#### **Dario Brentin & Laurence Cooley**

#### NATIONALISM AND SPORT

#### A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### **Review**

Over the last thirty years, Eric Dunning's (1999) claim that 'sport matters' (see also Bromberger 2012; Carrington 2012) has been widely accepted in social science scholarship. This development in scholarly debates fittingly reflects modern sport's global interconnections and social effects in the economic, cultural and political realms, which have established it as a powerful facilitator, provider and resource for an 'array of identities' (Maguire et al. 2002, 143). It does, however, not imply that sport should be understood as a 'quasi autonomous [social] institution' or a 'kind of self-sufficient [...] subsystem', but rather as a 'constitutive element of everyday life and popular culture' taking place 'within a particular social and historical setting' (Tomlinson 2005, xiv).

There is agreement in nationalism and identity scholarship that sport constitutes a major ritual of popular culture contributing to the theoretical concept of the nation as an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991, 6-7; see also Barrer 2007, 223). Scholars from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds agree that sport has social, cultural and political significance in (re-)producing collective identities on a local, national, regional and global level. Historically, the study of sport and its interrelation with the 'nation' was pioneered by the disciplines of sociology, history and anthropology during the 1980s (see Birrell 1981; Hoberman 1984;



Hargreaves 1986). Bairner (2015, 376) points out that compared to sport historians (see for example Cronin 1999) and anthropologists (see for example Váczi 2015), the extent to which sociologists of sport have contributed to our understanding of the various relationships that exist between the 'nation' and sport has been rather limited. This is due to the 'tendency in the sociology of sport to take for granted such concepts as nation, nation-state, nationality, national identity and nationalism and to ignore debates about these concepts within mainstream nationalism studies' (Bairner 2015, 375-6).

The (re-)production of identities is further enabled through ritualised sporting spectacles in international settings, by everyday consumption of nationally framed sports media and by diverse practices of fandom and spectatorship (see Hobsbawm 1992, 142-143; Frey & Eitzen 1991; Eriksen 1993, 111; Billig 1995, 119-25; Edensor 2002, 78-84; Fox 2006, 226; Bairner 2001, 1). Countless further studies illustrate the social role of sport as it relates to the nation-state or collective identities (in relation to Great Britain, see Whannel 1992; Hargreaves 1986; to Norway, Klausen 1999; Sweden, Sörlin 1995; Ireland, Cronin 1999; Canada, Kidd 1992; Jackson 1994, 1998; the Yugoslav successor states, Brentin 2013; Mills 2013; Đorđević 2012; France, Marks 1998; Ireland/Northern Ireland, Sugden & Bairner 1993; Spain, Váczi 2015; India, Nalapat & Parker 2005; Bangladesh, Hasan 2015; Greece, Tzanelli 2006; Hungary, Dóczi 2011; Laos, Creak 2015; South Korea, Lee & Maguire 2011; North Korea, Lee & Bairner 2009; and to the Dominican Republic, Wise 2015).

In a reference to the rise of football as a mass spectacle in interwar Europe, which has become perhaps one of the most quoted passages in the literature on sport and nationalism, Eric Hobsbawm (1992, 143) notes that 'the imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people' and the 'individual [a] symbol of his nation himself'. Jon Fox (2006, 226), too, highlights the characterisation of the individual, representative athlete as the 'physical embodiment of the nation'. Other scholars invoke and echo Anderson's 'imagined community' as a fruitful concept when dealing with the (re-)production of national identities within sport (Sugden & Tomlinson 1994; Guilianotti 1999; Maguire 1999; Bairner 2001). Notably, Jeremy MacClancy (1996, 2) describes sport as a

'vehicle of identity' that provides 'people with a sense of difference and a way of classifying themselves and others'. He argues that sport is not merely a 'reflection' of society but an 'integral part of society [...] which may be used as a means of *reflecting on* society' (MacClancy 1996, 4, emphasis in original).

By encompassing a myriad of social axioms, sport contributes to their reproduction (see Hoberman 1984). It is a social field in which the complexity of the 'nation' can be cut down to tangible symbolic entities. Following this argument, MacClancy (1996, 4) suggests that 'sport is not intrinsically associated with a particular set of meanings or social values' but is rather 'an embodied practice in which meanings are generated, and whose representation and interpretation are open to negotiation and contest.' Similarly, Sugden & Bairner (1993, 7) point out that 'sport has developed as a significant medium, or collection of symbols, through which the individual can identify with a particular social formation, thus exaggerating sport's capacity to become politicised.' Summarising these authors, it becomes clear that while 'sport' is not political *per se*, its relative malleability renders it an 'attractive' political asset for the (re-)production of ideology (see Hoberman 1984).

It is not only through Hobsbawm's 'team of eleven named people' that nationalism finds its expression in sport. Sporting events, too, can both contribute to and serve as expressions of national identity. Campos (2003) and Thompson (2006) both highlight the power of the Tour de France as a vehicle for French national identity, and Cardoza (2010) makes a similar argument about another of cycling's Grand Tours, the Giro d'Italia. Thompson claims that 'no bicycle race – indeed, no sporting event – has been more intimately associated with French geography and the identities it has shaped than the Tour de France' (2006, 55). He highlights competing interpretations of the race, in which annual itineraries either stress the common experiences of the French nation, or emphasise division and exclusion. Cardoza, meanwhile, argues that the inaugural Giro in 1909 'represented the country's first truly national sporting event' and notes that La Gazzetta dello Sport promoted the event by distributing twenty thousand maps of the route, which 'not only allowed fans to visualize the progress of the riders, but also familiarized them with the geography and history of their recently unified nation-state' (2010, 357-8). These races are intrinsically linked to particular national territories, but other authors have highlighted the relationship between national identity and the prestige associated with the hosting of international sports events. Xin Xu, for instance, argues that 'China as a modernizing nation yearning for great power status attaches great political importance to the Beijing Olympics in terms of constructing national identity and pursuing international primacy' (2006, 104). In relation to the 2006 FIFA World Cup, hosted by Germany, Kersting (2007) notes that the event contributed to a specific German 'sport patriotism' that promoted tolerance. multiculturalism and democracy, rather than xenophobia. Here, parallels can be drawn with France's hosting of, and victory in, the 1998 event (Marks 1998).

