Football Goes East

Business, culture and the people's game in China, Japan and South Korea

Edited by
Wolfram Manzenreiter and John Horne

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Football is now a significant social and economic force in the world's largest economies: China, Japan and South Korea

Football Goes East provides unique insights into the cultural, economic, political and social factors shaping its development in the Far East.

The contributors in this study add both to the theoretical debate and to our empirical knowledge about the social and cultural dimensions of sport in the Far East, with essays including discussion of:

- Modernisation, social change and national identity
- Women's football and gender traditions
- Public and private finance and investment in football
- The development of professional football
- Football and the media
- Football fans, 'hooliganism' and the soccer supporter culture

Authors from China, Japan, Korea, Europe and the US outline differences and similarities at the heart of the multi-faceted phenomenon of global football in distinctive local cultures. Considering the impact of globalisation on sport, *Football Goes East* delivers a critical assessment of the changing tensions between the social, political and economic determinants of sport and leisure cultures in the Far East.

Wolfram Manzenreiter is Assistant Professor at the Institute of East Asian Studies, Vienna University, Austria. **John Horne** is Senior Lecturer in Sociology of Sport and Leisure at the University of Edinburgh, UK.

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and books on Olympic studies and Japanese supporters culture (2004, published in Japanese).

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Whang Soon-Hee is Associate Professor of Sociology in the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba, Japan. As a specialist in the sociology of culture, sports and education, she has written extensively on education and alumni culture in Japan, including the Korean Institute of Japanology prize-winning book on Japanese elite high schools (in Japanese). She also has published many comparative articles on Korean and Japanese wrestling and the 2002 World Cup.

Preface

I often say sociology is a martial art, a means of self-defense. Basically, you use it to defend yourself, without having the right to use if for unfair attacks.
(Pierre Bourdieu in *La Sociologie est un sport de combat*,
F 2000, directed by Pierre Carles)

Observers of the 'beautiful game' know that football too often does not deserve the name as its participants regularly fail to follow the rules of fair play that Pierre Bourdieu poignantly outlined for the discipline of sociology. As all players and supporters of football know, the rules of fairness are often tested to their extreme, not just a few times beyond the limits of reason. Physical attacks that are meant to hurt and risk the consequences of harm or injury violate the very idea of game playing. What has come under equally public scrutiny recently is cheating, which in some eyes seems to be a more serious infringement of the spirit of sport than violent assaults. Cheating in sociology has not yet received quite the same attention as in the 'hard sciences' where the competition for subsidies, tenure and academic honours has occasionally yielded faked experimental results or swiftly adapted data series. This does not mean there is no cheating in the field. If the distortion of truth is the main corollary of cheating, however, perspectival flaws and lapses probably provide more damage.

Sociology as a discipline aspires to generalise about social structure and agency, yet the language it uses, the theories and the methodologies it is based on are deeply tainted by its Western academic roots. Our concern in bringing out this second volume on football in East Asia has been partly motivated by the general lack of knowledge about sport in non-Western social formations and the wish to bridge the gap between scholarship in the study of sport in society in the East and the West. 'Football Comes Home' was the official slogan of the 1996 European Championships in England. We wanted to use the phrase for this book, as we were well aware of the thousand-year-old tradition of football games in East Asian cultures. Football was played in the East long before civilisation in Europe was initiated by the Roman Empire. This albeit not too sophisticated switch of perspectives unfortunately did not find the consent of our publisher's marketing officers who doubted that the market would be able to cope with the irony.

Therefore we have to add here that only as a business, and in its currently dominant pop-cultural form, does football go East. Yet despite the commodification process that propels football's global expansion, football is not property, it never was and it never will be. Only if one wants to fool oneself about the comparatively short and shallow base of the currently dominant football paradigm, should anyone ignore football's rich diversity of histories and contemporary forms. Or, for that matter, ignore what historians, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and other social scientists from the academic periphery have to contribute to our knowledge about the game.

In order to heighten awareness of the 2002 World Cup co-hosted by Japan and Korea, we organised an international conference 'Soccer Nations and Football Cultures in East Asia' in Vienna in March 2002, sponsored by a generous grant from the Japan Foundation. This collection of articles about football in China, Japan and Korea draws on some of the contributions to that conference. In many ways though it goes beyond the original intentions of the conference. The topics covered at the conference included the importance of recognising football's relationship to specific political, economic and cultural contexts; the growing relationship between sport and economic development; the social divisions, especially, but not exclusively gender, ethnic and class, that continue to shape the meaning and consumption of football in different societies; the role of broadcasting, especially television, in spreading football as a spectacle, if not a practice; and the role of trans-national agencies and organisations – such as FIFA and the AFC – in brokering the expansion of the game.

Putting out a collection around these core topics proved to be impossible for various reasons, including a version of academic gamesmanship. Some papers were poached, others failed to match academic standards – at times we were close to accepting Erving Goffman's assessment of sociology as 'an insane asylum run by the inmates' at face value. A particularly difficult obstacle proved to be language. The number of knowledgeable social scientists specialising in sports is limited world wide, and particularly if English language capabilities are requested in addition. Yet our new entrants should not be seen merely as substitutes bringing in their own original concerns and perspectives. The book now contains several multi-disciplinary essays from sociology, educational studies, cultural studies, geography and international relations on topics ranging from East Asian political economy, athletic talent migration, football in education and business archives, celebrity culture to national and cultural identities. While in a number of cases stylistic editing and translation support was all that was needed to bring the papers in line with our basic requirements, in others we ended up co-ghostwriting because literal translation would not have done justice to the different traditions of thought and conventions of academic writing that are contained here. We believe that the final results are as close as possible to their authors' original position. For these reasons, *Football Goes East* has moved away, hopefully further ahead, from the conference programme and the first proposal.

Without the help and support we received from numerous grant-giving bodies, institutions and individuals for various research projects, this book would never

have been realised. For financial support we would like to thank the Japan Foundation, the Travel Grant Fund for Short Term Research Projects of the Austrian Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, the Faculty of Social Sciences at Ritsumeikan University, the Faculty of Education at Kyoto University of Education, the United Kingdom Sports Council International Conference Committee, the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh. For inviting us to present preliminary accounts of our research at different stages over the past years we would like to thank the Japan Society of Sport Sociology, the European Association of Japanese Studies, the German Association of Social Science Research on Japan, the Japan Anthropology Workshop, the Geographers' Association of Hiroshima, the British Sociological Association, the International Sociology of Sport Association, Goldsmiths College and the National Football Museum/University of Central Lancashire.

In addition to the support we have received from libraries, faculty committees and departments in our own institutions – the University of Vienna and the University of Edinburgh – we would also like to mention the many staff, associates and friends at Kyoto University of Education, Ritsumeikan University, Hitotsubashi University, Nagoya University, Okayama University, Seikei University and Tsukuba University who have helped us a lot and invited us on various occasions to participate in various workshops, conferences and lectures over the past two years. In addition to the authors in this collection who we wish to thank for their great contributions, their commitment and their timeliness, we must express our thanks to Ahn Minseok, Choi Wongki, Elise Edwards, Fan Hong, Koh Eun-ha, Lee Yang-Young, Trevor Slack, Xiong Xiaozheng, Yamashita Takayuki and Yan Xuening for their expertise on football in East Asia. We also know that without the help of Maria Baier, Caroline Maier and Benjamin Platz, and the scholarship and expertise of Rosa Diketmöller, Michael Fanizadeh, Klaus Federmair, Roman Horak, Karen Imhof, Jürgen Schwarz, Georg Spitaler, and the enthusiasm of all the committed participants at the 'Soccer Nations, Football Cultures' Conference, much would have been left in the dark. Samantha Grant and Allison Scott from the Routledge Sport and Leisure Studies series were patient and supportive from the first moment they learned about this project, and generous enough to wait until it was finally done. Finally, we have to thank Uwe Holtschneider and Dorothea Wünsch of Duisburg-Essen University who generously contributed time and effort to the compilation of the index.

As usual, the biggest debt of gratitude is owed to our home base, in particular to Gerda, Delia, Richard and Alison, and Lukas and Ingo, and to our friends who once more tolerated an impermissible number of time-outs from family service as the book was put together.

We have asked our contributors to express monetary values in currencies with which they are most familiar and which are easily convertible – Chinese renminbi (CNY), euros (€), Japanese yen (JPY), Korean won (KRW), US dollars (US$) and GB pounds sterling (GBP). A billion, following American convention, is regarded here as one thousand million; hence a trillion is equivalent to a British billion. With most of Europe having converted to the single euro currency, we

are including a chart that shows the relative value of these six currencies at the time of the 2002 FIFA World Cup, when we submitted our book proposal to Routledge, and 18 months later, when this text was drafted. To illustrate currency fluctuations over the past decade we have included exchange rates from the beginning and the middle of the previous decade, in Table 0.1. Exchange rates in the table have been obtained from the Foreign Currency Exchange Converter, provided by Pacific at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada (http://pacific.commerce.ubc.ca/xr/data.html).

As this book deals with sport, society and culture in non-Western societies, we felt obliged to pay attention to the phonetic particularities of their languages when transcribing names and words that are unfamiliar to most Western readers. We also follow local Asian convention in placing family names before personal names. Both rules do not work very well without exceptions. Strictly yielding to Pinyin, the McCune–Reischauer and the modified Hepburn transcription systems would have facilitated our editorial work immensely, but in many instances people and places are internationally known by alternative transcriptions. Hence we have added alternative notations, where necessary. Otherwise we have kept to the principles of accuracy and consistency.

Table 0.1 Currency values compared with the euro, January 1993 to December 2003

	€	*US$*	*CNY*	*JPY*	*KRW*	*GBP*
1993, January	1	1.21	7.02	152	964	0.79
1998, January	1	1.09	9.00	141	1,841	0.66
2002, June	1	0.96	7.91	118	1,162	0.64
2003, December	1	1.22	10.07	131	1,446	0.70

Note: US$ = US dollars; CNY = Chinese renminbi; JPY = Japanese yen; KRW = Korean won; GBP = GB pounds sterling.

1 Football, culture, globalisation

Why professional football has been going East

John Horne and
Wolfram Manzenreiter

Introduction

Speaking to an audience in Tokyo in 1989 the late French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu declared 'I think that if I were Japanese I would dislike most of the things that non-Japanese people write about Japan' (Bourdieu 2000: 3). Recognising that it had been 'the curiosity of exotic particularism' that had 'inspired so many works on Japan' (Bourdieu 2000: 3), he was arguing against the 'particularized reading' of specific analyses, and especially in the case of his own classic study *Distinction* (Bourdieu 1984). As in a previous collaboration (Horne and Manzenreiter 2002), our aim in bringing a collection of essays together is strongly motivated by the recognition that research about sport in the East Asian region has often been treated in a similar particularised fashion.

The orientalist fascination Bourdieu was alluding to has been an unavoidable component of the publishing frenzy shortly before and after the 2002 Football World Cup co-hosted by Japan and Korea. To the work of freelance writers (Bennie 2002; Moffett 2002; Moran 2002; Perryman 2002; Willem 2002) and academics (Sugden 2002; Sugden and Tomlinson 2003) we should also add our own edited collections. While we recognise the logic of the argument, we strongly reject the charge of exploitation raised by a reviewer who suspected our earlier book to be one more example of the media trend toward 'constructing' mega-events. We concede that the ever increasing amount of literature that follows any Olympics or World Cup nowadays is primarily caused by the mega-event status itself: sports events of truly global reach receive extensive media coverage and thus attract heightened attention on a world-embracing level. The efficacy of this cycle is guaranteed by the allied forces of transnational organisations in charge of media business, corporate finance, and sport administration that we refer to as the allied dominion of the worldwide sports empire. The pervasiveness of this empire of sport is a strong argument why sociologists should not eschew deconstructing its flagship events, e.g. mega-events, or more generally, the way in which cultural products (such as sports) are produced, packaged, transmitted and consumed in a globalising world.

With another acknowledgement to Bourdieu we can also answer the question why we need another book about football in Japan, Korea and China, even though

the 2002 World Cup has happened and now we can move on. To a certain degree, sport is reflective and constitutive of society. Hence writing about sport in society is writing about society – in the case of this collection, writing about the contemporary experience of social life in China, Japan and Korea. If these analyses of football in East Asia aspire to be more widely meaningful, they have to be framed by an explanatory model that reveals the universal principles of particular cases. Universalising the particularisms bound up with a singular historical experience and making them recognisable as universal is a principle we provided our contributors with as a guideline. Such a technique is able to unravel the mechanisms of cultural imperialism that are based on exactly the opposite procedure: particularisms become false universalisms because of the negation of their historical groundedness (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999: 41). Hence when particular aspects of football in the Far East are assessed in each of the following chapters, the analysis of our contributors is also concerned with football in the home country of the readers. What we also hope to demonstrate here is that after all the massive media coverage and audience interest has faded away, the actual significance of football in these countries has become more pronounced beyond the event-ridden hype. Taking into account the ways in which football as a commodity and an experience is embedded inter-regionally as well as internationally, we feel confident that this collection reveals some of the social, cultural, economic and political factors that will ensure that football continues to develop in East Asia.

