of the Figurationalists. For Gruneau sport is always an arena where hegemony can be seen at work (or perhaps more aptly 'in play'). Furthermore, although he recognises in sport certain of the symbolic qualities ascribed to it by the figurationalists at their most Durkheimian, for Gruneau sports as symbols are important not only as incorporatively hegemonic or because they are 'texts which tell us stories and provide an excitement rarely found in other areas of life' (Gruneau, 1983:149) but also because sports can sometimes act as 'metaphoric' statements with a capacity to 'dramatize utopian aspirations for human freedom, heroic actions and equality' (ibid., p. 147). As such, sports are also seen by Gruneau as 'expressions of agency'. Whether or not one would wish to accept all its elements, what Gruneau's analysis obviously achieves is an openness of emphases on both structure and agency (including more explicit consideration of alternative futures, as well as a different order of 'evaluation') which are largely missing from the approach of the Figurations. In general, then, Gruneau can be said to offer the greater coverage and wider range in the theoretical analysis of sport and leisure that critics of Figurational Sociology have called for, and he does so without loss of credibility as a genuinely sociological imagination.
Resistance through rituals – the work of the CCCS

The perspective of students and researchers from the CCCS – even if not to be accepted uncritically – provides a final indication of the kinds of absences to be weighed against the strengths of Figurational Sociology. First, the CCCS emphasis on ritualistic aspects of leisure (‘resistance through ritual’, e.g., via a ‘bricolage’ of commercial styles) provides a particularly valuable model of the ‘hegemonic’ and the ‘oppositional’ import of sport and leisure. Second, whereas the role of the state in contemporary society receives little systematic elaboration in the work of the Figurationists, the theoretical framework for analysing state power provided by the CCCS is potentially highly fruitful.

Essentially, what the CCCS research directs attention to is the post-war ‘social construction’ of youth and leisure through media and state intervention. They see this issue as a ‘uniquely modern problematic’. In particular, CCCS researchers have revealed working class youth culture as facing changes in the neighbourhood and the local labour market, and seeking through leisure ‘magical solutions’ to class predicaments (see Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Cohen, 1980) – the source of plainly different and more ‘open-ended’ accounts of working-class behaviour than, for example, the ‘functionalist’ accounts of ‘football hooliganism’ – as regression to earlier patterns of social solidarity – offered by Dunning et al. (1982).

It is of interest to note in detail the markedly different treatment of ‘football hooliganism’ provided by CCCS researchers (see Critcher, 1979, and Clarke, 1978). The figurationists suggest that CCCS researchers and others, neglecting history, view football hooliganism as an ‘entirely new phenomenon’. But this is not so. As Clarke (1978) sees it: ‘Types of behaviour which were once perfectly normal and commonplace in football crowds ... (become) ... seen as deviant and hooligan behaviour’ (Clarke, 1978:57). For Clarke, violence as such is ‘not the centre of the difficulty, for football’s history has always been marked by forms of violence both on the pitch and off it’ (p. 55). The central problem, is that since the sixties the controllers of the game have sought to reshape the sport to make it a more respectable and, in Gruneau’s general phrase, a more ‘marketable and consumable video product’ (Gruneau, 1983). Ian Taylor’s (1985) counter to the Dunning thesis is also of note, suggesting that it is easy to see why the project to play down the distinctive recent levels of football violence is ‘helpful’ to an ‘evolutionary’ and idealist theory such as the thesis of a civilising process, but denying that this is helpful in understanding contemporary working class youth in Britain.

What these features of the CCCS approach, and of Gruneau, underline is that, contrary to the suggestions of Figurational Sociologists, ‘ahistoricity’ or ‘determinism’ are not the problem in neo-marxist sociologies of this sort. On the contrary, theoretical analysis and empirical research on relations between cultural forms and state, class, and economy are handled – actually or potentially – more fully than in Figurational Sociology, reflecting what, following Gramsci, CCCS researchers recognise as the need to capture the ‘current moment’ of hegemony – the specific state of ‘negotiations’ over authority and meanings between dominant and subordinate class groupings. CCCS researchers have demonstrated in their historical case studies of youth and recreation an awareness of the need to provide full elaborations of the historical context as well as analysis in general terms. In contrast, Dunning et al.’s (1982) analysis of ‘football hooliganism’ is pitched at too high a level of generality, resulting from its over-reliance on the ‘evolutionism’ of the concept of the ‘civilising process’. Thus, the idea of a ‘curvilinear pattern’ of football related violence, somehow connected to shifting levels of class frustration and class conflict (Dunning et al, 1982:147), whilst attractive, is never fully explicated or entirely historically grounded. The CCCS approach can be seen as allowing more space for open agency and a more adequate account of structural factors and ideological influences in modern society than usual in Figurational Sociology. Arguably, a history relating the cultural spheres of society with changes in the economy and state formation, to which the CCCS researchers and theorists like Gruneau, are beginning to point the way, provides a more satisfactory basis for developing a general sociology of sport, and one complementary to, but potentially transcendent of Figurational Sociology.

Conclusions

Our argument has been that there should be clear recognition of the part played by Figurational Sociology in helping to bring major improvements in the sociological analysis of sport and leisure, but that its exclusive claims and restrictive epistemology – especially when combined with a caricaturing of alternative positions – have
served to limit its focus. Our contention is that alternative approaches to Figurational Sociology, while retaining an emphasis on historical sociological analysis and on 'structure and agency', can now provide a fuller elaboration of the 'duality' of structure and agency than Figurational Sociology has typically managed. It must be underlined that we have not sought to argue for the outright superiority of the 'alternative' approaches to Figurational Sociology examined. Nor would we wish in any way to suggest that all is well with these alternatives. A good deal remains contentious in these approaches. But the questions raised by alternative theories are vital ones, with which the Figurational Sociology of sport fails to engage fully, and which need to be raised. It is in this respect that the two sets of approaches can be seen as complementary.