Jon Fox (2006) examines the formation and (re-)production of collective national belonging during national holiday commemorations and international football competitions in the ethnically mixed Romanian town of Cluj. He argues that modern international sport fulfils the role of an arena 'for the display of national symbols and the alignment of national allegiances' (226). He further identifies these 'mass rituals, laden with national symbols [as] occasions for the crystallization of national cohesion' (Fox 2006, 218-19). Similarly, Billig (1995, 122) identifies the sports pages in daily newspapers as everyday producers of 'feeling at home in this world of waved flags'. These viewpoints are supplemented by Hargreaves (2000), who draws heavily on the ethno-symbolist scholarship of Anthony Smith (1989). Hargreaves (2000, 12-14) argues that sport and nationalism are interrelated through their 'anchorage in common cultural traditions', which represent 'highly condensed and instantly effective images of the nation [that] can be diffused to mobilise the potential nationalist constituency and to legitimate the movement externally'.

International sporting competitions have made sport a field where the 'nation' is articulated against the 'pressures' of globalisation. It ostensibly functions as a 'protector' of particular national identities; a space in which the 'imagined community' is performed, consumed and (re-)produced by society. A central question is whether sport is best understood as an instrument of 'national expression' and a motor of national unity –

particularity against a background of the social, political, economic and cultural uncertainness of the globalised world, or instead as an ideal socio-cultural institution with which to promote a multicultural and unifying globalisation process (see Miller et al. 2001; Hargreaves 2002; Bernstein and Blain 2003; Rowe 2003, 2006).

Even the most internationalised sport events such as the Olympic Games, promoting solidarity, peace and understanding between nations, find themselves 'trapped' within the dichotomy of 'ritual internationalism' and 'emotional nationalism'. In his article on 'sport and the repudiation of the global', Rowe (2003, 281) states that 'the spectacular instances of global mega-media sports [...] may be constitutively unsuited to carriage of the project of globalization in its fullest sense' (see also Bairner 2001). Due to its deep dependence on the 'production of difference' (Rowe 2003, 282), he argues that international sport's 'fundamental reliance on localized, nationally inflected forms of identity' offers 'resources for the mobilization of conscious and unconscious anti-globalization perspectives' (Rowe 2003, 291-2). Although sport is 'increasingly transnational in its institutional structure', its structure of meaning and affect are 'resolutely *inter*national' (Rowe 2006, 431, emphasis in original), deriving from national, regional or local identities. Rowe argues that 'global sport derives its energy and appeal from the existence - or, if necessary, the manufacture and accentuation - of difference, rather than cosmopolitan sophistication' (2006, 431-2).

When put in the context of international competition, Bairner (2005, 92), too, argues that national representative sport represents 'one of the easiest and most passionate ways of underlining one's sense of national identity, one's nationality or both in the modern era'. There is a growing scholarly recognition that the social field of sport has remained one of the few 'legitimate arena[s] in which national flags can be raised and other patriotic rituals exercised' without being automatically stigmatised as expressions of nationalist sentiments (Bernstein & Blain 2003, 13).

In times of crisis and conflict, the cultural domain of sport often becomes a highly politicised terrain. Governments co-opt sport to 'enhance prestige, secure legitimacy, compensate for deficiencies in other areas of life [or] pursue international rivalry by peaceful means' (Hargreaves 1992, 128), particularly in support of processes of nation- and state-building. Sport provides governments with an array of powerful and distinctive cultural symbols to promote national uniqueness on an international stage. John Hoberman (1993, 16) describes this 'sportive nationalism' as the 'ambition to see a nation's athlete excel in the international arena [which] may be promoted by a political elite or [...] may be felt by many citizens without the promptings of national leaders'. Sportive nationalism appears to foster a purely emotional and 'passionate nationalism', transcending political, social and ideological boundaries. It has received considerable academic attention (Hoberman 1993; Houlihan 1997; Cronin 1999; Bairner 2001), often emphasised as an ambiguous social phenomenon due to its capacity to legitimise and undermine political authority at the same time (see Cronin 1999, 55-6).

Maguire (2002, 182) points out that sport seems to 'move us emotionally' on a large scale (see also Allison 2000, 345); a hard-to-grasp concept, which is nonetheless often portrayed as the cause for irrational, inexplicable, or even socially condemnable actions and reactions by individuals or groups. Despite their 'non-tangible' character, social scientists have identified 'emotions' as a facilitator able to spark dissent, mobilisation and social change (see Goodwin et al. 2001; Flam & King 2005; Ismer 2011). Building on Anderson's 'imagined community' idea, Rudolf Speth (1999; cited in Ismer 2011, 551) points out the need for staged rituals, such as commemorations, parades and celebrations, in the process of nation-building and identity formation. These are significant practices, which collectives need in order to 'emotionally experience' their 'imagined community' (Speth 1999).

Emile Durkheim's (1995 [1912]) seminal work in *The elementary forms of the religious life* ostensibly focused on collective rituals of Australian aboriginals and their functions in evoking 'collective effervescence'. As pointed out by Birell (1981, 354-5; see also Ismer 2011), Durkheim's research is, however, also well suited to the analysis of sport. Modern sport's historical roots display numerous characteristics of religious rituals – if not in *meaning*, then in *form* – and furthermore exhibit the ability to encompass the individual athlete and the collective audience into

an expression of mutually beneficial unification (see Birell 1981). For Durkheim (1995 [1912]), the essence of the ritualistic experience is the power of the event to create collective emotional awareness and a feeling of togetherness. Athletes wearing the national kit and spectators collectively dressed in national colours, (Rothenbuhler 1998, 79-81) engage in a ritualistic performance of national unity experienced through a totalising 'sporting experience' (Rinehart 1998, 6). These states of consciousness create a communal and collective sentiment, fostering feelings of in-group togetherness, social cohesion and solidarity. Symbols and rituals create a feeling of collective belonging and solidarity within groups and distinguish them from others (see Kertzer 1988, 1-15): 'Through the choreographed exhibition and collective performance of national symbols those in attendance are united in the transitory awareness of heightened national cohesion' (Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008, 545). David Kertzer (1988, 88-9) points out that the increased 'vividness of the symbolism' during these experienced rituals establishes them as more 'memorable and [their] effects longer-lasting', conserving the collectively shared emotional experiences.