Whether football in 'the East' can ever be taken seriously is for us not a question of relevance. Fine recent examples that deserve acknowledgement have been provided by South Korea's successful run against European football powerhouses during the 2002 World Cup, the early defeats of England and Germany by Japan and South Korea respectively at the World Youth Championship in 2003 and Japan's 1–1 draw with England in June 2004. But this is a case of the right answer to the wrong question. The proposition behind the question is indicative of a Eurocentric perspective as well as a football world-view that neglects the appeal of the game beyond its hyper-mediatised flagship events. Football, as will be demonstrated, is a serious matter for large groups of the population in the East, and the appeal football has found in the East is taken dead seriously by the international media, sport organisations, European club sides, and other sellers and bidders on the global football market. As *the* world sport, football continues to attract investment, fans, sponsors, media and political attention in most countries that have football associations affiliated to the Federation International of Football Associations (FIFA). FIFA's 'Big Count', conducted in 2000 and released in April 2001, produced an estimated 242,378,000 regular football players, or 4.1 per cent of the world's population. In 2004, the centenary year of the organisation, there are 204 members, making it the largest single sport association in the world. FIFA comprises six continental confederations with the following national football association membership – CAF (Confederation Africaine de Football, 52), AFC (Asian Football Confederation, 45), UEFA (Unions des Associations Europeennes de Football, 51), CONCACAF (Confederacion Norte-Centro-americana y del caribe de Futbol, 35), CONMEBOL (Confederacion

Sudamericana de Futbol, 10), and OFC (Oceania Football Confederation, 11). According to the 'Big Count', active football participation was most popular in CONCACAF countries (8.4 per cent of the population), Europe (6.7 per cent), South America (6.5 per cent), followed by Oceania (4.4 per cent), Asia (3 per cent) and then Africa (2.9 per cent) (Westerbeek and Smith 2003: 103–4). Yet these data deserve some caution as they are based on self-reporting by national associations plus a generous estimation of non-registered players. Depending on the organisational grade and the self-esteem of the issuing authority, numbers on the pitch and on the page will unavoidably differ to an unaccountable degree. What is sure is the uneven distribution of football talent and purchasing power. Of all professional football players 75 per cent play in European or South American leagues that generate worldwide interest, support, and commodity markets. The concomitant differences in economic power are a major determinant of centre–periphery relations among the confederations in FIFA. The AFC, albeit representing the continent with the largest population, is granted only four or five entrants to the final of the World Cup tournament. Yet we expect this number to rise in the coming years, assuming that the world sport empire does not implode.

Aside from football, East Asia will come even more to the fore as a central focus for business and military/geo-political concerns in the foreseeable future. Martin Jacques (2003) from the London School of Oriental and African Studies has argued, for us poignantly, that 'within the next five years, East Asia will be home to the second and third most powerful economies in the world. The world's centre of gravity has already shifted to the Pacific, and East Asia has already replaced Europe as the second most powerful economic region'. The remarkable rise of East Asia in terms of economic and political development over the past two or three decades stands in sharp contrast to other peripheral regions of the modern world-system. Yet as Cumings (1987), Arrighi (1996) and others have knowledgeably observed, their incorporation within the networks of power of the United States has been a fundamental condition for the rise of Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and most recently China. Well before Japan's asset-inflated bubble economy, the end of the Cold War world system, and the spread of network communication technology, Wallerstein (1991) outlined a possible scenario in which Japan might become a new world hegemon, outstripping the USA as the leading producer of new prime products. Yet Wallerstein also indicated a no less plausible alternative in which the USA and Japan paired up against their main competitors from Europe. Arrighi *et al.* (2003) also contextualised their prediction of the re-emergence of East Asia as the most dynamic region of the global economy – as it was before the rise in the nineteenth century of a Western-dominated global hierarchy of wealth – in a much longer temporality. The observation of China's recent reclaiming of economic supremacy in the region has been related to the century-old sinocentric tributary trade system that stretched across the entire region (Arrighi *et al.* 2003). China's entry into the World Trade Organisation in December 2001 marked a process in which its vast population has been swept along in a tide of marketisation that could transform the everyday life of roughly one-fifth of the planet's inhabitants. North Korea remains on the list of

the current American administration's 'rogue states', enabling the USA to divide the world along an 'axis of evil'. As we will argue, both aspects of international trade and international relations are crucial for understanding why football acquired such a high standing in the region. This book thus contributes to debates about sport and globalisation, globalisation and the nation state, the commercial logic of global football and the specific experiences of football fans, players and followers in the three nations.

Sport, globalisation and Bourdieu

Robertson (2000: 458ff) argues that there are broadly two paradigmatic approaches to globalisation – one sees it as primarily an economic phenomenon and the other, which he argues for, is a more inclusive, multi-dimensional conception. Unlike him, however, we argue that the relative significance and relation of each of the separate, but not separable dimensions of globalisation, revolves around the economic significance for the other dimensions. In this respect we follow the lead of Bourdieu's sociological ideas once more. A creative reading of his central concepts of habitus, social field, and capital in the light of globalisation expands our understanding of social transformations in a world beyond the nation-state. Since sociology has traditionally been engaged with thinking society as the something that exists within a nation state, a world where relations are defined by ties that transcend national borders is quite an intellectual challenge. Freed from the containment by the nation-state, a sociology of sport in the light of globalisation is required to analyse social, economic, and cultural relations in sport on a transnational level. In such a configuration, social rather than geographical hierarchies (as in traditional developmental trajectories of West vs. East) organise the global field of football, its consumption as well as its production.

Responses to the 'G-word' (Miller *et al.* 2001) range from uncritical adoption, wary acceptance, to resistance, which Held *et al.* (1999) referred to as hyperglobalisers, transformationalists and sceptics. In sports studies Maguire (1999) used modernisation, globalisation and Americanisation approaches to approximate these positions. As Houlihan (2003) is at pains to point out, there is a danger that the term, like many other social scientific 'buzz-words', has come to explain everything and nothing. There is a need to distinguish between different dimensions of globalisation – political, economic and cultural – and consider the relative significance of each to the other and their relationship. Whether globalisation is seen as a process or an outcome, an organising principle, a conjuncture or a project, is a first distinguishing feature of writing on the subject. Houlihan (2003) suggests that it is necessary to specify what would need to be present to talk with confidence about a globalised world. What's more, we also need to consider the reach of globalisation and the response of those on the 'receiving end' of it. In principle we agree with the need for clarification enforced by the overuse of the concept of globalisation.

For us, globalisation is first of all a 'practical logic', or a logic in practice that has come to be diffused on a planetary scale. In the sense of the taken-for-granted

assumption, or orthodoxy, of the contemporary time it resembles the consciously managed version or weaker notion of doxa, which Bourdieu (1977) explained in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* as 'theses tacitly posited on the hither side of all inquiry'. Yet placing globalisation merely in the sphere of consciousness, even though it seems to have found access to regions that are deeper than mere ideologies, would fail to take its real-life dimensions into account. We also consider globalisation as an outcome of social and economic struggles, certainly not from a moralising point of view, but from a theorising angle. Yet we do not see any point in reviewing here a long-standing discussion on the terminology that has been treated in detail by many much more knowledgeable writers. We basically agree with a more relational, than substantial, definition of globalisation. This views it as 'a process or a set of processes which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transaction – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or inter-regional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power' (Held *et al.* 1999: 16). As researchers interested in the social dimensions of sport in contemporary society, we pose two sets of interrelated questions to these flows and processes: first, we explore how sport is affected by globalisation at the local, national and regional levels, and second, how sport contributes to globalisation. Adequate answers are only offered by a methodology taking both political economy and cultural realms of globalisation into account.

As is well known, Bourdieu's view of society rejects the objectified notion of classes opposing each other in their struggle for dominance. Instead, the social world is conceptualised as a multi-dimensional social space rooted in various patterns of differentiation and distribution. Social space is structured according to the specific distribution of different forms of capital, which can be of material as well as symbolic quality. Cultural capital, which depends to a great degree on up-bringing and schooling, and social capital, which is based on the usage of institutionalised social networks, can be transferred into economic capital, which of course is also convertible to other forms of symbolic capital. Thus the specific value of a form of capital is determined by its assessment in relation to alternative variants within a social field. These are largely autonomous realms in which and between which struggle and contestation over resources takes place. The acquisition of capital, and the position of an individual within a field, is directly linked with the habitus, or the individual's embodied social history. Habitus, which Bourdieu also referred to as structurising structure, comprises of an individual's preferences, dispositions, inclinations and perspectives. As an internalised system of unconsciously held patterns of behaviour, the habitus generates behaviour, taste, perceptions, and convictions. Different arrangements are constituted by inherited asset structures and the social conditions of production, which create relationships between them. As the distribution and the accumulation of capital resources prescribes an individual's position in society, the dominant group of social actors are eager to maintain control over the classification scheme. Capital ownership enables them to exert influence on the consolidation of a common-sense worldview, which is a basic guarantee for the stability of the system.

The recognition of the habitus as one organising principle of social structure enabled Bourdieu to bridge the gap between structuralist and social agency theories. This is particularly of relevance for thinking about choice and action in a contemporary context where common-sense ideas about life and society, the social order and even the global system have fallen short of the rhetoric of neoliberalist globalisation. Despite growing knowledge about the social costs of capitalist development, which promotes inequality, rising income disparities and a widening gap between the developed and underdeveloped world, social conflicts remain contained by the dominant image of a global movement beyond political controllability. Thus the fractures have led the majority of critics and the underprivileged into inertia and resignation, rather than into resistance and rebellion. While orthodox Marxism criticises Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital as a major betrayal of the theory of surplus-value, the cornerstone of Marxism, we regard it as an important correction to a serious shortcoming in Marxist theory, in which culture is reduced to the role of the superstructure of the economic base. This is a very important point helping to rescue a valuable theory from plain economism. As noted above, globalisation cannot be regarded purely as a commercially-driven process aiming at the creation of a global market for products whose popular consumption leads to the standardisation of cultures that were once distinctive. But we do want to stress the relative importance of economic capital and the capitalist mode of production, distribution and exchange within the globalisation of sports.

In the late 1970s, Bourdieu suggested it was useful to think about the practice and consumption of sport as a form of supply that meets a specific social demand. Such an assessment necessitated, first, conceiving of the production of sport as an autonomous field with its own logic and distinctive history, and second, to think about the social conditions that enable members of society to acquire these sports products. Transformations of the supply side depend on the relation between the kinds of sports, new entries and technologically altered products; on the demand side, sport preferences are embedded into the habitus and thus subjugated to broader transformations of society (Bourdieu 1985: 111–12). Globalisation impacts on both the supply of and demand for sport, as will become evident throughout this book. The contestation of sport games has come to be challenged, if not dominated, by football in social fields which are no longer exclusively based on their locally distinguishable past.

Globalisation in sport studies: a critical review

In addition to those already listed, recent contributions to the debate about sport and globalisation include Bairner (2001), Miller *et al.* (2001), Silk and Andrews (2001), Hargreaves (2002), Houlihan (2003) and Rowe (2003). Whereas the first three tend to focus on sport's contribution to global culture, the instrumentalisation of sport in globalising processes, and the response to globalisation in terms of the shaping of local identities, the last three authors suggest that there has been an over-enthusiastic welcome for the concept. Consequently this branch of

literature counsels against an early dispatching with the role of the nation-state in shaping sport and the meaning of sporting performance. Bairner (2001) adopts Maguire's (1999: 41–6) conception, derived from Elias (1982), of globalisation as a process of '*diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties*' (DC/IV, our emphasis). In a sustained critique of Stephen Mennell's (1995) use of the DC/IV notion in his study of the history of food in Britain, Alan Warde (1997: 28) notes that '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'. The Eliasian notion partly emerged as a response to an earlier yet over-simplistic branch of globalisation theory that predicted the transformation of the world into a single place (Robertson 1992: 135). But this over-simplistic model had already lost currency: 'Globalization does not entrain some single, unidirectional, sociospatial logic', wrote Cox (1997: 16). We also wonder what alternative models of development for pre- or post-global times Maguire might have had in mind. As human society does not exist under the sterile conditions of the laboratory, social configurations were never isolated from exchange and diffusion processes, and certainly not in those instances where transnational, or inter-tribal, relations were tainted by vested interests, power, domination, and exploitation.