Although there are some signs that Dunning is growing more open to the ideas of others (e.g., his welcome for Gruneau's volume - Gruneau, 1983), his inclination nevertheless is still to seek to emasculate alternative theories - e.g., 'framing' even those neo-marxian theories he finds acceptable as 'abandoning marxism' (Dunning, 1983) - and he remains critical of their continuing lack of 'value neutrality'. In his view any 'synthesis' in the sociology of sport would require a 'distance and detachment from the cold war and the class struggle' (Dunning, 1983:141) as well as from feminism - clear evidence of his continued attachment to a restrictive methodology and a tendency to relapse into unhelpful caricature of alternative, but potentially complementary, approaches.

Notes

1 Elias (1978a) abounds with generally caricatured accounts of alternative approaches to his own. Although he acknowledges that at the time of his first formulation of the Figurational approach and its alternatives his familiarity with much of sociology was limited, central elements of these accounts have changed little, and there is only limited evidence of any genuine openness to other views.

2 Uncharitable, caricatured presentation of alternative sociologies are again in evidence here. Marxism is portrayed as presenting itself as a science only for reasons of prestige.

3 We would make recourse here to a 'discourse' theory of truth (c.f. Habermas, 1978; Feyerabend, 1978) which although it does not require a 'synthesis' of approaches does require an openness to issues between which is unconstrained by restrictive epistemology. In general Elias's own conception of science, while it anticipates something of the Kuhnian view, is not systematically

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Leisure, symbolic power and the life course

Mike Featherstone

Introduction

Sociologists of leisure constantly draw attention to the problems involved in providing an adequate definition of leisure. Often it is defined residually in relation to paid work, leisure being non-work time, or free time. This raises the question of those who do not do paid work, children, the old, housewives, the retired, the unemployed - do they have leisure? It also raises questions about the nature and significance of non-work activities. Should leisure be confined to rational recreation (organised sport, etc.) or include more mundane activities such as the 'big five' described by Roberts (1978): television, drinking, smoking, betting and making love? The term leisure also suggests fun, distraction, pleasure, but non-work time can include routinised maintenance pursuits, do-it-yourself, housework, etc. and the fact that such activities themselves are sometimes regarded as a source of pleasure and personal transformation should not be ignored (Martin 1984). Individuals may therefore find varying degrees of expressivity and self-control, in effect leisure, while engaged in routine work.

A further problem with the emphasis upon leisure as 'relatively self-determined activity' (Roberts 1978, p. 5) is that it is in danger of drifting towards a consumer sovereignty model, where the freedom of individuals to choose leisure pursuits is presented as a progressive feature of modern industrial societies in contrast to the alleged integration and bonded constraints of the traditional communal order. Such approaches neglect the way in which choices may be reduced effectively to the choices of necessity for certain groups and strata, at the bottom of the class structure. Furthermore it is equally flawed to focus upon the freedom, self-realisation and authenticity other groups (e.g. the new middle
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SPORT, LEISURE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

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THE FIGURATIONAL SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT AND LEISURE OF ELIAS AND DUNNING AND ITS ALTERNATIVES

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Introduction

According to Norbert Elias, sport is:

one of the great social inventions which human beings have made without planning to make them. It offers people the liberating excitement of a struggle involving physical exertion and skill while limiting to a minimum the chance that any one will get seriously hurt in the course. (Elias, 1986b:165).

"What kind of societies are they", he asks: "where people in great numbers and almost world wide enjoy" sports contexts? (Elias, 1986a:20). The answer, of course, is those societies in which the "civilizing process" as identified by Elias has become well advanced.

The purpose of this article is to appraise the Figurational Sociology of Sport of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning with its "distinctive" focus on the "civilizing process" (Elias, 1978b and 1982, Elias and Dunning, 1986) and on the "sociogenesis" and complex "structural determination" of shifting "social (configurations" (Elias, 1978a). The approach is advanced by its proposers as offering the best of all possible bases for a sociology of sport and leisure, also able to make a contribution to mainstream sociology by bringing into new focus aspects of cultural and social change previously neglected within a discipline dominated by a focus on work rather than leisure. As well as the seminal work of Elias and Dunning (especially see Dunning, 1971 and Elias and Dunning, 1969 and 1986), a number of significant
monographs have also appeared: on rugby (Dunning and Sheard, 1979), soccer (Dunning, 1979; Wagg, 1984) and cricket (Brookes, 1978). Figuratologists have also contributed to research and public debate on "soccer hooliganism" (see Dunning et al., 1982; Williams et al., 1984). A Figurational "paradigm" in the sociology of sport and leisure is now well established.

If the objective of a sociology of sport and leisure is now increasingly recognised as the provision of a theoretically adequate and historically grounded analysis of changing patterns of sport, then Figurational Sociology has contributed strongly to this end. Its study of sport's place in the long-term transformation of culture and manners, and of the changes in class and power associated with this "civilizing process", marked a major step forward in the sociological analysis of sport and leisure. Its thoroughgoing and uncompromising theoretical and empirical sociological focus on the interrelations of social structure and individual "affects" was clearly an advance on earlier approaches, which had been characterized either by narrowness of empirical focus or by speculative history. Among the latter approaches criticised by Dunning (especially see Dunning, 1971 and 1975b) and also Dunning and Sheard, 1979) we can note the work of Huizinga (1970), who sees "play" as the "creative" element in social life now being overwhelmed by the "overseriousness" of leisure, and Stone (1955), for whom the massification of society and the reduction of much modern participation in leisure to a spectator role — a concentration on "spectacle and display" — constitutes a "destruction of play", a "moral" discourse. While the Figurational Sociology of Sport incorporates elements of such theories, their limitations are often to see in "Romanticism" and "elitism", and a yearning for a mythical Gemeinschaft with little grounding in historical sociological study. They fail to come to terms with the real world complexities of historical or modern sport.