Through participation in symbolic events, individuals narrate and (re-)construct a relationship based on shared values, norms and expectations. As locations where symbolic representations of togetherness (e.g. national anthems, flags and emblems, fans' chants, songs, banners and uniform clothing) are displayed, sport arenas are a social field where a cohesive relation between the 'nation' and its 'people' is constructed (Cerulo 1995, 15-17). Edensor (2002, 79) identifies the 'performances of national identity on the sporting field' as an expression of national qualities with an impact extending far beyond the sporting arena itself.

'Sports fans are [frequently] labelled as manifestations of national character', while the 'performances in stadia of fans, their use of music, the clothes they wear and the flags they wave, their responses to sporting action, defeat and victory' (Edensor 2002, 81) signify what are believed to be identifiable national characteristics. By 'tapping into, encouraging, and amplifying collective identification and emotion' (Rowe 2010, 356), sport draws spectators and television viewers into a 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 1991, 7), 'which identifies them as part of a mass

alongside their compatriots within a non-hierarchical community attentively regarding the performance of those "plenipotentiaries" competing on the nation's behalf (Barrer 2007, 224). The power of sport to inspire such identification should not be overlooked in the study of nationalism.

#### **Annotated bibliography**

#### L. Allison, 'Sport and nationalism', in: J.J. Coakley & E. Dunning (eds.), *Handbook of sports studies* (London, 2000) 344-355.

Useful survey of key themes in the literature on nationalism and sport, in which Allison claims that the national dimension is a key aspect of modern sport. Contextualised by discussion of the concepts of nations, nationalism and patriotism, and arguing that academic analysis of nationalism has traditionally paid little attention to sport, the chapter is focused on issues of national identity in sport, the use of sport to forge national unity and the relationship between globalisation and national sporting cultures.

### B. Anderson, Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism (London, 1991).

In this seminal text, Anderson defines the nation as an imagined political community, arguing that the majority of members of a nation will never know most of their fellow nationals, yet still feel a sense of fraternity for one another to the extent that they may be willing to die for the nation. He agrees with the view that nations are a modern phenomenon, but his contribution is to demonstrate how nations came to be socially constructed through the effects of secularisation and the emergence of print capitalism.

#### A. BAIRNER, Sport, nationalism and globalization: European and North American perspectives (Albany, 2001).

Book exploring the relationship between sport, national identity and globalisation in Britain, Ireland, the United States, Canada and Sweden. Bairner applies a common framework to allow for comparative analysis of his case studies and the book ends with a strong concluding chapter drawing out the broader theoretical lessons of this analysis.

### A. BAIRNER, 'Sport and the nation in the global era', in: L. Allison (ed.), *The global politics of sport: the role of institutions in sports* (London, 2005) 87-100.

Focusing on Irish sport, the Gaelic Athletic Association in particular, this chapter develops Bairner's previous work on sport, nationalism and globalisation. Bairner argues that Gaelic sports are more closely associated with and linked to Irish identity than any other sports, and therefore less likely to be mediated by global forces. He calls for future research to pay more attention to the personal experience of sportsmen and sportswomen – including non-elite athletes – and how they are shaped by and respond to interacting national and global forces.

## A. BAIRNER, 'Assessing the sociology of sport: on national identity and nationalism', in: *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50/4-5 (2015) 375-379.

In this article, Bairner provides a comprehensive literature review on the intricate interrelation between national identity and sport in a number of geographical contexts. Reflecting on the discipline of sociology of sport, Bairner points to the need to engage debates about concepts such as nation, nation state, nationality, national identity and nationalism. He furthermore underlines that sport remains a powerful form of national performance and a key social field in which to examine the tensions

between the national and global, the nation state and the historic nation, and between nationality and national identity.

### P. BARRER, "Satan is God!": re-imagining contemporary Slovak national identity through sport', in: *Sport in Society*, 10/2 (2007) 223-238.

Analyses the impact of the Slovak men's ice hockey team on post-Czechoslovak Slovak national identity, through an examination of sporting rivalry with the Czech Republic. In the context of the Slovak team's victory in the 2002 World Championships, Barrer argues that Slovak national identity became a 'brand', popular with the population and with sponsors.

#### A. Bernstein & N. Blain (eds.), Sport, media, culture: global and local dimensions (London, 2003).

An edited collection exploring the relationship between sport and the media in a range of European and North American case studies. Includes chapters that consider issues of national and other cultural identities in sport.

#### M. BILLIG, Banal nationalism (London, 1995).

This book introduces Billig's infamous theory of banal nationalism, which tries to shift focus from extreme and 'hot' expressions of nationalism to consider how the nation is taken-for-granted and flagged through routine symbols in everyday life.

### S. BIRRELL, 'Sport as ritual: interpretations from Durkheim to Goffman', in: *Social Forces*, 60/2 (1981) 354-376.

Birrell draws on Durkheim's social theory of religion and Goffman's theory of interaction ritual to argue that sport is a ritual, in which athletes mediate between individuals and a community moral order.

#### D. Brentin, 'A lofty battle for the nation': the social roles of sport in Tudiman's Croatia', in: *Sport in Society*, 16/8 (2013) 993-1008.

Argues that sport has played a significant role in the formation, establishment and conservation of Croatian national identity in the context of the country's secession from Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. Analyses the transmission of ethno-nationalist ideology via sport events, media reports and fan culture over the course of the 1990s.

# C. Bromberger, 'Football as a relevant subject for serious study: looking back on personal experience' (paper presented at Kick-Off conference for the Football Research in an Enlarged Europe (FREE) project, ESSCA School of Management, Angers, 20 April) (2012).

Conference paper presenting the reflections of an experienced anthropologist of football. Bromberger notes that in France in the 1980s, football was not regarded as a subject worthy of serious study, but that he was able to 'get away with it' as he was no longer a junior academic. The author reflects on his work on football conducted in Turin, Naples and Marseille, noting that the use of funds for such research was challenged as high up as in parliament. Bromberger argues that attitudes in France to research on football changed from the 1980s to the 2000s, particularly in the context of the success of the French national team. The paper also reflects on figures that Bromberger sees as pioneers of football research, on the categories and concepts upon which football research has shed new light (including national identity and gender) and on the methodological challenges it poses.