Houlihan (2003) also critically notes that it is not clear when a 'variation' becomes a 'contrast'. Variation is not in and of itself meaningful, and some forms of variation are not of any real substantive point. Hence we suggest the need to bring out the relational character of such variations. In his critique of Mennell, Warde shows that increasing variation in the consumption of food, the availability of new products and new channels of communication about food are best understood in relation to the outcomes of capitalist industrial activity. Warde concludes that the 'mechanism that best explains Mennell's description of the 20th century is commodification' (Warde 1997: 171). Just as a much more consistent explanation for changes in consumption patterns of food in Britain in the twentieth century is increasing commodification, so too is our understanding of sport in the age of globalisation. As Whitson (1998: 70–1) suggests, 'the ultimate outcome of globalization is less likely to be the hegemony of American sports than the intensive commodification of any sport that will retain a place in a mediated global culture'.

Hargreaves (2002: 37) also suggests that the lack of empirical demonstration has compromised some of the most theoretically sophisticated arguments. Whilst Miller *et al.* (2001) drew attention to the economic, ideological, political and cultural dimensions of globalisation in their study of sport, rather than see these as working coherently and consistently to the same rhythm, however, Hargreaves (2002: 33) suggests that multiple factors cut across each other and operate according to different times and logic: 'the globalization of sport is uneven and exhibits great variation'. Harvey and Saint Germain (2001) suggest that analysis of trade in sports goods can reveal substantial variations in the process of globalisation. In fact their research suggests that regionalisation appears an equally plausible description of developments in sporting goods trade. Capitalist

modernisation sees both the acceleration of homogeneity and difference as capital indigenises itself (what Silk and Andrews call 'cultural Toyotism'). Somewhat ruefully, Robertson (2000: 462) notes that it has been in the discipline of business studies that research has pointed out that 'global marketing requires … that each product or service requires calculated sensitivity to local circumstances, identities, practices and so on'. He concludes that this 'approach to the practical implications of globalization teaches us that globalization is not an all-encompassing process of homogenization but a complex mixture of homogenization and heterogenization'. This can be seen as an alternative way of describing the DC/IV model of Maguire (1999) but again begs the question of what factors stimulate this. Here the answer is quite obviously economic policy and business strategy, or exactly what according to our Bourdieusian reading propels the driving interests of the globalisation process (Bourdieu 2003a).

Quite productive from our point of view has been the recognition that the global has to be local somewhere (Harvey *et al.* 1996). This view has improved research in sport and globalisation since the 1990s as it promotes, as this collection does, detailed empirical case studies of sport in specific social and cultural contexts in the age of globalisation. Like Bourdieu, however, we would not want them to be read in a particularised manner, but rather in terms of the general analytical and structural features that they draw attention to. To explore the dialectics of particularism and universalism further we will briefly consider debates about the position of the nation-state in an age of globalisation.

Globalisation and the nation-state

The globalising world is marked by a crisis of governance as nation-state institutions cannot reach out transnationally or worldwide and worldwide institutions continue to be dominated by representatives of the leading states of the world (Agnew 2001: 145). This is a much more accurate assessment than the premature dismissal of the nation-state. First, the nation-state remains a primary source of identity building. Second, states have been compliant with and supportive of the global reach of domestic capital for large parts of the modern era, and they still are, as they command the resources necessary to control domestic standards of labour, international financial transactions, and global development assistance.

Identity and sport have often been linked to each other in the academic discourse. Houlihan (2003: 358) notes that sport has become a 'vehicle for the demonstration of differences' in a globalising world. Whilst economic factors dominate discussions of contemporary sport, he argues that sport/culture has some autonomy from these factors. He states that 'there is a danger of reading too much significance into the fact that such a high proportion of the world's population watch some part of the Olympic Games or the soccer World Cup. What is more significant is when the state intervenes to manipulate, support or impose emergent cultural trends' (Houlihan 2003: 350). Whilst we would agree with Houlihan's view to some extent we also recognise that the actions of the state, and politics and policy in any one country, are increasingly 'conditioned, or even

determined, by global economic forces' (Leys 2001: 1). Hence in conditions of market-driven politics domains that were previously the preserve of the public sector 'become political flashpoints because they are also targets for global capital' (Leys 2001: 2). In these circumstances Leys argues that non-market spheres of life – on which social solidarity and active democracy depend – are constantly challenged by firms and capital. The latter seek ways of breaking out of the boundaries set by state regulations, including those that close off non-market spheres to commodification and profit-making.

Four requirements need to be met in order for a non-market field to be transformed into a market, according to Leys (2001: 4). First, the goods and/or services provided have to be able to be priced and sold. Second, people must want to buy them. Third, the workforce involved must be transformed into one willing to produce profits for owners of capital and be subject to market discipline. Fourth, capital moving into the field needs to have its risks underwritten by the state. Whilst Leys focuses his attention on public health services and broadcasting, we would add sport, and especially football, to his list of domains increasingly targeted by global capital in the past decade. Not all sports could fit this list of requirements, but football certainly does. There may be 'extra-economic' attachments to football teams (to do with local loyalties, for example). It may not always appear that the state directly underwrites the costs of football. But certainly people want to spend money on the sport and the workforce has never been more ready and willing to act as agents of capital in advertising and marketing, even if they have probably never been more polarised in terms of rewards.

Whilst market forces attempt to gain influence over previously non-market sectors of the economy in the age of globalisation, they also transform ideological conceptions of self and identity. Guibernau (2001) provides an excellent account of the challenges to national identity in a global age. National identity is a type of collective identity, expressing bonds of solidarity and shared identity between members of a community. These bonds consist of beliefs, values, attachments and also feelings. National identity is a complex type of cultural identity that can combine a transcendent feeling of continuity over time with a sense of differentiation from others. Nation states try to homogenise populations through five main strategies (Guibernau 2001): the creation of distinct images, the creation of specific symbols and rituals, entitlements provided through citizenship, the creation of common enemies (real, potential and invented), and through the control of the media and the education system. As a politically usable resource, sport can contribute to each of these strategies. Hence when it comes to sport, as Rowe (2003) argues, it may be that the globalising imperative – if there is one – can be severely compromised.

Through technological change the media, whether television, radio, film or new media (internet, satellite TV), generates globalisation and permits increased visibility of difference. Ethnic and national minorities become more visible and can question the supposed homogeneous identity constructed by the state. In various ways, China, Japan and Korea have been dealing with this aspect of globalisation (on China, see Lull 1991). As cultural flows come from outside, and access

to non-national media sources develops, the cultural control that the state had previously over its territory is now challenged. Of course, access to these cultural flows is not equal. For example, a 'digital divide' exists with regard to the new media, as much as continuing inequalities with respect to access to sources of economic, social and political power. In addition the state asserts its power over other institutions, helps in the creation of common enemies, and continues to regulate the national media and school curriculum. Thus as Boyle and Haynes (2000: 164) remark, sport remains 'an important cultural, political and commercial marker of boundaries, identities and markets'.

The commercial logic of global football

Writing in *The Economist*'s annual review of worldwide economic trends, fashion guru Giorgio Armani notes that

> The Olympics will make 2004 the year that sportsmen and women become the new fashion icons, on a par with Hollywood in influence. David Beckham has done much to raise the profile of footballers as fashion and style beacons, but back in 1995 I put England's goalkeeper, David James, on the catwalk and billboards, and now it is my pleasure to dress the England football team. Football has long been the global game, but its gladiators are proving that they can be stylish as well as supreme athletes. Get ready to see footballers, tennis players, athletes and others also competing as fashion ambassadors.
>
> (Armani 2003: 125)

Linking the deterritorialised language of fashion with global sport is only one among various strategies that guarantee football's prime position as the globalising world's dominant (old) media sport and new media content.

Speaking in Seoul in 2000, Pierre Bourdieu (2003b) warned that 'culture is in danger' from globalisation. As we have noted already, for Bourdieu culture is composed of relatively autonomous 'fields' – literary, scientific, artistic, etc. The autonomy of these fields from 'the rule of money and interest' has become threatened 'by the intrusion of commercial logic at every stage of the production and circulation of cultural goods' (Bourdieu 2003b: 67). Economic power and symbolic power have been equally harnessed to the selling of commercialised culture. We also believe that the proliferation of sports on television and other media/entertainment mechanisms has deeply tainted the public face of football. Bourdieu (1999) argued that television has acted as the 'Trojan horse' for the introduction of this commercial logic into football. More business-oriented commentators on sport provide a compelling list of associated developments (Westerbeek and Smith 2003: 48–9). Westerbeek and Smith (2003) identify the blurring of what is sport and what is entertainment, the vertical and horizontal integration of sport enterprises by entertainment and media companies, an increase in venture capital and investment in transnational sports and sport properties, and the integration and consolidation of sport, leisure, recreation, television, film and tourism into elements of the

entertainment industry, as just a few of the key trends. The consequences include a growth in the economic effects and impacts of sport, the ongoing increase in the value of genuinely global sport properties, including athletes and players themselves, and the convergence of economic power in sport ownership. These effects link up with the de-fragmentation of sport governance and the simultaneous professionalisation and marginalisation of smaller sports and leagues – 'the gap between the sport enterprises that are globally successful and those which remain domestically viable, will grow' (Westerbeek and Smith 2003: 48). As fewer and fewer hands will own more and more sports which are modelled according to Western sports, the ultimate consequence will be a world-wide increase in capitalism as the pre-eminent economic philosophy and of sport as an effective vehicle to achieving wealth.

Whilst we might quibble with some of their futurological study, it is undoubtedly the case that sport has become more commercialised in the past twenty-five years. Equally it is almost passé to say that contemporary football is big business. In 1994 Sepp Blatter claimed that football was bringing in US$163 billion annually, more than General Motors could make selling cars (cited in Smith 1997: 144). Elsewhere the commercial development of football, and especially the economic aspect of the World Cup, has been assessed in great detail (Giulianotti 1999; Sugden and Tomlinson 1998). When Bourdieu argued that television has acted as the 'Trojan horse' for the introduction of commercial logic into football he was only partly accurate since commercial interests have always been present in sport. What television especially has done in the past decades is produce a serious challenge to live spectators, hospitality and associated merchandise as the major income stream for football clubs in national leagues and associations. This is particularly true for the big names among the club sides.

Television sport throughout the world is dominated by football. There is football and then the rest, outside of the USA and Canada. FIFA's empire has grown accordingly. The sports goods industry is dominated by Nike, Adidas and football 'kit wars' regularly occur at the World Cup and in the leading national leagues. The major TV leagues are in Europe – the big five and the lesser five or six. Football has become a significant 'content filler' in the age of new TV technology – satellite, cable digital, telephony and internet. As Rupert Murdoch referred to it – 'a battering ram' for opening up new markets (Cashmore 2003: 64). Alongside this are the stars and star clubs who benefit from almost constant commercial and media exposure – especially, but not only, Beckham, Ronaldo, Real Madrid, and Manchester United. These players and clubs are representative of a new trend in the international financing of football. After the collapse of the football bubble economy in 2001, clubs have tried to explore new income sources by expanding their customer base worldwide. In particular, the economically vibrant East Asian region has been a preferential destination for marketing managers and promotion tours. As Shimizu points out in Chapter 12, David Beckham's two visits to Japan in the summer of 2003 were mainly commercial – promoting endorsements for TBC (beauty salons), Meiji Seika (confectionery), Castrol (oil) and Vodafone (mobile phones) in June and his new team Real Madrid in August. During the club's East Asian tour, all four games (including the one in Japan) were broadcast

to 23 countries, with a potential reach of 300 million households, and generated US$9 million – over a quarter of Beckham's transfer fee.

As with the World Cup, these small-sized mega-events clearly reveal the seminal role of concerted business actions in the promotion of football in contemporary East Asia. How far the appeal of Caucasian whiteness has captured the public imagination and markets in Japan is discussed further in Shimizu's contribution. His reflections on 'Beckhamania' and celebrity culture is probably one of the first sustained accounts of British football and its stars in the media landscape and entertainment industry outside of England.

East Asian experience in the age of the globalisation of football

Westerbeek and Smith (2003: 13) state that despite its developed economy 'Japan will remain as vulnerable as Australia, South America and the rest of Asia to merely providing feeder structures for professional athletes to be headhunted into North American and European professional competitions'. The chapters in this book, and especially Horne and Takahashi's contribution (Chapter 5), demonstrate that at least in the case of football, this is only partly correct. There are many different influences on the development of sport in particular locations, but one of the most important is the existence of an indigenous culture receptive to and nurturing the sport. We share with the Australian Brian Stoddart (1987: 13–14) the view that sport should be understood as a social phenomenon which is integral to the social fabric in which it is embedded and therefore helps to construct that social fabric. Yet as we also have argued, sport is mostly a conservative social institution, connected to class and other status interests, whilst espousing myths of social egalitarianism. Whang's contribution to this collection (Chapter 10) discusses the role football has assumed in South Korea for mitigating social cleavages that have been caused by remembrances of colonialism, war and dictatorship. While her analysis of the 'Sea of Red' is indicative of a self-organised, spontaneous mass movement, other researchers have hinted at the role that the state and South Korea's leading business conglomerates assumed in mobilising and educating the nation for the mass display of loyalty to the national team (Horne and Manzenreiter 2004). A second chapter on South Korea's response to the World Cup by Choi (Chapter 9) examines the way in which the sporting event led to discussions about identity formation at the global, local, civic and personal levels. She also provides numerous examples of changes made to everyday life during the World Cup as a means of projecting a new kind of Korea.