The contribution of Figurational Sociology in achieving a reorientation of the sociology of sport is outlined in the first part of this paper. For all its strengths however, aspects of Figurational Sociology can be viewed less favourably. A key question to be addressed is: How far has its contribution to the sociology of sport and leisure the outcome of the "distinctive" methodological position the Figuratologists suggest, or how far it has resulted simply from the raising of classical sociological questions, and recourse to conventional sociological "best practice", in an area where these had hitherto been conspicuously lacking? The latter view will be taken here. In so far as there are methods advocated by the Elias school which can be seen as differing from conventional sociological "best practice", our argument will be that these methods should not be adopted since they are likely to restrict the development of the sociology of sport. Among such methodological orientations can be included the Figuratologists' overdrawn hostility to Marxian forms of analysis and the restrictiveness of their stance on "involvement and detachment" (see Elias, 1958 and 1978b). In more substantive terms, reservations will also be stated concerning the theoretical adequacy and empirical fit of the thesis of a "civilizing process". The rival merits of other approaches in the sociology of sport and leisure (e.g. neo-marxian approaches), will also be noted, approaches which tend to be merely caricatured and summarily dismissed by the Elias-Dunning school. Our overall objective will be to acknowledge the achievements of the Figurational Sociology of Sport, but in a way which leaves space for alternatives to it, approaches which, we will argue, would be best regarded as complementary to the Figuratologists' own view and research programme.

1. The central concepts of figurational sociology

The success of the Elias-Dunning perspective in achieving a reorientation of the sociology of sport and leisure can be seen as arising from the use in combination of two main concepts: i) the concept of "human (figuration)" and ii) the concept of the "civilizing process". The first of these ensures a focus on sport and leisure within a strong sociological frame of reference, the second provides the general historical model in terms of which sport and leisure receives systematic analysis.

1.1 The concept of the "social figuration"

The concept of "figuration" referred to is the "nexus of interdependencies between people", the "chains of functions" and "axes of tensions" — both cooperation and conflict — which can be identified for any social context. The primary strength of the concept of figuration for the sociology of sport and leisure is that it allows the strong assertion of the "autonomy of sociology". Elias rejects any model of Man as homo clausus: the closed or discrete individual. He rejects any suggestion that satisfactory social explanations can be achieved by a radical individualism. This is made clear in Elias's recourse to the concepts of the dance and the game in illustrating his overall conception of the "figuration". It is:

the image of the mobile figurations of interdependent people on a dance floor (or playing a sport-game) which makes it easier to imagine states, cities, families and also entire (social) systems as figurations. (Elias, 1978b: 262)

At the same time, Elias also rejects purely structuralist forms of explanation. His general position involves the repudiation of any form of analysis which views the "individual" and "society" as separate entities. The view of the Figuratologist is that satisfactory explanations in sociology, of a phenomenon such as modern sport, can only come from the painstaking historical and sociological analysis of the specific as well as the general features of figurations. Such explanations cannot be read-off from the universal, psychological characteristics of individuals, nor are they be achieved with conceptions of sociology using rigid conceptions of structural and historical necessity.

1.2 The "civilizing process"

Elias's conception of the "civilizing process" is couched in terms of these general requirements of Figurational Sociology. As Philip Abrams, himself a leading advocate
of historical sociology, states, the concept of the "civilising process", draws attention to:

- profound redefinitions of "normal" and "proper" behaviour, the building of powerful psychological and institutional barriers to the old indiscriminate enactment of feeling (both enthusiasm and aggression) and, as a consequence, the establishment of increasing distance between the civilised and uncivilised members of society (Abrams, 1982:231).

Elias's view of the "civilising process" as outlined in rich detail in his general historical studies (Elias, 1978b and 1982) is that it constitutes an historical secular tendency in human societies to increasing external and internalised control over individual "affects" and social behaviour, a tendency for the control of violence and the gradual transformation of manners, and a general distancing from nature. This process is also presented as bound up with increasing social differentiation: the creation of both increased "individuality" and new bases for social hierarchy, as well as increasing levels of social interdependence ("mutually attuned functions") and increased social density. In general, the process is connected with a strengthening in the monopoly of violence and power (and the capacity to enforce laws and standards) possessed by state formations. Along with this Elias recognises a tendency to "democratisation" which also brings an intensification of individual and class competition in manners, and which means that competition in terms of standards of behaviour, previously confined to members of "court society", becomes diffused in the long run to society at large.

Among the central propositions advanced about the relation between sport and leisure and the civilising process by Elias and Dunning are that:

i) since the process of social development arising with greater social interdependence and the advent of modern state formations involves greater external and internal controls over behaviour, leisure and play will reflect this process;

ii) while a comparison of ancient and modern sports shows that the characteristic forms of sport and leisure in modern societies reflect the requirement for greater emotional restraint and for the control of violence within these societies, at the same time the function of modern leisure, for example a concert or a game, is to act as a "counter-measure against stress-tensions", to "lighten the burden" of "all-round restraint", albeit doing so in a controlled manner;

iii) "the feelings aroused in the imaginary situation of a human leisure activity" are "mimetic" or "imitative", "the siblings of those aroused in real-life situations". "Mimetic fear or pleasure, sadness and joys", because presented in "play" form, "momentarily lift the burden of risks and threats ... surrounding human existence" (Elias, 1986a:42).