### C. CAMPOS, 'Beating the bounds: the Tour de France and national identity', in: *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 20/2 (2003) 149-174.

In this article, Campos argues that the association between the Tour de France and French national identity is not a coincidental one, but rather one that was intended by the founder of the race. He dates the term 'tour de France' back to royal tours of inspection in the sixteenth century, and argues that the modern sporting spectacle has, since its inception in 1903, symbolically retraced French national territory, simultaneously providing a stage on which that territory is ritually reconquered by heroic athletes. Campos considers the ways in which the route of the Tour has changed to incorporate different regions, focusing his attention not only on year-to-year changes but also on the longer historical development of the event. He argues that the Tour has evolved away from its early political itineraries of the period before the Second World War and towards a more celebratory nationalism.

### A. CARDOZA, "Making Italians?" Cycling and national identity in Italy: 1900-1950, in: *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 15/3 (2010) 354-377.

Cardoza argues that cycling was the spectator sport most suited to give Italians a sense of identification with the imagined community of the nation in the early 1900s. The article identifies the inaugural Giro d'Italia as Italy's first genuinely national sporting event, which served to familiarise fans with the geography and history of the unified Italian state. Nonetheless, Italian riders' lack of success in the sport also heightened insecurities about the state of the nation.

#### B. CARRINGTON, 'Introduction: sport matters', in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2012) 961-970.

Introduction to a special issue of the journal Ethnic and Racial Studies on 'Sport matters: politics, identity and culture'. Calls for social scientists to give greater attention to the ways in which sport plays a role in the social circulation of ideas about race.

#### K. CERULO, *Identity designs: the sights and sounds of a nation* (New Brunswick, 1995).

In this book, Cerulo explores the question of how social collectives come to choose symbols of identification, with a particular focus on flags and anthems. She argues that national symbols are selected not only on the basis of the messages that they carry, but also on the means by why they carry these messages. Cerulo surveys the flags and anthems of a 180-nation sample, using both qualitative and quantitative methods, and argues that their symbolic designs are the product of social forces that transcend these individual collectives. Cerulo's focus is on what she terms the 'syntactic structure' of national symbols, by which she means their design and configuration – arguing that this structure embodies a strategy for conveying information about the nation.

#### S. Creak, Embodied nation: sport, masculinity, and the making of modern Laos (Honolulu, 2015).

In this book, Creak examines Laotian politics and culture through the lens of sport and physical practice. He demonstrates the role that sport, physical education, gymnastics and military training has played in the everyday shaping of national consciousness in a country of little sporting reputation. Drawing on a wide range of sources, the book's historical scope ranges from consideration of the role of the indigenous game of tikhi in the nineteenth century through to Laos's hosting of the 2009 Southeast Asian Games.

#### M. Cronin, Sport and nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic games, soccer and Irish identity since 1884 (Dublin, 1999).

Book exploring sport's role as a 'low-culture' vehicle of nationalism in Ireland. Cronin surveys a broad literature on nationalism and then provides a detailed analysis of the Irish case, focusing on football and Gaelic games. Strengths of the book include its illustration of the

importance of Gaelic sports in Irish history and of both Gaelic games and football in the politics of Northern Ireland.

### T. Dóczi, 'Gold fever(?): sport and national identity – the Hungarian case', in: *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 47/2 (2011) 165-182.

Through a representative survey of Hungarians' attitudes to sport, this article attempts to address the lack of critical analysis of the relationship between sport and Hungarian national identity in the existing literature. Dóczi demonstrates how the media and politicians emphasise the success of elite athletes, and that this plays an identity-building function, whereas grassroots sport is relatively neglected in public discourse.

# I. ĐORĐEVIĆ, 'Twenty years later: the war did (not) begin at Maksimir. An anthropological analysis of the media narratives about a never ended football game', in: *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU*, 60/2 (2012) 201-216.

A critical analysis of Croatian and Serbian media narratives surrounding the twentieth anniversary of the May 1990 football match between Dinamo Zagreb and Red Star Belgrade, which was abandoned due to violent clashes between the two sets of supporters. Đorđević argues that the match has achieved mythic status, symbolically marking the start of the wars that accompanied the breakup of former Yugoslavia.

### E. Dunning, Sport matters: sociological studies of sport, violence and civilization (London, 1999).

Influential introduction to the sociology of sport, covering topics including the role of sport in the Western 'civilising process', the development of modern sport in the context of state formation, football's development as a world sport, crowd violence and hooliganism, and issues relating to race and gender in sport.

#### E. DURKHEIM, The elementary forms of religious life (New York, 1995 [1912]).

In this classic text, Durkheim analyses religion as a social phenomenon central to the foundation of modern societies. Looking at emotional experiences and rituals that form social and communal living, Durkheim argues that these constitute a major unifying expression of togetherness within a community.

### T. EDENSOR, National identity, popular culture and everyday life (Oxford, 2002).

In this book, Edensor suggests that national identity should be studied at the level of the demotic and the popular, and that the impact of globalisation needs further analysis. Through an analysis of the significance of national identity in geography, performance, material culture and film, Edensor suggests that it remains a potent force, even if the routes by which it is instantiated are undergoing rapid change.

#### T.H. ERIKSEN, *Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives* (London, 1993).

In this influential text on ethnicity and nationalism, Eriksen argues that these concepts represent pervasive features of our contemporary world. The book demonstrates, by drawing on anthropological and sociological scholarship, that both remain increasingly dynamic and dependent on social relationships. Offering further insights on the relationship between ethnicity, nationhood, class and gender, the book remains a comprehensive introduction to understanding the concepts of ethnicity and identity.

#### H. FLAM & D. KING (eds.), *Emotions and social movements* (Abingdon, 2005).

This edited book sets out to address what the editors suggest is the neglect of the significance of emotions in the study of social movements. Through presenting a varied range of empirical examples, the chapters demonstrate the role played by emotions in connecting the micro- and macro-political. The volume also explores the emotionality of public events and attempts to regulate the role of emotions in social movements.