In its contemporary form, sport is influenced most by business, for example, as an advertising and promotion vehicle, by government (as a vehicle for expressing national and ideological progress), and by the mass media (as a form of content able to generate large, regular, and loyal audiences or readerships and hence advertising revenues). The key words in our collection title are 'East', 'business', 'culture', and 'people's game'. 'East', 'Asia' and 'going East' suggest location, and movement, globality and migration, and allude to wider debates about orientalism

and post-colonialism. Our collection derives in part, as we have said, from a concern with the self-centredness of much that passes for sports studies and the need for comparative studies of sport in different cultural (political, economic, commercial and policy) contexts (see Hwang and Jarvie 2003 on China, sport and post-colonialism). 'Business' refers to the role of the media, especially TV and the new media, in expanding the coverage of leading leagues in Europe and South America. It also refers to the development of corporate interests in the sport, whether as sponsors or as part of the infrastructure necessary to establish leagues, competitions and associations. In East Asia there has been a massive expansion of professional football leagues since the 1990s; the background to these leagues in Japan, China and Korea are introduced in this volume by Hirose (Chapter 3), Jones (Chapter 4), and Ravenel and Durand (Chapter 2) respectively. Despite the different theoretical angles employed, each study reveals the strong impact of local customs and commodification and pays attention to the cultural issue in economic relations.

'Culture' refers to fans, supporters, hooligans, and the identities (local, national and regional) that football following helps to generate and sustain as well as express. An up to now completely unknown species of football fan has been described for the first time in a Western language by Tan (Chapter 6). His inquiry into China's football fandom and football-related social disorder delivers a fascinating insight into the difficulties of establishing a national league in the incredible vastness of China. Travelling some hundreds or thousands of kilometres for an away game every second week is impossible to conceive of, particularly if the widespread problem of corrupt referees is not fully under the control of the Chinese Football Association. Problems of a different kind – the apparent difficulties of the sport media to come to terms with globalisation in sport – are addressed by Ogasawara (Chapter 11), who deconstructs the perception frames of Japanese sport journalism. While the World Cup coverage on British and German language television was this time largely free from culturalist and Eurocentric flaws, Japanese sport commentators remained bound to a language of national playing styles and cultural stereotypes even if the action in front of their eyes was telling a different story (on British television coverage, see Blake 2002).

The phrase the 'people's game' begs the question: who owns the game of football in the twenty-first century? Fans, clubs, leagues, corporations, and voluntary movements all partake in the development of football. Each of these is cut across with familiar, if sometimes occluded, social divisions of social class, ethnicity, locality and perhaps especially gender. As Woodward (2002: 57) remarks 'men's football offers a particularly good example of the globalization of culture, with the development of the men's game growing out of the relative autonomy of nation states' regulation and control and of their football associations'. Yet, she continues, 'It is only the Women's World Cup that is gendered in the naming, another indication of the ways in which globalization can appear to be gender neutral and conceal the very different and unequal experiences of women and men in the processes involved'. This theme is taken up most notably in Manzenreiter's contribution to this book (Chapter 13).

A large group of people, who nonetheless cannot claim the entitlement of owning the game, is comprised of sports volunteers, an increasingly necessary resource for the organisation of sporting mega-events. Nogawa surveyed attitudes and experiences of official volunteers in Japan and Korea during the 2002 World Cup (Chapter 14). Despite large differences between the samples, Nogawa draws a completely new image of sport volunteers in these countries, for whom the value of volunteering has changed from an act of dedicated charity on behalf of the underprivileged, into a self-actualising social contribution. Nonetheless the organising committees are accused of exploiting the national sentiments of the people who had to work hard for the representation of the state under sometimes very awkward conditions.

The role of the state in safeguarding the production of football is the largest in Japan and the smallest in China. Whether this is a correlation with the length of time since the states entered the capitalist order of economy, is an interesting question but unfortunately not fully addressed by Sugimoto (Chapter 7) or Chung (Chapter 8) who focus on Japan and Korea exclusively. Sugimoto's report on Japan's impressive school football programme shows how a former minority and elite sport has been transformed over a hundred years of different government styles. Outlining the different meanings attached to football as a subject of physical education and as an extra-curricular activity of school sport clubs, Sugimoto shows how these aspects complemented each other for the common purpose of developing a body culture, or in Bourdieu's terms a habitus, suited to the national endeavour of creating and nurturing the modern state. Chung's assessment of the state of football in Korea and its relation with government policy shows that the country's dependence on global social, economic, and political networks makes it imperative to enhance the capacity to present a positive national image on the world stage. As a consequence, international programmes receive excessive spending at the expense of school and grassroots sports, including football. Chung concedes the South Korean government the right of a late-developing nation to aspire to global recognition in sports. China, which has also been known for such a policy since it returned to the global arena in the 1980s, obviously has not decided to concentrate solely on football as a route to global recognition.

Conclusion

Finally, in Chapter 15, Close and Askew argue that the cultural globalisation represented by football's growing popularity in East Asia is subject to glocalisation and what the authors have termed *playback effects*. Due to the sentimental terminology used to promote football it has not been met with the same resistance in Japan and South Korea that other forms of globalisation have faced. But would a different result have been plausible? In terms of global diffusion and cultural acceptance, football can be viewed as one of the most successful export products of the Old World. Over the past 500 years, Western civilisation has exported numerous social, cultural, political, and economic institutions to the rest of the world, often by military force or economic supremacy. The hegemonic power of

Western formations framed the processes in which previously particular ideas and practices turned into seemingly universal principles. Worldwide, states and people consented to the notion of the nation-state and principles of parliamentarianism, democracy, egalitarianism, market capitalism and the like. Yet, in terms of global diffusion and common acceptance, hardly any Western product has proved to be more successful, pervasive, and persistent than sport. While for some factions within the world's societies, the meanings of representative political participation, equal employment opportunities, and even basic human rights are often the subject of heated debate, there seems to be almost unanimous consent on the beauty of sporting victory, the value of a gold medal, or the fascination with a new record.

Like all modern sports that emerged as a powerful cultural device in the countries that spearheaded the path towards modernity, football was disseminated along the lines of colonial rule and hegemonic power, finally reaching the shores of even the most distant places. Yet it was more than 70 years before Asia was for the first time conceded the right to host the Football World Cup Finals. As another novelty in the history of the world's greatest sporting event, all three of the major (football) powers in East Asia – China, Japan and South Korea – participated at the finals. Over the past four years, we have remarked upon this occurrence in a number of articles, a conference and finally this book. What we have learnt from thinking about football in various parts of the world are the following three, albeit very banal, lessons. In different societies responses to globalisation have been diverse – indigenisation, re-invention of tradition and creolisation have all taken place in each of the three societies under the spotlight. Second, while some aspects of globalisation receive serious resistance, football certainly does not belong to them. Third, globalisation does not necessarily lead to a unipolarisation of power relations. Rather it seems that different areas rise with a centre of their own; from a global perspective, however, these local regions are ordered not only according to their own power structure, but also in line with global logic. The collection as a whole, and this is perhaps the main lesson, reflects the inevitable contingency of the global capitalist order.

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Part I

The business of football in East Asian nation-states

2 Strategies for locating professional sports leagues

A comparison between France and Korea

Loïc Ravenel and Christophe Durand

Introduction

When the hosts of the 2002 Football World Cup Finals were announced, it was a double surprise: first, because two countries (Japan and South Korea) were chosen to co-organise the event and, second, because these countries had not traditionally been considered as homes to football. As occurred in 1994 in the United States, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) implemented a world-wide development strategy by assigning its major event to two countries with strong economic potential but weak football cultures. The shift from the 1998 World Cup organiser, France, to Korea in 2002 provided an opportunity to examine a major transformation in the structure of collective sports that has been underway for the past 20 years. In an increasingly deregulated world, the companies that produce spectator sports championships are being concentrated and privatised under the pressures of strong market growth. This movement toward globalisation has been the impetus for new location strategies that affect all the various parties involved in sports: private and public investors, governing bodies, public authorities (local and national), the general public – and the leagues themselves.

This chapter compares the location strategies of the French and Korean professional football leagues from a dual perspective, that of geography and that of management. The characteristics of each country's entertainment sports industry are highlighted and used to shed light on a social evolution that is under way, since the implications of global transformation in sports certainly exceed football. The investigation of developments in spectator sports in fact seems to be a valid means to gain insight into wider society and civilisation. After presenting the two major models of professional league organisation (the North American and European systems), we will examine the Korean and French situations in detail to distinguish both similarities and differences. We will then look at the significance of space within these structures by analysing team location from a dynamic point of view. Finally, we will emphasise the importance of the spatial strategies underlying these systems, as well as the effects concomitant with both countries being involved in the organisation of World Cup Finals.

League function

The organisation of a championship between professional sports teams presupposes a group of clubs, called a 'league', that agree to compete. In addition to this athletic engagement, the clubs, acting also as commercial enterprises, compete in the economic market, both upstream (recruitment of players) and downstream (sales of stadium tickets, negotiations for broadcasting rights and retransmission, partnership contracts with sponsors and the search for funding from local communities). Thus, when sports entertainment companies take part in a championship, they are confronted with a dual obligation to collaborate and compete, sometimes with contradictory aspects.

First, clubs are compelled in principle to compete economically. Although physical distance reduces the intensity of competition for customers whose catchment area in the market place is limited (stadium spectators, local sponsors and local communities), the clubs generally find that potential purchasers are confronted with multiple offers (broadcasting rights and national sponsors). Very naturally, this competition results in two main tendencies observed in the majority of sports: a tendency toward concentration and/or the temptation for active parties to create agreements.

Second, the intensity of sports competition and its uncertain outcomes are also factors that determine the level of public interest – and thus the club resources. When one team overwhelmingly dominates the sport, there is a drop in revenues, including those of the most powerful club. Thus, the quality of the show in terms of power to entertain and dramatic intensity is a key factor of success and presupposes clear agreements between teams on the rules and their application, as well on league organisation – fixture schedule, formula and rules (Cairns *et al.* 1986; Fort and Quirk 1995; Neale 1964; Primault and Rouget 1996; Szymanski and Kuypers 1999). The simultaneous competition and collaboration that is called for in both the athletic and economic realms of spectator sports has resulted in special terms of regulation and exemptions from certain principles of competition in liberal economies. This is often referred to as 'sporting exception', and it has been effective in the United States for buying and selling players since the 1920s and for the negotiation of television rights since 1960 (Cairns *et al.* 1986; Quirk and Fort 1991; Scully 1995). This derogation of common law is currently being sought in Europe by the governing bodies of the major collective sports (Bourg and Gouguet 1998; Durand 2000; Husting 1998; Kesenne 1996).

Two models of professional league organisation

Club locations and strategies for organising championships have varied appreciably across times and countries. However, two major types of structuring process have generally been agreed upon. The first is primarily observed in Europe and South America and consists of holding championships based purely on athletic criteria. Access to competition (national or continental) is only possible through a system of promotion/relegation based on the rank achieved in the preceding season. In

the majority of cases, a team is necessarily attached to its city by means of a registered number allotted by the national federation. A club thus cannot change its city without authorisation from its federation. European clubs, for example, are often located in specific cities because of the historical presence of the club's original backer, whether that be a local government or an industrial enterprise. This marked presence of strong federations has led to their monopoly of both the sport and its territory: only one national federation in each country and one confederation per continent. This structure is capped by a single international federation, the 'owner' of the sport in charge of its exploitation (Bale 1989; Vamplew 1988).

The second model of league organisation dominates in the United States and in most countries with a liberal culture outside the European continent. In this model, the leagues are closed and access to the championship is based on the agreement of members, who take into consideration more than just sports criteria. There are no monopolies, however: private operators are free to try to create new competition. The history of professional sports in North America in fact shows tremendous market discord during the 20th century. The pressure of potential new entries and constant monitoring by public authorities for illegal income barriers have tended, at least in theory, to maintain a steady pressure on the market players (Danielson 1997; Noll and Zimbalist 1997; Quirk and Fort 1999). This system of co-optation has led to the organisation of leagues that meet mainly economic and non-sporting criteria. There are two types of qualifying criteria. One is the operator's solvency, which is particularly significant. The operator must not only compensate the other network franchises, but also ensure its team's operation for a minimal length of time. The other criterion is the club's location, which must be good enough to ensure a sufficient client base to generate significant receipts. In many cases, the receipts are shared between the teams (for example, receipts from national broadcasting rights and merchandising and gate-money for visiting and home clubs). The clubs in place therefore will agree to a new qualifying member if this new partner is able to generate wealth for all league members.