2. The figurational sociology of sport

While Elias and Dunning provide a framework for the sociology of leisure as a whole, it is the sociology of sport that receives most of their attention, and arguably where their work is most convincing. What Elias's general framework achieves, according to Dunning (1971) is "to prepare the way for the sociology of sport". What Figurational Sociology ultimately succeeds in providing is an account of the origins, codification, diffusion and consolidation, and general character of modern sport in five areas.

2.1 The historical evolution of sports and games

Pre-modern sports such as the original Olympic Games or the "folk games" — the "semi-institutionalised fights" — which are a significant source of "tension-release" in pre-industrial societies, are characterised by Elias as involving much greater levels of violence than typical of modern sports (Elias, 1971). It is these levels of violence which, according to Elias, were progressively brought under control as a consequence of the "civilising process". For Elias and for Dunning modern sport is "a specific type of pleasurable excitement" which is markedly different from the less than plausible type of excitement that people experience in serious critical situations, in which deeply rooted emotions are socially channelled into relatively controlled forms. The modern "sportisation" of society is traced to a "civilising sport" which occurred in English society along with the pacification of the peasantry and the rise of parliamentary institutions (Elias, 1986b).

2.2 The internal dynamics of sports games

As well as the analysis of the wider social forces impinging on sports and games, the internal — "figurational" — features of particular games which give these games their distinctive appeal also receive analysis. Drawing on Elias's more general recourse to an abstract, "formal" figurational analysis of games (Elias, 1978a), the capacity of modern football to sustain a controlled "excitement" appropriate to modern society is analysed in these terms (Elias and Dunning, 1969).

2.3 The social origins of modern soccer and rugby

The initial analysis of football and rugby receives impressive elaboration in the later work of Dunning, in conjunction with Sheard. Particularly fruitful are their studies of Rugby Football (Dunning and Sheard, 1979) and Soccer (Dunning, 1979). Dunning and Sheard see modern sports, including soccer and rugby, as first emerging in the context of a conflict between traditional agrarian mores and the competitive ideology and new social controls of modern society. Traditional folk-games had flourished in a social context "characterised simultaneously by massive inequality and patterns of intimate social mixing in spheres such as sports" (Dunning, 1979:13). In these circumstances social mixing could occur without this posing a threat to the maintenance of social distance in other spheres. In contrast, in an era of greater social democraticisation, the development of modern football occurs in a climate of pervasive class and status competition and increasing class conflict. Dunning and Sheard demonstrate how the development of both soccer and rugby can be interpreted as arising as a response to industrialisation and changes in class relations.
2.4 “Football hooliganism”
As against the viewpoint of say the Oxford school (e.g., Marsh et al., 1978), Figurationalists do not dispute the “reality” of football violence. The analysis of the Leicester school derives from the work of Graham Suttles (1972). While “functional bonding” is seen as the characteristic form of bonding in modern “civilised” societies, segmental bonding also remains, notably in the important representation through sport of concepts of locality and nation. This latter form of bonding is seen as possessing particular potency within working class communities, especially so in those areas where economic recession has fuelled class frustrations and has helped to bring a reversion of “rough” and relatively “uncivilized” patterns of social behaviour, including football violence. But such reversions stand off the main track of the civilizing process.

2.5 Contemporary sport
For all its emphasis on the historical role of class conflict in the evolution of sport, it is a relatively orderly picture of contemporary sport which emerges from Figurational Sociology. There is a recognition of variations between societies in the pace and the forms of development (e.g. notable differences between Britain and America arising from a different balance in the strengths of the amateur ideal and commercialism — Dunning and Sheard, 1979). But contemporary sport is presented as on the whole well matched to the needs of modern society, and moving ultimately in line with the requirements of the “civilizing process”, including the onward march of commercialised leisure and professional sport.

We can summarise the contribution of the Elias-Dunning school to the sociology of sport as follows:

i) an account of the rule-governed character of modern sport in which “mock fights” on the whole replace true violence,

ii) an analysis and historical account of sport and society in which changes in the division of labour and class relations are shown central to the development and institutionalisation of modern sports and games,

iii) a neo-Durkheimian account of the important “symbolic” and “quasi-religious” role of sport in providing significant representations of nation and community in modern society, as well as a source of “personal identities”.

Both the generality and the historical subtlety of Elias and Dunning’s account of the development of modern sport stands out compared with previous approaches.

3. A critique of the figurational sociology of sport and leisure
We now move, however, to the substantial reservations we have about the Figurational approach to the sociology of sport and leisure. As well as questions about the claims made for its “uniqueness” of methodology, there are also major questions to raise about the concept of the “civilizing process”, including its, in some respects, apparently contradictory relation to many of Figurational Sociology’s main methodological precepts. A question also of great importance but not discussed in full in the present article concerns the conceptual doubt about the applicability of the specific “control/excitement/tension-release model” of Elias and Dunning to all forms of leisure. Obvious gaps exist in these authors’ coverage of leisure forms — for example, no detailed consideration is given to music, theatre, television, or drinking and much more. The overview of all forms of leisure provided by Dunning (1986b) — “Leisure in the spare-time spectrum” — is relatively pedestrian and the general theory of leisure and the emotions also alluded to merely promissory. There must be considerable doubt whether the Elias-Dunning “control/excitement/tension-release model” of leisure, is adequate to capture the range of leisure forms and functions, even if one could accept Figurationalist conceptions of methodology and the concept of the “civilizing process”.