### J.E. Fox, 'Consuming the nation: holidays, sports, and the production of collective belonging', in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29/2 (2006) 217-236.

Based on participant observation, interviews and a survey conducted in the ethnically mixed town of Cluj in Romania, Fox analyses how Romanian and Hungarian university students experience and constitute national belonging through the commemoration of national holidays and through international sport. Fox argues that it is sport, more than national holidays, that inspires expression of collective national allegiance amongst the students, but also that while sport has the capacity to inspire such identification, it does not necessarily contribute to political nationalism.

#### J.E. Fox & C. MILLER-IDRISS, 'Everyday nationhood', in: *Ethnicities*, 8/4 (2008) 536-563.

In this article, Fox and Miller-Idriss argue that the nation state remains the dominant form of contemporary political organisation, but that existing scholarship on the making of nations has neglected the role of ordinary people engaged in routine activities and has rather focused on construction of the nation from above. Fox and Miller-Idriss outline and illustrate an approach focusing on four modalities of the production and reproduction of nationhood in the everyday, which they term 'talking the nation', 'choosing the nation', 'performing the nation' and 'consuming the nation'. The article concludes with the authors' elaboration of a

methodological agenda for the operationalisation of their approach to the study of the nation in the everyday.

### J.E. FREY & D.S. EITZEN, 'Sport and society', in: Annual Review of Sociology, 17 (1991) 503-522.

Review article surveying a number of different approaches – namely those of structural functionalism, conflict theory and cultural studies – to the sociological study of sport. Frey and Eitzen argue that states view sport as a vehicle with which to achieve both internal stability, through national integration, and external status. They claim that while sport may well be integrative at the political level, it is not so when it comes to the interpersonal levels of race and gender.

#### R. GIULIANOTTI, Football: a sociology of the global game (Cambridge, 1999).

A sociological take on the world's most popular sport, this book includes chapters that consider the contribution of the game to the construction of local, regional and national imagined communities, and the cultural politics of class gender and ethnicity and their impact on football fandom.

#### J. GOODWIN, J.M. JASPER & F. POLLETTA (eds.), *Passionate politics: emotions and social movements* (Chicago, 2001).

This wide-ranging edited volume considers the role of emotions in political action and protest. The collection is organised into four sections, each featuring contributions from eminent sociologists. The first outlines a number of possible theoretical perspectives on the role of emotions in social movements; the second section considers the broader context of the emergence of social movements; the third one considers issues of recruitment to and the internal dynamics of social movements; the final section explores issues relating to the emotions generated by conflict and interaction amongst both political groups and individuals. These sections

are buttressed by strong introductory and concluding chapters, which draw out the implications of the volume for the further development of the study of emotions and social movements.

#### J. HARGREAVES, Sport, power and culture: a social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain (Cambridge, 1986).

In this book-length consideration, Hargreaves argues that sport has to be understood in the context of broader cultural and power dynamics. With a foreword by Stuart Hall, large portions of the book consider the class dimensions of British popular sport, before attention turns to the commercialisation of sport, sports media, physical education, issues of state intervention and the relationship between sport and hegemony. Hargreaves discusses the role of sport in the construction of the nation and also reflects on the relationship between nationalism and working-class culture.

## J. HARGREAVES, 'Olympism and nationalism: some preliminary consideration', in: *Internation Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 27/1 (1992) 119-135.

Considers the relationship between Olympism and nationalism. Hargreaves suggests that political sociologists need to more rigorously conceptualise both of them in order to be able to better understand the interactive nature of their relationship. The article concludes with a brief illustration of political conflicts surrounding the 1992 Barcelona Olympics.

#### J. HARGREAVES, Freedom for Catalonia: Catalan nationalism, Spanish identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games (Cambridge, 2000).

In this book, Hargreaves demonstrates how the 1992 Olympic Games, held in Barcelona, contributed to the stimulation of Catalan self-awareness and political mobilisation and to increasing tension between Catalonia and Spain. The book discusses this case study in the context of a broader

examination of the literature on the relationship between sport and nationalism. Hargreaves focuses particularly on the role of symbols such as flags and anthems in the expression of nationalism in the context of the Games. His book analyses how debates over these symbols were negotiated and resolved.

## J. HARGREAVES, 'Globalisation theory, global sport, and nations and nationalism' in: J. Sugden & A. Tomlinson (eds.), *Power games: a critical sociology of sport* (London, 2002) 25-43.

In this chapter, Hargreaves surveys theoretical approaches to understanding globalisation and their implications for the role of the nation state. He then considers a number of examples from the literature on the globalisation of sport, including football and baseball, and reflects on what these tell us about the relationship between globalisation and national identity and nationalism. Hargreaves argues that global sport provides a clear example of the unwelcome propensity for the expansion of power networks and that, contrary to the widespread academic suspicion of nationalism, strong and diverse national cultures provide an essential bulwark against domination by these networks of power.

### M. HASAN, Sport as a critique of politics: Everest climbing, nationalism and the failure of politics in Bangladesh, in: Global Discourse, 5/4 (2015) 540-552.

Hasan examines the relatively recent phenomenon of Bangladeshis scaling Mount Everest, noting that these mountaineers have come to be treated as sources of 'national inspiration' and indeed as national heroes. Hasan argues that mountaineers have been able to use the status that an ascent of Everest brings to criticise national politics, and that the very act of hoisting a flag at the top of the mountain can be a means to express political dissatisfaction.

#### J. HOBERMAN, Sport and political ideology (Austin, 1984).

Hoberman's book examines sport as a social field and metaphor of ideological power struggles during the twenty-first century. Taking a historical perspective, the study illustrates how both leftist and right-wing ideologies have embraced sport as a power tool for ideology and the creation of ideological hegemony. Hoberman dissects the Marxist tradition (the primacy of labour), the conservative tradition (leisure as a realm of freedom) as well as fascist theories of sport.

### J. HOBERMAN, 'Sport and ideology in the post-communist age', in: L. Allison (ed.), *The changing politics of sport* (Manchester, 1993) 15-36.