Another major characteristic of the system is the geographical mobility of the teams. With the agreement of other franchises, any team can change its location. Since 1950, 47 teams in the four major American leagues have changed cities. Another major difference between the two models concerns national teams. The American model does not allow an 'American' team to participate in the major leagues. The participation of an American team in world championships or the Olympics is thus based on prior permission from each team member's employer, which is contrary to the European model where the best players are under strong pressure to join the national team. In fact, the annual fixture list under this model avoids overlap between certain inter-club and inter-country competitions.

The professional football leagues in France and Korea

The French and Korean football leagues thus follow different models: 'European' for the French league and 'North American' for the Korean league. However, as

for all typologies, there are some idiosyncrasies specific to each case. For maximal clarity, we will present the dominant strategies in the two countries through an analysis of three key aspects: the place of football in the French and Korean cultures, the respective league structures and the respective sources of financing.

Table 2.1 shows some of the similarities between the two countries. One can note, however, a relative weakness in the number of actual Korean players, and especially of those registered for training. Nevertheless, this base of regular players, although not constituting a sufficient number of customers, is a sign of strong 'goodwill' for the clubs. By assigning the World Cup to Japan and Korea, the FIFA signalled that one of its objectives was to develop football in this part of Asia and build demand. One can also note a strong popular attachment to the national team in Korea, which is unknown in the North American major leagues (Bayle and Durand 2000). This phenomenon was strongly amplified by the very good results of the Korean team in 2002.

Table 2.2 shows that some of the differences between the two countries are very marked. The respective relationship of each country to one of the pure models presented above is particularly strong, so the divergences between them are quite fundamental. It is interesting to note, however, that in the French case, the clubs evolved toward a legal type of private business corporation during the 1990s and thus moved toward the American model to some extent.

Table 2.3 shows that France essentially follows the European model and receives the bulk of its financing from public governing bodies, both directly (subsidies and purchase of services) and indirectly (building of stadiums) (Andreff 2000; Durand 1999; Hoehn and Szymanski 1999). In Korea, the public sphere has only slightly intervened up to now, although the 2002 World Cup provided the Korean taxpayer with the opportunity to discover the joys of public financing of sports arenas. As in the North American model, local communities now make up for private investment, and the *chaebols* (the principal club operators since the league origins) are still financing teams … and their losses. Paradoxically, one thus observes a tendency toward privatisation in the French clubs and an increase of public intervention in Korean spectator sports. In both countries, however, professional sports are regarded as powerful elements of social cohesion, collective and national identity, in spite of their many commercial aspects.

France: club dispersion throughout the country

The criteria just examined are important for understanding each league's spatial organisation and its system of club location. The Korean league disperses its clubs primarily along the country's major spatial 'articulations', a phenomenon that appears less obvious in France because of historical factors and the impact of public intervention. But, paradoxically, both systems produce a similar spatial structure of professional football, either through a preoccupation with non-competition or by default. An analysis of the organisation of these two leagues over time and in space shows the two systems more clearly.

Table 2.1 Football's place French in and Korean society

	France	*Korea*
Football history	Introduced at the end of 19th century by English sailors National Association created in 1919	Introduced at the end of 19th century by English sailors National Association created in 1928
General practice	2,994,000	520,000 (sources: FIFA Big Count 2000)
Football status	Most popular sport practised Dominates all other spectator sports Large TV audience and huge popularity (national team and clubs)	Average in terms of practice Secondary spectator sport behind baseball and basketball Large audience for internationals, moderate spectator turn-out for domestic leagues
National team	World and European champions Strong attachment	One of the best Asian teams for many years Very strong attachment

Table 2.2 League structure in France and Korea

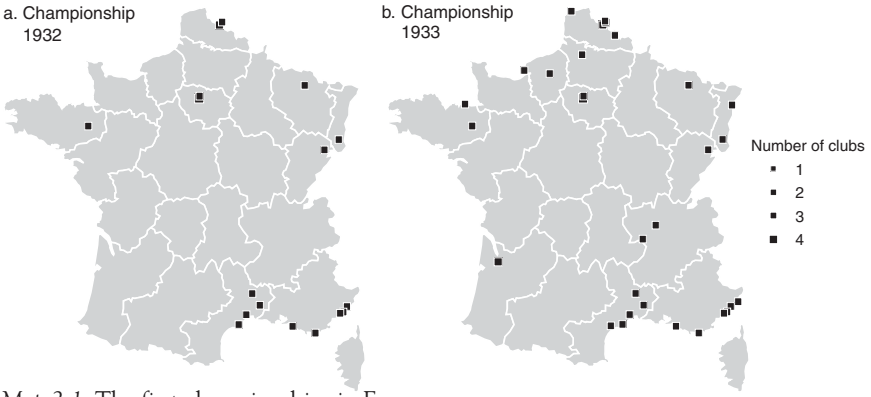
	France	*Korea*
League history	1932 Growth of team numbers from 1960 to 1990 Stabilised near 40 teams	1983 First professional football league in Asia Progressive growth from 3 to 12 teams
Sports structure	Championship with home and away games; League Cup (since 1993)	Regularly changes; multiple competitions
Championship access	Sports criteria (sometimes economic since 1991) Promotion/relegation system	Economic criteria; closed league Admission of new teams based on requests and needs
Legal structures	Private limited companies (since 1990s) Public companies and non-profit organisations (disappearing)	Private companies, subsidiaries of large industrial groups Public enterprises (since 2000)
Governing bodies	National federation, legal monopoly delegated by the state 25 years ago National league managing championship	Private league Strong relations with National Federation (KFA) for management of national team and refereeing FIFA rules (but no drawn games before 2001)

Table 2.3 Sources of football in finance France and Korea

	France	*Korea*
Operators	Private (companies and individuals) and public	Major companies (*chaebols*): Hyundai (3 clubs), Samsung (1), LG (1), Ilhwa (1), Posco (2), SK (1)
	Since the 1990s, media groups and sports companies buy clubs located in large towns Strong place for local government	Since the end of the 1990s, local authorities are more involved in the clubs
Sources of financing	TV rights (high growth)	Corporate sponsorship (advertising and PR)
	Corporate sponsorship (advertising and public relations)	TV rights (SBS, KBS)
	Gate receipts and merchandising (22,000 spectators/match in Division I, 8,000 in Division 2): growth	Gate receipts and merchandising (10,000 spectators/match): growth up to 2002, showing decrease in 2003
	Local government (arenas for financing, seats purchased)	Weak presence of public bodies (but 10 new stadiums financed by state funding for World Cup 2002)
Financial standing	Endemic loss, better controlled since 1990s	Endemic loss, but in 2000/2001 aggregate benefits (US$1million)
	Strong public financing (local and national)	Crisis in Korean society in 1999 (Daewoo bankruptcy, etc.), gradual withdrawal of some major industrial groups

Creating a championship

The first professional football championship in France was held in 1932. It was created under pressure from several clubs that found amateur football to be both outmoded and riddled with hypocrisy. Team distribution was based on the sport's history and the urban and economic structure and thus concentrated on two zones: the industrial northeast and the Mediterranean frontage (Map 2.1). Many clubs, like FC Sochaux, became bound to companies attracted not only by the media coverage of sports, but also by the social animation that sports offer. These clubs were located in traditionally industrial areas: north of a line connecting Caen to Montbeliard. On the Mediterranean frontage, the clubs grew mainly in the major seaports, thanks to a long history of sports activity in these towns and the presence of many immigrant workers (especially Italian and Spanish). Beyond these economic and social factors, club development also followed a traditional process of hierarchical diffusion: team creation was based in part on the city's rank in the urban hierarchy (Ravenel 1998a), which explains the presence of clubs apart from the two traditional zones (Rennes, Bordeaux, Lyon, and Toulouse, for example). After WWII, the national championship stabilised in spite of some

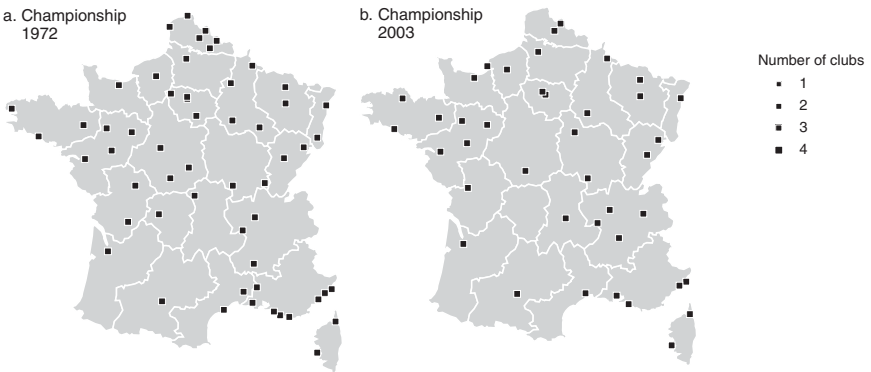


Map 2.1 The first championships in France

extension toward Corsica, the Massif Central and the west. The southwest remains devoid of teams and seems like a zone of resistance: rugby has conquered both supporters and investors.

The crisis in French professional football

By the end of the 1960s, professional football was dying out. Its best training was not on the level of the best European clubs, and France's team, the showcase for national football, was accumulating defeat after defeat. The public stopped attending the games and there was significant drop in gate receipts. The crisis also deeply affected the players: a number of them preferred to return to amateur standing and stable employment elsewhere, rather than earning a living in the difficult and ungrateful world of professional football with no guarantees. The very survival of professional football was threatened and, in response, its leaders decided to open the national championship to amateur clubs for a two-year period, a decision that launched vast changes in the spatial structure (Map 2.2a) (Ravenel 1998a).



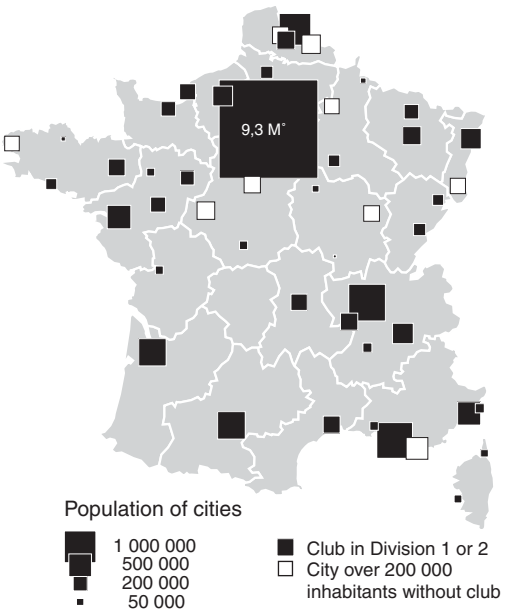
Map 2.2 Dispersing the clubs in France

This decision, taken at a time of acute crisis, had a major impact on club location and the survival of professional football. Recognised clubs of today like Auxerre, Guingamp or Laval undoubtedly would never have reached professional standing as quickly if this transitory stage had not occurred. A welcome geographic success accompanied the survival of professional football: the gulf between professional and amateur football was finally bridged, and the professional teams became more equitably distributed. Professional football in fact moved closer to its base: to the mass of those registered in training. This superimposition of two complementary spaces inevitably gave rise to a substantial number of players moving into the professional market and thus ensured a new labour pool for economic activity.

A scattered structure

Since the 1960s, the spatial structure has evolved very little. Some areas remain without teams because of strong competition from rugby, others because of a weakness in terms of the urban framework. At the end of an almost 70-year diffusion process, however, the clubs have conquered all the large cities and gradually introduced a relatively homogeneous spatial distribution (Map 2.2b).

French club location conforms to an urban hierarchical model. The largest cities all have at least one team – from among the best – but as we have underlined above, exceptions do exist. In 2003, only 20 of the 38 French teams were in cities of more than 200,000 inhabitants and some major centres do not have a team (Map 2.3). For the majority of them, their clubs took part in national competitions



Map 2.3 Clubs and urban hierarchy in France

in the past, but insurmountable financial difficulties eventually put an end to this. The most striking element of this distribution, however, is the very weak spatial concentration: Paris and its region have only two teams (of which one is in Division 2), whereas a fifth of the population lives there. Lyon and Marseille also have only one club, like all the other large French cities. This is surprising since no specific measure prevents teams from concentrating in the biggest centres, to avoid potential competition, for example. By way of comparison, in the 2003/2004 season London had five clubs in the Premiership, Madrid three, Barcelona two, Milan two, etc., all at a continental level. We see here, in fact, a system in which the local authorities intervene massively and contribute to geographic dispersion. Who, on reflection, can easily imagine a single town administration, or the general or regional council, wanting to give subsidies to several teams at once? These governing bodies have no reason to multiply their investments in several directly competing clubs and instead prefer to invest in other sectors, thereby offering a wider range of leisure activities to the public. A sports system highly dependent on public financing will necessarily undergo a spatial de-concentration of activities out toward other large cities of the country (Ravenel 1998b).