3.1 Questioning the claims for methodological uniqueness
The success of the Figurational Sociology of Sport, in our view, has had most to do with its being first in the field — armed with its notion of the “figuration” — in providing a general historical sociology which could effectively inter-relate the internal dynamics of sport with the wider dynamics of society. However, any thesis of the distinctiveness or the indispensibility of the concept of “figuration” in making Figurational Sociology’s contribution possible must be challenged. What needs to be asserted is that there are other approaches within general sociology which could have achieved the same outcome; or put another way, the same approaches exist elsewhere under other umbrellas within the discipline. As pointed out by Bauman, there exists a clear affinity between “the idea of figuration and such rather household sociological notions as “pattern” or “situation” (Bauman, 1979:118-119). Bauman and also Abrams (1982) are examples of numerous recent commentators (also see Wolf, 1977, Bourdieu, 1977, and Smith, 1984) who, while finding much to praise in Elias’s general sociology, firmly reject the claims of its supporters that it constitutes an “alternative sociology” — what Bauman refers to as Figurational Sociology as a “credo”. Among those sociological commentators particularly persuaded by or centrally involved in voicing Figurational Sociology’s more strident claims to special status we can note Wilson (1977), Mennell (1977) and especially Goudsblom (1977a and b) — at times, a near “charismatic movement”, according to Bauman (1979:112). The fact is however, that what is valuable in the general approach within Figurational Sociology need not be seen as other than the classical approach in general sociology; it is no longer even distinctive in the sociology of sport.

In part, the special pleading for Figurational Sociology can be explained as the outcome of the fact that Elias stood somewhat off the main track of academic sociology at the time he was writing The Civilizing Process. This, along with the book’s apparent marginality of subject-matter, engendered an isolation for his sociology, compounded also by the irony of the volume’s publication in German in the context.
of war in 1939. Claims for distinctiveness were fostered in this context of exclusion. They were further fired by the search by Elkan supporters for explanations for the neglect of his work, so that Elkan's reception became interpreted in terms of a blindness induced by central weaknesses of method and perspective in modern sociology, which Elkan presented as dominated by "pseudo dichotomies" — e.g., "individual versus society", "order versus change". However, whilst the substantive focus of Eliassian sociology was certainly neglected, Elkan admits that his own general approach to sociology has been constructed as a continuation of nineteenth century classical sociology. It is simply not true that the mainstream of sociology ever lost contact with this tradition. Rather than mainstream sociology losing reality in a pursuit of "pseudo dichotomies", it can be suggested that it is Elkan and his supporters who have themselves constructed such dichotomies — and most "unfigurationally" — in caricaturing the work of others. Is is these stereotypes which can be seen as preventing any open "dialogue" between Elkan's general sociology and the mainstream, and a clear view of alternative sociologies of sport.

3.2 Questioning the concept of the "civilizing process"

As much as any methodological "distinctiveness" the "marginality" of Elkan's sociology would seem to be best explained as bound up with the context of the initial publication of his magnum opus and with its focus on apparently "marginal" cultural phenomena. In this context, Dunning is to be congratulated on exploiting the possibilities of this focus for the sociology of sport and leisure. However, the concept of the "civilizing process" must be seen as amalgam of fruitful and more dubious notions, some of which seem variably at odds with certain of Figurational Sociology's own methodological self-definitions. "Latent evolutionary" and related assumptions associated with the concept of the "civilizing process" have been rightly questioned by a number of commentators, for example: "the apparent irreversibility of the process" (Lasch, 1985), its seeming "irrefutability" (Smith, 1984), its explicit or implicit reference to "societal needs" and "functional requirements". Noting this, some observers have wanted to locate Figurational Sociology clearly in the ranks of the "social order" and "social control" sociologies, as presenting leisure as performing "compensatory" functions (Stedman Jones, 1977). Others also note the Figurationalists' relative neglect of counter-tendencies to the civilizing process (e.g., public displays of sexuality, the "barbarism" of modern warfare — Buck-Morss, 1977 — and some modern sports) and their tendency to overlook more "negative" aspects of modern social control (e.g., attacks on privacy, pervasive surveillance — Lasch, 1985), including the "social control" goals of some modern sports administrators. These can be seen as leading to a relative neglect of forms of leisure potentially more socially transformative in their implications. It is arguably an "oversocialised" and "one-dimensional" conception of the person and society that emerges in Elkan and Dunning's work. In general, there is a neglect of the overall "legemocratic" and contested functions of sport within a capitalist society. Instead a focus on affect control and the new domestication of sport holds the centre stage: an emphasis on evolutionary adaptations or regressions. Dunning's use of Suttles' model in accounting for "football hooliganism" can be cited as symptomatic here.

It should be noted that our argument against functionalism and evolutionaryism does not amount to a root and branch rejection of these but an objection only when a dependence on these remains implicit or is denied and when alternative functional and developmental models are ruled out of court and remain unconsidered. A significant example of the way in which a "latent evolutionary" tendency sometimes to run ahead of detailed historical research, enters the Figurationalist account of sport is seen in their treatment of sport and gender (especially Dunning, 1986). Both Elkan (1971) and Sheard and Dunning (1973) rightly stress the role of modern sport in the social construction of "personal identities", and in many wayskeypressive on the implications for specifically "male identity" of the construction of sports like rugby as a "male preserve". But, as Jennifer Hargreaves (1986) has pointed out, "ahistorical" assumptions about "patriarchy" and ungrounded assumptions about the "inevitality" of a tendency to equality enter this analysis. She also notes more generally the failure of Figurationalists to relate in full to the growing corpus of feminist research and theory on sport and leisure (e.g., see Deem, 1986).