In this chapter written shortly after the end of the Cold War, Hoberman considers whether a left-right ideological contest is still relevant to international sport. He argues that the triumph of capitalism over communism had signalled the end of the traditional left-right political spectrum, but also that the ideological co-option of sport had always been subordinate to 'sportive nationalism'. He argues that this concept captures a complex response to both sporting and non-sporting events and challenges, and must be understood in its particular national contexts. In relation to this concept, Hoberman argues that our understanding of why the symbol of the athlete is so potent in modern societies and why this potency is resistant to ideological changes, remains relatively poor.

### E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge, 1992).

This book offers a modernist perspective on the phenomenon of nationalism, from 1780 to the present, updated in light of the fall of Communism in eastern Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union, and considers whether nationalism has passed its apex.

#### B. HOULIHAN, 'Sport, national identity and public policy', in: *Nations and Nationalism*, 3/1 (1997) 113-137.

In this article, Houlihan examines the deliberate use of sport by governments to manage national identity, focusing on legitimacy, territorial integrity and citizen commitment. Houlihan illustrates his argument with examples from Canada, Ireland and Britain. He argues that while the symbolic power of sport is strong and can be exploited with significant impact, its malleability often undermines any long-term impact on national identity.

## S. ISMER, 'Embodying the nation: football, emotions and the construction of collective identity', in: *Nationalities Papers*, 39/4 (2011) 547-565.

Proposes a theoretical approach to understanding processes of national identity construction that draws on insights into the role of rituals in the evocation of collective identities. The article presents a comparative case study of press coverage of the 1974 and 2006 FIFA World Cups, both held in Germany. Ismer argues that, given the changing nature of German domestic politics and the country's international role over the period between these two events, there is a growing danger for social conflict and that the 2006 World Cup served as a 'useful' ritual that increased identification with the nation in the context of this social change.

## S.L. JACKSON, 'Gretzky, crisis, and Canadian identity in 1988: rearticulating the Americanization of culture debate', in: *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11/4 (1994) 428-446.

This article examines the so-called 'crisis of Canadian identity' of 1988, which came to a head with the issue of the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement featured centrally in debates leading up to federal election that year. 1998 also saw national ice hockey star Wayne Gretzky marry American actress Janet Jones and transfer from the Edmonton Oilers to the Los Angeles Kings. Jackson argues that Canada has been at the

forefront of debates about the Americanisation of identity, and that the 'loss' of Gretzky came to be seen to embody Canadians' fears of US influence and domination – in part due to the centrality of ice hockey to Canadian national identity.

## S.L. JACKSON, 'A twist of race: Ben Johnson and the Canadian crisis of racial and national identity', in: *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 15/1 (1998) 21-40.

In this article, Jackson examines the role of Jamaican-born Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson, one of the most controversial athletes of the twentieth century thanks to his lifetime ban for use of performance-enhancing drugs, in Canadian discourses about race and national identity. Jackson argues that media representations and significations of Johnson's racial and national identities shifted along with his status in Canadian popular culture. He emphasises how Johnson's 'Jamaican-born' or 'Jamaican-Canadian' identity was used selectively in these discourses, in a way that contributed to or facilitated the reproduction of racism. Jackson contextualises his analysis by reference to debates about the impact of Americanisation and the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act on Canadian national identity.

### N. KERSTING, 'Sport and national identity: a comparison of the 2006 and 2010 FIFA World Cups<sup>TM</sup>', in: *Politikon*, 34/3 (2007) 277-293.

In this article, Kersting explores the role played by the FIFA World Cup, as an example of a sports mega event, in processes of national identity construction. Kersting argues that the 2006 event, held in Germany, enabled new expressions of national identity in the country and contributed to the emergence of positive myths of narratives of multiculturalism, although he questions the sustainability of the new German patriotism that emerged during the World Cup. In relation to the (then upcoming) 2010 World Cup in South Africa, Kersting recommends that identity campaigns should attempt to challenge xenophobic attitudes by incorporating pan-Africanist ideas.

#### D.I. KERTZER, Ritual, politics, and power (New Haven, 1988).

In this influential work, Kertzer draws on a wide range of examples, drawn from his experience in a geographically and culturally diverse set of countries but also from different time periods, to advance the argument that ritual forms an essential element of politics. The book makes a strong case for considering the effective use of ritual as essential to the success of political movements, but Kertzer also makes clear that he does not see ritual as something created by the free will of elites and passively received by populations. Rather, he argues, the broader cultural context constrains the choices of those elites.

#### B. KIDD, 'The culture wars of the Montreal Olympics', in: *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 27/2 (1992) 151-162.

In this article, Kidd sets the mismanagement and construction delays that accompanied Montreal's hosting of the 1976 Olympic Games in the context of the struggle between rival Quebecoise and Canadian nationalisms. While Kidd argues that the Games were actually quite successful in terms of the performance of Canadian athletes and the longer-term development of sport across the country, he maintains that the Montreal case demonstrates that it cannot be taken for granted that Olympism necessarily contributes to intercultural exchange and understanding and that such impacts need to be planned for.

### A.M. KLAUSEN (ed.), Olympic Games as performance and public event: the case of the XVII Winter Olympic Games in Norway (Oxford, 1999).

This edited collection explores various aspects of the 1994 Lillehammer Winter Olympic Games. Chapters cover issues including the relationship between Olympism and Norwegian culture, the Olympic torch relay and the reinvention of tradition, and the contribution of the 1994 opening ceremony to the construction and promotion of Norwegian national identity.

## J.W. LEE & A. BAIRNER, 'The difficult dialogue: communism, nationalism, and political propaganda in North Korean sport', in: *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 33/4 (2009) 390-410.

In this article – one of the few that have been published on sport and nationalism in North Korea – Lee and Bairner outline the role played by sport as a vehicle for political propaganda. Through analysis of the examples of football, taekwondo and mass gymnastics, Lee and Bairner show how sport and physical activity are used to legitimate the North Korean community 'trilogy' of the nation, the party and the leader.

## J.W. LEE & J. MAGUIRE, 'Road to reunification? Unitary Korean nationalism in South Korean media coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games', in: *Sociology*, 45/5 (2011) 848-867.