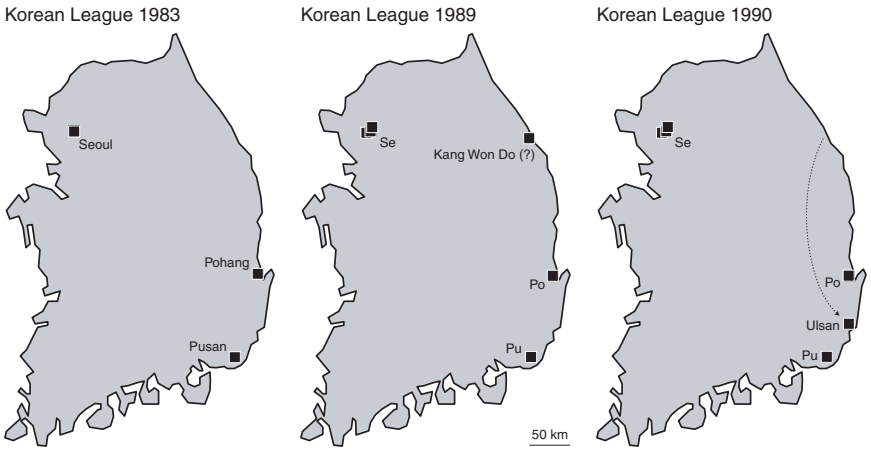
Korea: from *chaebols* to the local communities

The spatial evolution in Korean professional football is not easily comparable to that in France because of Korean football's relatively short history and the small number of teams (12 in 2003). However, by analysing space it is possible to observe a location strategy that, paradoxically, has points in common with the French strategy.

The strong points of Korean space

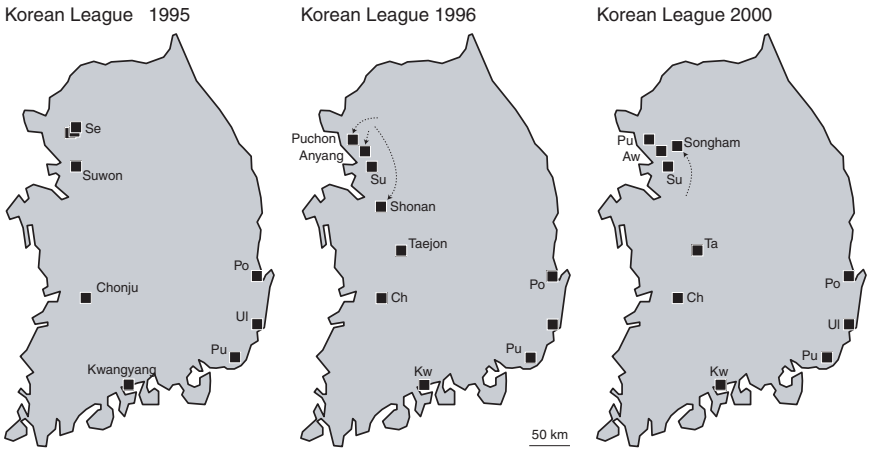
The Korean football league (K-League) was founded in 1983 by six teams (Map 2.4). Three were professional and are still active today (Daewoo Royals, Yukong Elephants, POSCO). The three others (Kookmin Bank, Hanil Bank and Halleluya) were company teams and ceased competing in 1986. The three professional teams were respectively located in Busan (or Pusan), Seoul and Pohang. Busan and Seoul are the two major Korean cities and Pohang is an industrial city where the gigantic iron and steel company, POSCO, is located. Gradually, other teams have integrated into the league, which is present in the great demographic and economic structures of the country. In 1989, two new teams appeared in the capital (LG Hwangso and Ilhwa Chunma) and another appeared in the Kangwon-Do region in the northeast (Hyundai Horang.I). A concentration is observed in Seoul, the country's economic and demographic centre.

The 1990 season typified the traditional strategy of club movements in a private league. Hyundai Horang left the little-populated northeast for Ulsan, a large coastal harbour town and industrial centre of close to one million inhabitants where the group's factories are located. At this time, the geographic structure of the clubs



Map 2.4 The beginning of the K-League (1983–90)

reflected the country's economic and demographic structure: three teams in the capital and three others in the large ports of the southeast. In 1995 (Map 2.5), three additional teams joined the league: the Chonbuk Hyundai Motors, based in Chonju in the centre of the country; the Suwon Samsung Bluewings, installed in the industrial town of Suwon, the cradle of Samsung; and the Chunnam Dragons, in the town of POSCO's second iron and steel complex, Kwangyang. Of the nine clubs that made up the K-League, all belonged to large *chaebols* and reflected their geographic establishments. Some of these big groups, like Hyundai and POSCO, even had several teams, which posed ethical problems. This was seen at the repurchase of the Daewoo Royals by Hyundai following the bankruptcy of the large automobile firm in 1999. The club did not change location but saw its name transformed to the Busan Icons.



Map 2.5 Delocalisation in the Korean League

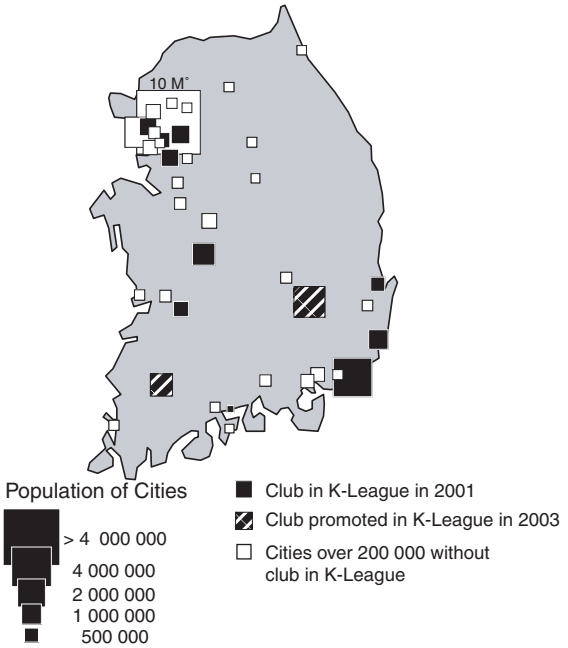
Delocalisation and dispersion

In 1996, club location strategy underwent a dramatic change (Map 2.5). To avoid too much competition among the three clubs in Seoul, franchises were assigned to the periphery. Thus, the Yukong Elephants were relocated to Puchon and became the Bucheon SK. They played in Seoul until 2000, at the Mokdong Stadium, and then were definitively installed in Puchon. The LG Hwangso joined the satellite town of Anyang, while Ilhwa Chunma was delocalised to Shonan before reapproaching the capital in 1999 by moving to Songham. This delocalisation resulted in devolution: the clubs left the capital to join large peripheral cities. Competition was thus minimised, with each team having one franchise and a local monopoly. Once again, we find similarities with the North American model, which allots a reference space to each club and limits competition with other teams of the same sport (franchise system). The K-League decision was by default: under intense competition from baseball in the capital, it preferred to install its teams in satellite industrial towns, smaller but with stronger identities. Seoul thus lost its three teams in one season. This loss was quickly compensated by an astute stratagem, however: in addition to travelling as visiting teams, the clubs were invited to participate in an additional competition organised on neutral ground – in Seoul. Although now deprived of their own clubs, the inhabitants of the capital would nevertheless be able to regularly attend professional matches. Because of limited success, however, this proposal was dropped in 2001.

In 1997, a tenth team with a very original status joined the K-League, the Taejeon Citizens FC (Daejeon Citizens). Contrary to the other clubs, which were founded and sponsored by large companies, this team emerged under pressure from the urban community of Taejeon, one of the last large cities – with Taegu – without a club in the K-League. Initially, the Nasan group was to handle the club, but the local football committee was opposed to this solution, preferring to find several mid-sized companies from the 'community of citizens' to build the team. The Korean press announced this with the following headline: 'The first football club founded by the community of the 1,350,000 inhabitants of Taejeon'.

The World Cup equips Korea

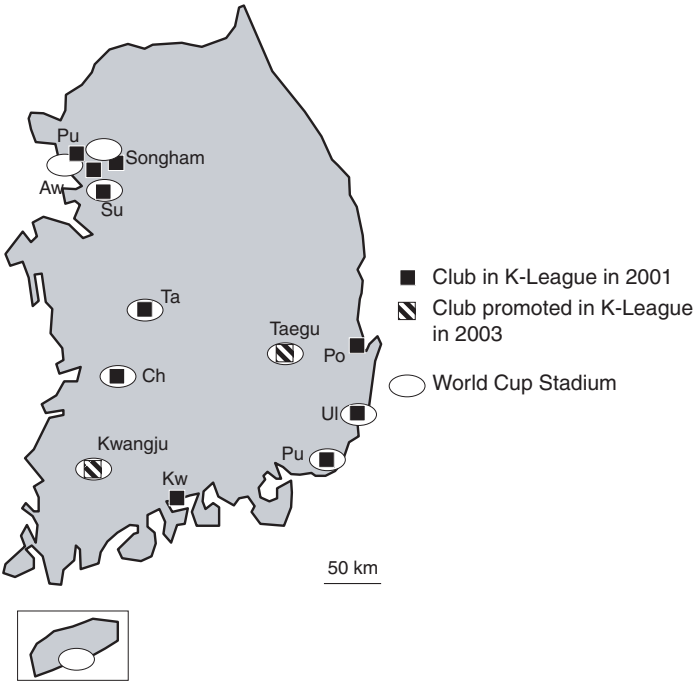
By 2001, the Korean league thus comprised ten teams whose locations were the fruit of a short but rich history. Professional football space in Korea today reflects the major articulations of Korean territory. Four teams are located in the major industrial region of Seoul and three others are in the large seaport towns of the southeast (Map 2.6). The bipolar nature of the Korean economic space, moreover, further concentrates the success: the 20 champions since 1984 have been from Seoul, Busan, Ulsan or Pohang. Nevertheless, the distribution shows some empty spaces on the map. In addition to the area around Seoul, two great centres are missing: Daegu (2.5 million inhabitants) and Gwangju (1.3 million). When questioned in 1999 about the future of the K-League, Chung Kun-Il, secretary-general of the K-League, was encouraged by recent successes and said he envisaged adding one or two teams over the next few years. As if to consolidate the map, he



Map 2.6 Korean clubs and the urban hierarchy

announced: 'There are some cities that want clubs and some companies that also want to establish teams but we haven't given them permission yet. We have to see if they have the ability to provide what is necessary. In Taegu, for example, the population is three million people, yet they don't have a team' ('K-League on the top', *FootballAsia*, September 1999).

In this interview, the K-League representative implicitly referred to the benefits of the World Cup for building national competition. In addition to inspiring a strong popular passion for football, a major league goal was to equip the country with sports arenas of high quality so that, once the World Cup was finished, local teams could be developed, both athletically and economically. For the 1998 World Cup, several French cities obtained stadiums that matched their sports ambitions at relatively low cost because a significant part of the investment was financed directly by the French state. But France also renovated many of its existing stadiums (only one really new stadium was built, the Stade de France in Paris). Korea, on the other hand, built ten new stadiums, almost all exclusively dedicated to football (Map 2.7). Of these ten, only half were built in cities having a K-League team (Suwon, Ulsan, Busan, Jeonju and Daejeon). The clubs located in more modest towns (Anyang, Bucheon, Seongnam, Pohang and Gwangyang) kept their 20,000-capacity stadiums. The five other new stadiums confirmed the power of the urban hierarchy because they were built in Seoul, Incheon and the two large towns of Daegu and Gwangju. Only Seogwipo proposed a different strategy, but locating a



Map 2.7 The K-League and the World Cup stadiums

stadium reserved exclusively for football on this large tourist island seemed like an economic aberration, given the highly hypothetical benefits to tourism.

The location of stadiums was thus clearly based on the urban hierarchy and took into consideration the potential for long-term use of the sports equipment. Whatever the future plans for commercial and leisure activities, these stadiums had to accommodate a resident team. Thus, as of the 2003 season, the last two large cities (Daegu and Gwangju) have been integrated into the K-League by the same process as Taejeon a few years earlier. Indeed, the Daegu team (formerly Taegu Citizens Pro Soccer, now Daegu FC) was also promoted by the local community, which had a double objective. The first was to train young regional players in a football school, thereby encouraging both an athletic and a social rise in status. The second was simply to give meaning (symbolic and economic) to a sports complex with a seating capacity of 65,754, built for the World Cup at a cost of KRW 294.6 billion. As a means of regional development, a team was deemed to be essential. This same concern also pushed Gwangju toward the K-League, but this city received further pressure from the army. Indeed, the Gwangju Sangmu Phoenix uses players completing their military service. Players can thus continue their sports activities while fulfilling their mission for national defence. The stadium of 44,000 seats is now being used.