3.3 Against the "empiricism" of Figurational Sociology

If one-sideness and a degree of implicit theoretical over-closure can be seen as a problem in Figurational Sociology, at odds with its own explicit stress on the open-endedness of social situations, a source of this apparent paradox can be traced to the ultimately "empiricist" epistemological position adopted by Figurationalists. Smith (1984) as well as Bauman (1979) see this as a significant problem: the expressed intent of Figurationalists to surrender only to the intrinsically logical of the "object" of analysis, the attempt never to import into an analysis general frameworks which "the figurations themselves do not dictate", leading to a failure to achieve sufficient courage and range in theories, especially in relation to possible transformations of society. For Smith (1984) Eliassian historical sociology must be compared adversely with other historical sociology more willing to take on board explicit theorising about alternative futures. The problems of Eliassian "empiricism" are also evident in a different form in the recent monographs produced by students working within the Figurationalist frame of reference. The studies by Wagg (1984) and Brookes (1978) are examples here, possessing limitations which can perhaps be laid at the door of a too literal acceptance of Eliassian precepts of empiricism, leading these studies to get engaging fully with general issues. We would of course accept that the Figurational approach often rises above such empiricism but it does so only by escaping the contradictions involved in its own methodological prescriptions.

3.4 Against Eliassian conceptions of "neutrality"

The problems of Figurational Sociology are also exacerbated by further central doctrines of Figurational Sociology on "neutrality and involvement" articulated by
Elias (1956) and endorsed by Dunning (e.g., Dunning, 1983). Elias supports the general goal of “neutrality” in sociology, which along with the “descriptivist” emphasis above, he sees as achieved by avoiding philosophical speculation and involvement with values in the research phase of sociology. The failure to do this is seen as a weakness particularly of Marxist sociology. This leads some observers (e.g., Smith, 1984) to see Elias and Dunning as foregoing all evaluations, but in fact this is only apparently the problem. In actuality, Elias remains heir to the classical Comtean tradition in sociology, with its criticism of purely speculative philosophy but also its continued goal of reaching well-founded evaluation on a scientific basis. The problem then is not that Elias and Dunning fail to provide social evaluations, but that they do so on the basis of their own allegedly “neutral” findings — while trying to withhold this possibility from other more “committed” — e.g., neo-Marxian and feminist — sociologies (e.g., Dunning, 1983 and 1986a). As an alternative to this view of knowledge, it would seem more conducive to the pursuit of “objectivity” (see Gouldner, 1976, Becker, 1967) to view sociology of all types as necessarily involving evaluations while always seeking to ground these adequately in sound knowledge and open “unconstrained” discourse between theories: a “proliferation” of theoretical perspectives.4

4. Alternative sociologies of sport and leisure

Since in our view there now exist several major alternatives to Figurational Sociology within the sociology of sport — all of them embodying good general sociological practice, sensitivity to history, and a concern to avoid individualist or structuralist traps — we want to round off this paper by briefly instancing three examples:

i) Richard Gruneau’s critical sociology of sport (especially Gruneau, 1983),

ii) the work of John Hargreaves (notably Hargreaves, 1975, 1982a/b, and 1986), and

iii) the research of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) (see Hall and Jefferson, 1986, Clarke, 1978, Clarke et al., 1979, Hall et al, 1980, Clarke and Critcher, 1985). These represent respectively a critical sports sociology derived from cultural and historical studies and the work of Giddens, a sociology influenced by Gramscian ideas, and a cultural studies Marxism. These alternatives to Figurational Sociology, we want to suggest, possess the same general capacity to focus on the important themes raised by the Figurational approach, but do so in a manner which makes them, if not necessarily a replacement for this approach, complementary to it, in ways which the Figurationists fail to recognise.

4.1 Class, sports and social development — the work of Gruneau

As an amalgam of several strands of thinking in recent social theory, including Gramscian Marxism, English Cultural Studies, and also the work of Wright Mills and Anthony Giddens, Gruneau’s explicit objective has been to remedy what he sees as the failings of the conventional approach to sports history, the downplaying of social conflict and division, in favour of a stress on the integrative and smooth evolution of games and sport. Two emphases can be seen as uppermost in his developmental sociology of sport: i) the ever present “duality” of “liberating” and “constraining” developments and ii) the limitations increasingly placed on sport and recreation, especially those constraints seen as arising specifically from capitalist society. While neither of these emphases is entirely absent in the perspective of the Figurationists, it is the latter in particular which remains understated in their work, and both of these elements receive a more rounded treatment in the work of Gruneau and those like him, which also allows a far greater integration with more general work on class and state power. In contrast with the restrictive doctrines of “ethical neutrality” of Elias and Dunning, a further advantage is that the evaluative position of Gruneau is also far more “up front” and undisguised by epistemology. In general, Gruneau can be said to offer the greater courage and wider range in the theoretical analysis of sport and leisure that critics of Figurational Sociology have called for, and he does so without loss of credibility as a genuinely sociological imagination.

4.2 Sport, Power and Culture — the approach of Hargreaves

Hargreaves has always stressed the need for a historical sociology of sport, but unlike the Figurationists he finds purchase in the neo-marxian theory of Gramsci. In his latest book, the culmination of a decade of ground-clearing, he states that his overarching theme is to show how modern organised sport emerged and developed: with the expansion and elaboration of civil society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: and how in the twentieth century the state intervenes progressively in sport, concomitantly with its increasing propensity to intervene in civil society as a whole (Hargreaves, 1986:4).