Lee and Maguire analyse coverage of the 2004 Olympic Games in South Korean media. They argue that around the time of the new millennium, the dominant South Korean national identity discourse came to be based on a unitary Korean nationalism. By drawing on the examples of North Korean athlete Sun-hui Kye and an 'inter-Korean' match in the quarter finals of the table tennis competition, the authors argue that media coverage of the Olympics reflected this unitary Korean nationalism. However, they also argue that this romantic nationalism reflects only the South Korean vision of a unified Korea and that, whereas unitary Korean nationalism is widely accepted in the realm of sport, its realisation at the political level remains distant.

#### J. MACCLANCY (ed.), Sport, identity and ethnicity (Oxford, 1996).

This edited collection presents a range of anthropological perspectives on the ways in which sport is used in the expression and negotiation of social identities. After a useful introductory chapter in which MacClancy sets out some theoretical considerations and argues that sport is more than simply a marker of existing identities and can contribute to their emergence, each following chapter considers an individual case study. These case studies range from football in colonial Zimbabwe to polo in the Hindu Kush and angling in Britain.

#### J.A. MAGUIRE, Global sport: identities, societies, civilizations (Cambridge, 1999).

In this book, Maguire draws on Norbert Elias's process or figurational sociology to provide an account of the relationship between sport and globalisation. The book's conceptual and theoretical contribution is developed over the first four substantive chapters, where Maguire presents a five-stage model of the emergence and globalisation of sport. In the remaining four chapters, he discusses individual aspects of the sport-globalisation nexus, including sports labour migration and the relationship of sport to identity politics.

### J.A. MAGUIRE, G. JARVIE, L. MANSFIELD & J. BRADLEY, Sport worlds: a sociological perspective (Champaign, 2002).

This book provides a wide-ranging sociological analysis of sport, and includes chapters that consider sport's relationship with – amongst other issues – globalisation, social capital, place and space, civic and ethnic passions, and the making of nations. Maguire and his co-authors express hope that their book might help contribute to the efforts of sociologists to challenge existing inequitable distributions of power and resources in sport, so as to build more humane and just 'sports worlds'.

### J. MARKS, "The French national team and national identity: "Cette France d'un bleu métis", in: Culture, Sport, Society, 1/2 (1998) 41-57.

In this article, Marks provides a provision analysis of the linkages between French national identity and the French national football team. He contrasts the situation in the run-up to the 1958 World Cup, when France was preoccupied with the war in Algeria while the national team prepared

in isolation in rural Sweden, with the experience of the 1996 European Championship and 1998 World Cup. Whereas in the former case, Marks argues that the team was not widely regarded as connected to French national identity, by 1998 the team's success was intimately associated with French public life. In the 1990s, commentators presented the national team as both a representation of the French state's ability to integrate a racially diverse population, but also as a temporary and welcome distraction from economic problems, unemployment and racial tensions.

### T. MILLER, G.A. LAWRENCE, J. MCKAY & D. ROWE, Globalization and sport: playing the world (London, 2001).

This multi-authored book examines the links between sport and culture in the context of globalisation and advances an argument that sport is more than simply a leisure activity and in fact plays a role in the government of everyday life. The authors argue that phenomena such as sporting calendars and physical education discipline and shape modern populations. Moreover, they make the case that as it is increasingly subjected to processes of globalisation, we need to understand the commodification and bureaucratisation of sport in order to understand changing national cultures.

## R. MILLS, 'Fighters, footballers and nation builders: wartime football in the Serb-held territories of the former Yugoslavia, 1991-1996', in: *Sport in Society*, 16/8 (2013) 945-972.

Mills examines the role of football in the Serb-held territories of Republika Srpska (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Republika Srpska Krajina (in Croatia) during the wars of Yugoslav dissolution. He argues that the sport boosted morale amongst Serb military personnel, but also served to help map out imagined communities, emphasising that Serbs, regardless of location, continued to belong to Yugoslavia.

## A. NALAPAT & A. PARKER, 'Sport, celebrity and popular culture: Sachin Tendulkar, cricket and Indian nationalisms', in: *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40/4 (2005) 433-446.

Article considering the contribution of cricketer Sachin Tendulkar to debates about politics, religion and nationalism in India, focusing particularly on the celebrations of 1999, which marked the tenth anniversary of Tendulkar's international debut. Nalapat and Parker argue that Tendulkar had been central to Indian popular cultural life since the early 1990s, and trace his appeal in part to the broader cultural revolution associated with India's information technology and satellite television boom. The authors argue that through his celebrity, Tendulkar was able to subtly express particular religious and political beliefs associated with Hindutva.

### R.E. RINEHART, *Players all: performances in contemporary sport* (Bloomington, 1998).

Analysing a number of contemporary sports (mega-)events, such as the Olympic Games, the Super Bowl and the eXtreme Games, Rinehart�s book offers a critical insight into popular and commercialised global sport. Tracing the emergence of commercialised sport and sports tourism, the book outlines the new forms of an ever increasingly globalised postmodern culture of sports as theatrical events.

### E.W. ROTHENBUHLER, Ritual communication: from everyday conversation to mediated ceremony (Thousand Oaks, 1998).

Drawing on insights from anthropology, sociology and communications studies, Rothenbuhler's book approaches rituals and ritualised ceremonies as symbolic social actions whilst investigating their role in modern society. These ritualised practices are identified as important modes of communication that relate the individual to the social group and at the same time represent a powerful expression of their relationship towards each other.

#### D. Rowe, 'Sport and the repudiation of the global', in: *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 38/3 (2003) 281-294.

Influential article that expands on critiques of the portrayal of international sports mega-events as illustrative of globalisation, by going beyond arguments about resistance to globalisation in sport and instead suggesting that international sport is fundamentally premised on the production of national difference.

### D. Rowe, 'Coming to terms with leisure and globalization', in: *Leisure Studies*, 25/4 (2006) 423-436.

Focusing on the World Leisure and Recreation Association's 1998 Sao Paulo Declaration on Leisure and Globalization Issues, Rowe issues a call for leisure studies researchers to avoid becoming complicit in accounts of globalisation that are either dystopian or utopian, but rather to rethink globalisation as but one of a set of processes, with which it exists alongside, is intersected or may be challenged by. The article contends that global sport derives appeal from the existence or even accentuation of national difference, rather than from cosmopolitanism.

## D. Rowe, 'Stages of the global: media, sport, racialization and the last temptation of Zinedine Zidane', in: *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45/3 (2010) 355-371.