Location strategies

Even though demographics are the main criterion for team location in the French framework, access to the system is extremely open because of the willingness to make exceptions. Teams from major urban centres can encounter teams from small cities like Guingamp, Bastia, Sedan or Auxerre on equal footing, as the geographic distribution of teams is not based only on the broad outlines of power in the country. The few coercive measures that prevent access to the top levels are weak or can be circumvented by exemptions. In Korea, the clubs today are guided by the league's economic concerns, after having had an initial phase of freedom. Many problems of competition were solved by delocalisation and new clubs are now accepted only if they offer additional benefits, which often means that they must be located in zones without competition but with strong potential and the stadiums to allow economic and sports expansion. This situation is possible because of the relative newness and weakness of Korean football; it may even be an essential condition for creating a viable professional structure without a strong amateur base. Club ownership by large national companies more easily allows *ex nihilo* creation and club movement. However, this situation is changing and we can distinguish a paradoxical similarity in the two countries: a willingness to establish teams according to spatial criteria. An old process in France, this is now developing in Korea.

As in Korea, many French clubs were originally created by companies eager to acquire a sense of value both within and outside the company. But contrary to what occurred in other large European countries, this general movement was rejected jointly by the national federation and the territory-based clubs (Wahl 1989). The clubs quickly turned to public financing sources and town administrations in particular. This partnership will probably endure because the local authorities and the state find mutual advantages. High-level football, because of its popularity and global diffusion, offers a means for collective identification that the local authorities have integrated into their communication strategies. As underlined by Jean-Pierre Augustin (1995: 131), team sports 'contribute to local patriotism and the symbolic system of the territories'.

This tendency is easily observed by looking at club names. These names are far from anecdotic: they reflect a symbolic identity system that associates the teams with a social reference that includes their location. French names emphasise geographic determinants: although half the teams only use the name of a city in association with a sports reference (e.g., *Athletic* Le Havre Club), 16 add a territorial reference (e.g., Montpellier *Hérault* Sports Club) and four propose another origin (e.g., Niort *Chamois*). The influence of the local authorities mainly explains these spatial references, but sometimes the origins are older (e.g., AS Nancy-*Lorraine*).

In Korea, before the reorganisation at the end of the 1990s, the opposite seemed to be the case, with club names including a company name or some other reference, but never a city name. Since the creation of Daejeon Citizens in particular, K-League clubs have been gradually and symbolically detaching from the large companies to integrate more deeply into their cities and reference spaces. The

idea is to establish strong local roots over the long term and to truly integrate the clubs into local life. This is reflected by renaming and the development of new logos. The Yukong Elephants became the Bucheon SK, the POSCO Atoms are now called the Pohang Steelers, Ilhwa Chunma now adds its new location (Seongnam Ilhwa Chunma), and the LG Hwangso took the name of the Anyang LG Cheetahs. This is clearly a new tendency for the *chaebols* and the league. After having used football primarily as a vector of internal and external communication regarding their competitors, the major Korean companies are now anchoring their teams more deeply in geographic space to allow greater public involvement with the competing players. The regional dimension, long a key element in the Korean culture, is now being developed as a factor for football's expansion and durability. The renunciation of matches on neutral ground from the 2001 season was an additional sign of this tendency.

The organisation of a global event as important as the World Cup has not been exploited in the same way by the two countries, however. In France, the World Cup provided the occasion to renovate existing stadiums, some of which had been constructed 15 years earlier for Euro 1984. These stadiums are all located in big cities with a first division team because geographic structuring had stopped long ago. Both the cities and the clubs seized this opportunity for low-cost development. In Korea, the World Cup was seen as a means to equip a country whose professional sports needs remained unsettled: choosing locations for building the arenas responded not only to existing needs but also to desires for future expansion. This in fact was signalled by the addition of two new clubs in 2003. In this sense, a major sports event like the World Cup can be seen as highly influential and thus as a potent factor for future reorganisation.

Both countries, however, have been confronted with the problem of building a huge stadium in a capital without a resident team. After much procrastination, France finally built the Stade de France, an 80,000-seat stadium in Paris, without having worked out its future sports utility. In fact, the Stade de France consortium managed to include a very beneficial clause in the contract negotiated with the government: the state committed itself to significant financial aid for ten years if a resident team was not found. The stadium has now shown a yearly profit since 2000 and the consortium is no longer looking for a football club since this would mean losing some highly lucrative activities (concerts, international matches, mass gatherings of one organisation or another), as well as the government subsidy. In Korea, the success of the 64,000-seat stadium built in Seoul is based on a similar principle. It has become the only profit-making stadium in Korea because of the many activities made possible by its location in a capital of 10 million inhabitants. In addition to its internationally recognised sports and artistic events, the stadium receives 30,000 visitors a day, drawn by its symbolic power or its auxiliary commercial activities. This level of success, as with that of the Stade de France, is due to its location in the heart of the biggest urban centre in the country. On the other hand, the resident teams of the other cities have to be satisfied with reducing the financial losses of their stadiums.

Conclusion

The organisation of the 2002 World Cup was the occasion for Korean operators to pursue their strategies for developing professional football clubs, and several directions are now possible. The first is to continue to add new teams to the K-League and to locate them in cities with new and unoccupied stadiums. For the moment, this concerns only Incheon and Seoul, as Seogwipo is a specific case that has been discussed. Several projects to create a new team in the capital have been considered. The second direction is a change in the scale of competition. The plan of associating with neighbouring Japan and China to build a Northeast Asian championship is today under way. The potentially huge clientele, powerful operators, large modern stadiums and a population with a growing passion for football ensure that this dream will eventually come to pass. It will nevertheless require a reorganisation of the championship to the benefit of those teams located in the biggest cities, which is what can be seen today in Europe.

This project will inevitably run into the problem of club roots, however. The mobility of North American teams, noted by Quirk and Fort (1999: 215), has been the subject of sharp exchanges about the key factors for building loyal supporters – who are also ultimately customers: affection for the local team, the shared history of fans and their team, and the values that the team are seen to represent. Professional sport is a distinct economic sector, but despite its marked commercial character, today's operators cannot afford to ignore the space parameter. Even those particularly vulnerable to the local economic potential must also consider temporal factors and local fan loyalty. A completely artificial team location, without a basis in tradition, history, or culture, runs the risk of a commercial problem: the lack of passion. This problem has arisen in Europe recently, as well: the creation of a private league, closed and without the traditional promotion/relegation system, has become a topic of debate and controversy.

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3 The making of a professional football league

The design of the J.League system

Hirose Ichirō

Introduction

In the 1990s, while Japan's economy as a whole experienced the so-called 'lost decade', a number of remarkable success stories occurred. The launch of the J.League, Japan's first professional football league, is an exceptional case of creating a whole new market out of the blue – totalling a cumulative flow of JPY472 billion over the first ten years. Prior to that, Japan's spectator sports market, which is synonymous with professional sports, was dominated by baseball and sumo, and to a lesser extent, by a number of racing sports. Football, as well as hockey, volleyball and others were excluded from professionalism, although these sports had been played at an amateur level for many decades. The only football events that filled the National Stadium in Tokyo, other than occasional major games for Japan's national team, were the annual 'Toyota Cup' match between the club champions of Europe and South America (since 1981) and the final of the Japanese national high school championship. Even at the final of the All Japan National Cup (the 'Emperor's Cup'), that takes place on the national holiday of January 1, the stadium was at best half full. Until the 1990s it was felt in Japan that the sport of football without sponsorship could not take off in a business sense. Put in a different way, for decades the Japanese sports market rejected the product of football and considered only baseball and sumo to be attractive enough for commercial purposes. Thus, the question which this chapter seeks to examine in detail is, what suddenly caused this huge new market to emerge, particularly as the skill level displayed in Japanese football could not possibly have changed to such an extent overnight?

The short answer, simply put, is that the essential 'system' of the J.League worked in such a way as to give life to the market. When an effective 'system design' is in place, a system will function properly. Attempts have been made to study the J.League system and to identify the effective design and structural factors that led to its success. The answer is of great interest to a number of semi-professionalised sports eager to imitate the Japanese football fairy-tale.

At this stage a brief biographical digression is necessary in order to explain how the research that informs this chapter was undertaken. As a senior researcher at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry (RIETI), a think tank of the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), the author was

assigned the task of analysing the process that gave life to the football market, as well as identifying the crucial characteristics of its system design. In fact, for most of my professional life I have been involved in the sports business. From 1984, Dentsu, Japan's largest advertising and marketing company employed me. In relation to football, I was involved in co-ordinating the Toyota Cup from 1984 to 1990, the annual cup events for Japan's national team (such as the 'Kirin Cup' tournament held regularly under the name of 'Japan Cup' since 1978), the tasks of the Japan Soccer League (JSL) staff at the World Cup sites in 1986 and 1990, and the work of the 2002 World Cup bidding committee (*2002nen Wārudokappu shōchi iinkai*). All these experiences, and my current position on the J.League's management advisory committee (*J.riigu keiei shimon iinkai*), opened doors to internal sources and central figures involved in the establishment of the J.League, as well as additional stakeholders.

Most of the existing writing about the launch of the J.League published in English has been provided by journalists or sociologists of sport (see Birchall 2000; Horne 1996, 2000, 2002; Moffett 2002; Nogawa and Maeda 1999; Watts 1998; for one exception from a business perspective see Schutte with Ciarlante 1998). To date, no view of developments from the inside of Japanese football administration has been widely available. This chapter offers a substantially shortened version of the final report produced for RIETI and is mainly based on interviews with Kawabuchi Saburō, the former J.League chairman and current President of the Japan Football Association (JFA); Kinomoto Kōzō, former J.League executive board member; Naganuma Ken, former JFA vice-president and coach of the football team for the Tokyo Olympics (Kawabuchi was a member of that team); Hosokawa Yasushi, formerly board chairman of the Japan League and vice-president of Nissan Motors; and Kotake Nobuyuki, who participated in the preparatory office while employed in the legal department of the advertising agency Hakuhodo. Oral statements were confirmed by checking with written reports, minutes of meetings, accounting charts, media presentations and a few published studies on the J.League (Hiratsuka 2002; Nissei 1992; Yokoe 1996).

Drawing on unrivalled access to these illustrious insider informants and sources, the chapter reconstructs the process that finally led to the kick-off of a professional football league in Japan. The larger study upon which it draws identifies various solutions to the problems of making a league work. For heuristic purposes, this chapter divides the development of the J.League system into five distinctive chronological stages stretching over five years. The conclusion highlights the importance of 'knowledge formation', 'the nurturing of human resources', 'information networking' and 'sharing of values' in the process of producing a new sports market.

The first stage: a sense of crisis and wrestling with alternatives (March 1988 to March 1989)

In the 1980s, pressure to change the existing amateur/company sports league system of football in Japan emerged on both domestic and international fronts.

Domestically, measures aimed at improving the sport's low popularity were undertaken in 1985 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Japan Soccer League, but without producing the anticipated results. At last, however, professionalisation was propelled by the International Olympic Committee's decision to permit the entry of professional sportsmen and the return of Bundesliga professional Okudera Yasuhiko to Japan. In 1985, the Japan Amateur Sports Association accepted sports professionalism in general, though the power to decide still resided with the association for each sport. As the then Japan Soccer League at first still did not recognise professional players, de facto professionals such as Okudera and Kimura Kazushi were dubbed 'special licensed players'. Professional players were officially sanctioned in the following season (1987/8). Internationally, the problem of the low level of competitiveness of the national team surfaced again. Expectations that Japan might participate in a World Cup Finals Tournament for the first time were dashed by the harsh reality when they lost out to Korea, its nemesis, in the qualifying stages. Most team members said 'shocking' things such as: 'For now, there is no way we can win against Korea because its team is composed of professionals.' With this as the background, a strong sentiment arose to the effect that: 'Something drastic has to be done.' That sentiment brought about the establishment of several 'JSL activation committees' from 1988 onward.

The first JSL activation committee (*JSL kasseika iinkai*), which was inaugurated in March 1988, analysed and evaluated the situation. Three issues emerged as key concerns: double standards in the player system stemming from the gap in salary, social standing and security of livelihood between foreign professionals and Japanese amateurs; decreasing spectator attendance; and a perceived decline in the quality of Japanese football (the increasing number of matches ending in a draw were especially considered to suppress the popularity of the company league). Although there was a common consensus concerning the urgency of the situation, awareness of a crisis was not sufficient to lead to the view that introducing widespread professionalism was the only way to go. In order to make a breakthrough, the conclusion was reached that gradual professionalisation by way of a 'special league' should be reviewed as one option. Only when the report of the second activation committee was submitted in March 1989 did the JSL council start to think seriously about professionalisation. The final report submitted by chairman Ogura Junji to the JSL, also contained a document entitled 'Requests by the Japan Soccer Association's Enhancement Department' (*Nihon Sakkā Kyōkai Kyōka Honbu kara no yōsei*). Here it was clearly stated for the first time that the formation of this special league and the hosting of the 2002 World Cup Finals could play key roles in improving the public standing of football in Japan.