More specifically Hargreaves is concerned with investigating “the relation between sports and working-class culture, and the extent to which sport has played a role in accommodating the British working class to the social order (p.2). In order to consider these questions the development of sport in Britain is systematically related to major stages in the development of industrial capitalism. As a “gramscian”, the issue which Hargreaves addresses is, what exactly is the place of sport in the struggle over hegemony between dominant and subordinate classes? Common sense ideas contain values which appear natural and unquestionable. Sports metaphors and sayings are seen as a veritable storehouse of “common sense”: sport helps to construct dominant ideologies. But sporting activities can also be the site of resistance to dominant ideologies — the picture painted is complex. Hargreaves argues that historically “sports unify dominant groups and supporting classes while disorganising and fragmenting subordinate ones” (p. 209). Whereas in the early nineteenth century popular culture “rendered working class people immune to the Protestant ethic” (p. 31), later in the century reconstructed sports played a crucial role both in incorporating and in fragmenting the working class. While active participation in sports helps to incorporate the skilled working class, a “cultural divide” is created between this active group and the remainder of the working class which remains far less active.
Arguably, Hargreaves may overestimate the role of modern sport in fostering a dominant ideology, and underestimate the Eliasian "individuation" and pluralism of modern sports culture. Nonetheless, the issues Hargreaves raises are ones that ought not to be excluded from the sociology of sport and leisure.

4.3 Resistance through Rituals — the work of the CCCS

The perspective of students and researchers from the CCCS — even if not to be accepted uncritically — provides a further indication of the kinds of absences to be weighed against the strengths of Figurational Sociology. First, the CCCS emphasis on ritualistic aspects of leisure ("resistance through ritual", e.g., via a "bricolage" of commercial styles) provides a particularly valuable model of the "hegemonic" and the "oppositional" import of sport and leisure. Second, whereas the role of the state in contemporary society receives little systematic elaboration in the work of the Figurationists, the theoretical framework for analysing state power provided by the CCCS is potentially highly fruitful. Essentially, what the CCCS research directs attention to is the post-war "social construction" of youth and leisure as a "social issue" through media and state intervention. They see this issue as a "uniquely modern problematic". In particular, CCCS researchers have revealed working class youth culture as facing changes in the neighbourhood and the local labour market, and seeking through leisure "magical solutions" to class predicaments (see Hall and Jefferson, 1976, Cohen, 1980) — the source of plainly different and more "opened" accounts of working class behaviour than, for example, the "functionalist" account of "football hooliganism" as regression to earlier patterns of social solidarity on which Dunning et al (1982) rely. The Figurationists suggest that CCCS researchers neglect history, viewing football hooliganism as an "entirely new phenomenon". But this is not so. As Clarke (1978) sees it: "Typical of behaviour which were once perfectly normal and commonplace in football crowds ... (become) ... seen as deviant and hooligan behaviour" (Clarke, 1978:57). For Clarke, football's history has always been marked by forms of violence "both on the pitch and off it" (p. 55). The central problem is that since the sixties the controllers of the game have sought to reshape the sport to make it more respectable and, in Gruneau's general phrase, a more "marketable and consumable video product" (Gruneau, 1983:112). For Ian Taylor (1985) the project to play down the distinctiveness of recent levels of football violence is "helpful" to an "evolutionary and idealist" theory like the thesis of the civilizing process, but unhelpful in understanding contemporary working class youth in Britain.

5. Beyond a merely figurational sociology of sport and leisure

A more detailed examination of the approaches noted here would show that, contrary to the suggestions of Figurational Sociologists, "ahistoricity" or "determinism" are not a problem in neo-marxist sociologies of this sort. On the contrary, theoretical analysis and empirical research on relations between cultural forms and state, class, and economy are handled — actually or potentially — more fully than in Figurational Sociology, reflecting what, following Gramsci, all three of our examples of researchers recognises as a need to capture the "current moment" of hegemony and the specific state of "negotiations" over authority and meanings between dominant and subordinate class groupings. These approaches can be seen as allowing more space for open agency and a more adequate account of structural factors and ideological influences in modern society than usual in Figurational Sociology. Arguably, a history relating cultural spheres of society with changes in the economy and state formation, to which the CCCS researchers and theorists like Gruneau and Hargreaves, are beginning to point the way, provides a more satisfactory basis for developing a general sociology of sport and leisure, and one complementary to, but potentially transcendent of Figurational Sociology.

It must be underlined that we have not sought to argue for the outright superiority of the "alternative" approaches to Figurational Sociology examined. Nor would we wish in any way to suggest that "all's well" with these alternatives. Much remains contentious in these approaches (including in some cases their own forms of ungrounded functionalism and gender blindness). We have accepted that, to a degree, the "civilizing process" has been a highly fruitful concept and that the Figurational approach initially raised more interesting and new questions compared with alternative approaches. Bogner (1986) is right also to emphasise that a focus on differentiation and individuation, as well on interdependence and integration, is involved in Elias's concept of the civilising process. Working within the Eliasian framework, Wouters (1986:6) has gone further and identifies the presence of "two phases of expansion" in the civilizing process: "the phase of colonization or assimilation" and "the phase of differentiation or emancipation". He also points to more short-term cyclical movements: conservative phases of "stabilization or resignation" (e.g., the 'fifties and 'eighties) interspersed with phases of "emancipation and resistance" (e.g., the 'seventies). Our view remains however that this still leaves Figurational Sociology as one — essentially politically "pluralist" — perspective, a perspective which, however valid in its own terms, systematically excludes the wider questions which could come from theoretical proliferation and greater discourse between theories. The focus on class and status conflicts and social development in relation to sport and leisure which Figurationists established has added richly to the sociology of sport and leisure. That there is much fertility still in the focus of this model is seen in studies such as Bourdieu (1984) and Featherstone (1987), who explore the subtleties of social and cultural distinctions in part guided by insights from Elias. However there remains more to be gained if such explorations do not lose contact with the wider questions raised by our exemplar researchers. Our argument would be that future researchers should not be constrained by Figurationalist tenets. The questions raised by alternatives to the Figurational approach are vital questions, with which the Figurational Sociology of sport fails to engage fully, and which need to be raised.
NOTES
1. For further indication of these aspects see Dunning and Sheard (1979) and Sheard and Dunning (1973).
2. Others have applied Figurationalist concepts to some of these areas (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984, Featherstone, 1987) but these accounts develop the analysis of taste, class and status, rather than the control/excitement/tension-release model.
3. The implications of this are discussed further in Jary (1987), but one obvious outcome is the space this leaves for alternative theories.
4. We would make recourse here to a “discourse” theory of truth which although it does not require a “synthesis” of approaches does provide an openness to issues between sides which is unconstrained by restrictive epistemology and involves the “proliferation” of perspectives (see Habermas, 1970, Feyerabend, 1978, Jary, 1987).
5. For a fuller account of these approaches see Horne, Jary and Tomlinson (1987).