Rowe analyses the incident in which French footballer Zinedine Zidane head-butted Italian rival Marco Materazzi in the 2006 World Cup final, focusing on how the intense media coverage involved an intense search (involving lip-readers) for any signs of racism in what Materazzi had said to Zidane in the lead-up to the incident. Rowe argues that this 'frozen moment' reveals how closely racism lurks beneath the surface of sport, and favours what he terms a 'cultural politics' that can identify causes of racism and resist them through sport.

#### A.D. SMITH, 'The origins of nations', in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (1989) 340-367.

In this highly influential and often cited article, Smith sets out the case that while the modern nation as a territorially bounded community is a relatively recent phenomenon, it has its origins in pre-modern ethnic communities and that modern nations derive much of their power and persistence from these ancient ties. Smith argues that these 'ethnies' take two forms, which in turn lead to the formation of different types of nation. In 'lateral' ethnies, the aristocracy was able to bureaucratically incorporate peripheral regions and the lower social classes into the dominant culture of the ruling elite, leading to the development of civic nations. In 'vertical' ethnies, by contrast, cultural mobilisation activated and politicised a previously passive community, resulting in an ethnic nation. Smith cites France, England and Spain as examples of the former type and Ireland, Finland and Switzerland as examples of the latter.

#### S. SÖRLIN, 'Nature, skiing and Swedish nationalism', in: *International Journal of the History of Sport*,, 12/2 (1995) 147-163.

Part of a special issue on nationalism and sport, this journal article examines the relationship between skiing and nationalism in Sweden. Sörlin considers the emergence of skiing as a popular activity and sport in Sweden in the context of its longer history in neighbouring Norway. He seeks to answer the question of why skiing rose to prominence starting in the nineteenth century, arguing that skiing was suited to the task of national mobilisation because it was seen as virtuous, manly, heroic and as Swedish through association with royalty.

R. SPETH, 'Nation und Emotion: Von der vorgestellten zur emotional erfahrenen Gemeinschaft' in: A. Klein & F. Nullmeier (eds.), Masse – Macht – Emotionen: zu einer politischen Soziologie der Emotionen (Opladen, 1999) 287-307.

#### J. SUGDEN & A. BAIRNER (eds.), Sport, sectarianism and society in a divided Ireland (Leicester, 1993).

In this book, Sudgen and Bairner draw on their considerable experience of researching sport in Northern Ireland to demonstrate how sport and politics are intimately linked in the province. Examining a range of sports and the role of both central and local government in sport and leisure provision, their analysis demonstrates the affinity between sport and ethno-nationalism and the significant extent of political contestation surrounding sport in Northern Ireland.

### J. Sugden, & A. Tomlinson (eds.), Hosts and champions: soccer culture, national identities and the USA World Cup (Aldershot, 1994).

This edited volume offers a multi-disciplinary account of one of the biggest global sports mega-events, the football World Cup. Written for academic and popular audiences alike, the essays provide the reader with a compelling insight into the 1994 World Cup, held in the United States. The book gives background information on football's global popularity and its cultural meaning, as well as providing particular case studies exploring questions of national identity from various geographic contexts.

#### C.S. THOMPSON, *The Tour de France: a cultural history* (Berkeley, 2006).

A rare scholarly analysis of the Tour de France bicycle race, this history considers the race through its narratives, including those relating to local and national identities. In particular, Thompson highlights how the Tour, through the decisions of organisers to either include or exclude individual regions in the annually changing route, has served as a unifying national race but has also been interpreted in some of France's peripheral regions as evidence of their marginalisation.

#### A. TOMLINSON, Sport and leisure cultures (Minneapolis, 2005).

In this book, Tomlinson examines a variety of sports and leisure activities in their local, national and international contexts. Includes chapters on sport, politics and identities, and sport, cultural diversity and national identity – the latter focusing on the Swiss case.

## R. TZANELLI, "Impossible is a fact": Greek nationalism and international recognition in Euro 2004, in: *Media, Culture and Society*, 28/4 (2006) 483-503.

Tzanelli analyses the construction of national identity in Greek print media following the country's national football team's victory in the 2004 European Championship. Argues this construction takes many forms, including via references to Christian and Hellenic heritage, the Greek diaspora and through both friendly and hostile encounters with other national teams.

### M. VÁCZI, Soccer, culture and society in Spain: an ethnography of Basque fandom (London, 2015).

Through an in-depth, ethnographic investigation of the Basque football club Athletic Bilbao, this book aims to examine the role of football in the formation of Basque identity and Basque nationalism. The author examines the role of football in contentious politics against the central Spanish state and communal affirmation for the local (national) identity, thereby offering an insight into the field of Basque football culture and its power relations, as well as its complex relationship with football, culture and national identity in Spain.

### G. Whannel, Fields in vision: television sport and cultural transformation (London, 1992).

In this book, Whannel traces the development of television coverage of sport, focusing on the role of the BBC and ITV in Britain but also on the

impacts of globalisation. Demonstrates the role played by sports broadcasters in the articulation of Britishness and British national identity. Whannel demonstrates how individual athletes' successes are represented as those of the nation, but also highlights the complexities and contradictions of national identity in a multi-national state.

## N. WISE, 'Maintaining Dominican identity in the Dominican Republic: Forging a baseball landscape in Villa Ascension', in: *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50/2 (2015) 161-178.

This article explores the use of sports venues in Villa Ascension and Caraballo, rural communities in the Dominican Republic – the former having a majority Haitian population. Wise outlines how a football field in Villa Ascension is used for its intended purpose by Haitians but for playing baseball by Dominicans, and drawing on participant observation and interviews, he analyses how identities are formed and maintained in the context of this sporting landscape.

## X. Xu, 'Modernizing China in the Olympic spotlight: China's national identity and the 2008 Beijing Olympiad', in: *The Sociological Review*, 54/s2 (2006) 90-107.

Argues that the 2008 Beijing Olympics play a key role in China's integration with the international community, and also in the construction of a modernised national identity. Xu considers the challenges posed by the need to channel 'hyper-nationalistic sentiments' provoked by the staging of the Olympics into good sportsmanship and by the Taiwanese independence movement.

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