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David JARY

John Horne

La sociologie figurative du sport et du loisir d'Elias et Dunning et les théories concurrentes

RÉSUMÉ

Grâce à ses concepts de figuration sociale comme outil analytique et de processus de civilisation comme base de l'étude socio-génétique de la transformation de la culture et des mœurs, la sociologie figurative a contribué d'une manière importante à l'avancement de la sociologie du sport et du loisir. Malgré ses points forts, cette approche prête cependant un éclairage sur les deux rapports: d'abord, quant à la justesse empirique et théorique de son concept central de processus de civilisation, et ensuite, quant à l'originalité et à la supériorité de cette méthode par rapport aux approches concurrentes. C'est justement le mérite des approches concurrentes en sociologie du sport et du loisir de souligner de telles questions. Cependant, bien qu'elles puissent être considérées comme complémentaires de l'approche figurative, ces approches concurrentes sont traitées en un pied d'égalité par les figuratifs. Le fait que ces derniers revendiquent l'originalité méthodologique est considéré par l'auteur comme un frein à l'évolution de la sociologie du sport et du loisir.
ABSTRACT

Figurational sociology with its analytical tool the social “figuration” and its focus on the “socio-genetic” study of the transformation of culture and manners — the “civilizing process” — has made an important contribution to the sociology of sport and leisure. For all its strengths however questions can be raised about the approach: about the empirical and theoretical adequacy of its central concept, the “civilizing process”, and about the Figurationists’ claims to methodological “distinctiveness” and inherent superiority compared with alternatives. In raising these questions, the rival merits of alternative approaches in the sociology of sport and leisure are seen, approaches which can be viewed as complementary to Figurationist accounts but which are presented only stereotypically by Figurationists, whose special pleading for their own “distinctive method” can be seen as a potentially limiting factor in the further development of the sociology of sport and leisure.

RESUMEN

Gracias a los conceptos de “figuración” social como herramienta de análisis y de “proceso de civilización” como fundamento del estudio “socio-genético” de la transformación de la cultura y sus costumbres, la sociología figurativa ha contribuido notablemente al progreso de la sociología del deporte y del pasatiempo. A pesar de sus aciertos, este enfoque puede ser criticado en dos aspectos: primeramente en cuanto a la exactitud empírica y teórica de su concepto nuclear de “proceso de civilización”, y luego en cuanto a la “originalidad” y superioridad metodológica en comparación con otras aproximaciones vigentes en esta área. Es justamente a estas últimas que se les atribuyen esas críticas. Sin embargo, aunque estas aproximaciones puedan ser consideradas complementarias del enfoque figurativo, no son tratadas de una manera “esteriotipada” por éste. El hecho de que los figurativos reclamen la “originalidad metodológica”, es considerado por el autor como un obstáculo al avance de la sociología del deporte y del tiempo libre.
Part Three: Substantive Studies

‘What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?’
C.L.R. James (1963) Beyond a Boundary, Preface & p. 225

In this part I shall develop the criticisms made of figurational sociology of sport and leisure through reference to the empirical research contained in the published papers submitted. The discussion is grouped into three research emphases consistent with the alternative theoretical assumptions identified in Part Two: sport and leisure cultures as contested cultural forms; sport and the political economy of the mass media; and the globalization of sports culture.

Sport and leisure cultures as contested cultural forms

Football Fanzines and Cultural Contestation

Jary, Horne & Bucke (1991) sought to apply some of the theoretical conclusions drawn from Horne & Jary (1987) to a case study of cultural contestation around legitimate sport practice. The paper approached football as a sociological problem rather than a social problem through a case study of one emergent medium of expression, the football fanzine. Whilst the discourse of fan “hooliganism” had ‘tended to establish the parameters of debate around and influence thinking about virtually every aspect of football culture’ (Back et al, 1999, p. 422) we thought it important to look at the place of fanzines within football culture as a whole. What social circumstances gave rise to them? Who were the producers and consumers of this new form of communication? Methodologically it involved survey data analysis, interviews with fanzine editors and consumers, and quantitative and qualitative content analysis of a substantial number of fanzines.

Football fanzines - magazines produced by football fans for other fans on photocopiers and small presses and circulated by means other than the mainstream commercial distribution networks - and the development of the Football Supporters’ Association (FSA) from the mid-1980s onward were the focus of the research. Fanzines provided an alternative account of developments in the professional sport