Kawabuchi Saburō, who acted as the driving force of the move towards professionalisation, commented more than ten years later: 'When you really think about it logically, I had to come to the conclusion that there was no other way to go.' Being fully aware that the JSL council would not easily arrive at a firm conclusion, Kawabuchi made a request to create, within the association, a committee to study professionalisation.

Among the members of the professionalisation review committee (*Puro-ka kentō iinkai*) were JFA president Naganuma Ken and the league board chairman Hosokawa Yasushi. Hosokawa remembered: 'I don't necessarily think that what Mr Kawabuchi is saying is correct; but I was struck by the fervour of the young people in really wanting to do it, so therefore I supported it.' Naganuma, who had served as a coach when Kawabuchi was a player and had played a central role in the establishment of the Japan Soccer League by persuading older and more conservative sport administrators, also became the shield behind which Kawabuchi could actually carry out his work. According to Naganuma, the complete separation of the professionalisation issue from the workings of the JSL was the primary reason for its success.

For three months, Kawabuchi struggled to win over the opponents of professionalisation. There was considerable hesitation on the part of manufacturers, for example, about becoming involved in the business of running a professional football team. For the company owners of the teams playing in the JSL, there was no reason to take such a risk. Risk is inherent in business; but hardly any corporation looked upon their football team as a business that might bring a return in the form of profits. From the standpoint of the purely economic reason of profitability, such an investment would be difficult to describe as having good prospects, not to mention that there was no basis on which to make a judgment. As companies thought mainly of sports as part of their labour policy or part of their public relations (PR) work, there was no strong reason to become involved in a professional version of the game. In addition, as companies they had an inherent obligation to reward their shareholders; and they found it difficult to justify how joining a professional league would benefit these important stakeholders.

Despite these obstacles, for Kawabuchi and his colleagues work went on. Tasks included the establishment of the proposed league as a legal entity, the drafting of the league's rules, careful examination of the profit structure and concrete marketing efforts, the setting up of club management standards, and the carrying out of location surveys for each stadium.

The second stage: the establishment of a draft plan (June 1989 to July 1990)

It was decided that the professional league preparatory review committee (*Puro riigu junbi iinkai*) should complete its work in as short a time as possible; and that this committee should be replaced with an establishment review committee (*Puro riigu setsuritsu junbi iinkai*) thereafter. Eight subcommittees were established within this committee in order to review the following issues: franchising and assurance of grounds availability; instructor (coach) licensing and the nurturing of youth; review of the number of teams and the adjustment of scheduling with other events; referee and match commissioner issues; PR activities and spectator mobilisation; uniform contracts for players and player registration issues; incomes and expenditures for the teams and for the league; and sounding out each team in the JSL

and other organisations. The target for the launching of the professional league was to be three years in the future, although it was to be delayed along the way by an additional two years.

In October 1989, tentative participation requirements were decided upon and proposed for reference to all of the teams in JSL Divisions 1 and 2. Questionnaires were sent out to ask informally which teams wished to participate in a professional league, and which location they would like to choose as a franchise. Those who responded with 'willing to participate' or 'reviewing it in a positive manner' numbered only ten teams in late November. From then until April 1990, participation requirements were once more reviewed, including financial items (such as cost sharing of the JPY140 million estimated for the project), franchising, professional organisation and stadium facility requirements (for a succinct itemisation of these requirements, see Horne and Bleakley 2002: 95).

For some, the requirements to join the proposed professional league were considered to be somewhat impudent. The greatest advantage for the putative league, which nonetheless became very demanding, was its inseparable relationship to the JFA and the international football association (FIFA) and its rule that there could only be one football association per nation. Thus if, after the formation of the league, one acted against the will of the J.League, the candidate would meet with a hardly surmountable obstacle to participation in the business of professional football in Japan again by any other means. The proposal was for the establishment of a de facto one-organisation monopoly business. For the companies approached, the business prospects were quite uncertain. As the general reluctance of Dentsu, the Japanese sports media and other corporations to get involved revealed, the more one knew about football the more likely one was to question the feasibility of the whole enterprise.

Responsibility for each team was to be borne by its sponsoring corporation. The committee for professionalisation calculated that football would be a business one day, if a given amount of funds was collected. But this proposal contained no prospects for dividends or interest payments. 'Production facilities', i.e. stadiums fit for professional teams, should be paid for by the sponsors themselves or they should come up with a local government able to afford it. Concerning 'customers', there should be potential customers, but the sponsors would have to find them for themselves. Finally, 'capital and operational funds' and 'management responsibilities' would be borne by the sponsors, not to mention the costs of the secretariat. Any profit from income other than entrance fees should be planned and administered by the secretariat. As profit was not guaranteed, under this system the sponsors had to bear the basic elements of support and the risk factors, while the proposed league retained every right to make determinations and to impose penalties in the case of violations of its strict rules. Should things go wrong, company officers responsible for participation in the league could be charged with breach of trust by the shareholders.

Official JFA documents underpinning the establishment of the professional league – requiring interested parties to declare an intention to participate and agree to the general aims of strengthening the position of football in Japan, the

promotion of a sports culture, workplace enhancement for players and coaches, and the improvement of the environment surrounding the stadiums – were to be submitted in June 1990. The result was astounding. The later chairman Kawabuchi recalled: 'That June, I was attending the World Cup in Italy. When I received a phone call from Tokyo that 20 companies wanted to participate I felt "Hurrah!" I had anticipated that 15 companies would make a positive response and that three would be negative, so I was just overwhelmed.'

The third stage: studying the feasibility of the football business (August 1990 to February 1991)

Upon his return to Japan from Italia '90, Kawabuchi proposed to the board a concept to establish a professional league. His fervour gradually got through to the JFA board members who all shared the will to beat South Korea at football one day. His efforts resulted in the establishment of a professionalisation headquarters (*Puro taisaku honbu*) within the association (directed by Naganuma Ken) and a Professional League Review Committee (*Puro riigu kentō iinkai*) under chairman Kawabuchi. Ten subcommittees explored the issues of general affairs, finance, franchising, operations and game scheduling, players and teams, refereeing, coaches, well-being, business, and PR. In formulating the standards of qualifications to join the J.League, reference was made to German and British documents.

Concerning the initial scale of the league, a variety of scenarios were envisioned with a worst case of only four teams participating. Plans were developed on the projected basis of eight teams; but with 20 companies wishing to take part at this stage, dropping some would prove difficult. The most important points in the selection process concerned franchising and stadiums. The review committee interviewed potential participants three times. The first interview covered questions surrounding the current situation, including stadium facilities, economic foundation, power to mobilise spectators and the level of the company where the decision to join had been made. During the second round of interviews, the committee explained the organisation of the professional league and asked for reconfirmation of the content of the first interview. At the third and final interview in January 1991, the (by now) remaining 14 candidates were questioned again concerning their concrete plans for franchising, stadiums, spectator mobilisation, and game competitiveness. With the approval of the board of the JFA, the names of the ten selected organisations were announced to the public on 14 February 1991.

Marketing and other efforts also began. In order to differentiate the image of football from that of professional baseball, the most popular sport in Japan, a fresh and unique vocabulary was deliberately introduced, including terms from the football world abroad, even though they were unfamiliar to the Japanese. For example, a team's home base became their 'home town' rather than franchise. Fans were called 'supporters'. Matches at other locations were called 'away games' and decisive games became 'championship matches'. The head person of the league was called the 'chairman' in contrast to the baseball league 'commissioner'.

During the second stage (June 1989 to July 1990) the advertising agency Hakuhodo had been chosen as a partner for the proposed league. Its larger rival Dentsu had previously been approached informally but rejected the offer because it did not rate the business prospects very highly. My own attempts to convince the top management at Dentsu were also without success. In fact, due to my differing opinion, Dentsu headquarters felt I needed more space. In consequence, I was assigned to organise the 'America's Ekiden', a long distance road relay race in Manhattan, in the fall of 1988. However, even if Dentsu had taken up the offer, Hakuhodo would still have received an invitation to bid on more favourable terms. This was because of the constraints often put upon the JSL by the schedule for the Japanese national team – a schedule devised and controlled by Dentsu. In this arrangement the JSL was only afforded a minor role and was frequently compelled to alter its schedules to comply with national team fixtures. As a result, the JSL General Secretary Kinomoto Kōzō, who was severely troubled by this, unofficially made contact with a high school friend who worked for Hakuhodo to ask him how to break through the impasse. Behind the scenes a confrontational relationship between the JFA and Dentsu, on the one side, and the JSL and Hakuhodo, on the other, had already formed. The creation of special posters celebrating the JSL's 20th year had even been requested from Hakuhodo.

As Japan's second ranking advertising agency, Hakuhodo was deeply committed to the J.League. Kotake Nobuyuki of Hakuhodo recalled: 'I joined in October 1990, and by the fall and winter of 1991 we had completed the work of making rules concerning registration and transfers. The climax of rule making for the J.League occurred from spring into the summer of 1992. We made entirely new rules rather than simply revising the established league rules.' Hence Hakuhodo became involved in key matters such as the efforts to establish a legal entity for the league, the drafting of the league's rules, careful examination of the profit structure and concrete marketing efforts, setting up of club management standards, and carrying out location surveys for each stadium. For Hakuhodo, which, in the sports market arena as elsewhere, usually had to play second fiddle to Dentsu as the sports marketing leader, the J.League and the prospects of hosting the 2002 World Cup represented a one-in-a-million opportunity. Thereafter, the Hakuhodo team virtually stayed at all times with the committee and served as its staff. What was especially helpful for a secretariat lacking in funds at that time, was that the advertising agency provided the services of its staff and prepared presentations free of charge.

The fourth stage: moving towards the J.League (January 1991 to November 1991)

On 30 January 1991 a press conference was held at the YMCA hotel in Tokyo announcing the 'background to the establishment of a professional football league'. Many more reporters attended than had been anticipated. This was a very good sign in terms of the main business aspects of sponsorship and TV broadcasting rights. In March that year, the professional league review committee, which had

been engaged in preparatory/review activities under the auspices of the JFA and the professionalisation headquarters, dissolved. In May 1991, the preparatory office for the establishment of a professional league (*Puro riigu setsuritsu junbi shitsu*) was officially opened at its new location in the Kanda district of Tokyo and began its work on incorporation. With the establishment of ten subcommittees, each working on different topics, the number of people employed at that office substantially increased. The official name of the new league was announced to the public for the first time in July 1991. From then on, it became known as the Japan Professional Soccer League, or J.League. This name was also proposed by Hakuhodo who thus delivered on the JFA request to find 'a name that would be obvious to everyone as being a Japanese professional league, such as Germany's Bundesliga or Italy's Serie A', as Kawabuchi recalled. 'Among all the proposals brought to us by Hakuhodo, we immediately fastened on J.League', he later observed.

In terms of business viability, the greatest concerns were football popularity and spectator mobilisation. As a realistic problem, some raised the concern that the concept of franchising would not be understood in Japan, where company sports rather than public sports had taken root since the 1950s. In order to solve these issues, the 'structuring of a uniform image' and 'sociability and a sense of the large scale' were to be emphasised. Understanding and diffusion of the newly introduced concepts of 'sports for the local people' and sports culture were considered to hold the key to future business success.

The league's official sponsors were adopted according to the principle of 'one company, one business type', borrowing from the International Olympic Committee's TOP Programme and the FIFA Football World Cup Finals. From the standpoint of protection of legal rights and image integration, in terms of merchandise design, and quality control, the league in principle played a central role in merchandising. In order for sound development on the part of the overall league itself, the league became the window for all in terms of TV broadcasting rights, making sure that there were no discrepancies in TV exposure for the different teams. Bundling together the rights resulted in an exponential improvement in negotiating power for fees. As a result, far more income was going to be brought to each team than if they had conducted negotiations individually. Kawabuchi recalled:

> The broadcasting fee for the JSL at that time had been JPY300,000. Being unable to decide whether that should become JPY3 million or JPY5 million, we consulted with Sugiyama, head of the NHK Sports Centre, asking him what he thought about JPY5 million. He responded that more than JPY10 million would be possible, so in the end we settled on JPY10 million.

From the beginning, the image rights issue was considered to be very important, so that principle was reflected clearly in the considerations for rulemaking. According to Ogura:

> Given the average of JPY10 million for professional baseball players, our view was that we would be pretty fortunate if the annual sum for our players, as professionals, could be an average of JPY8 million. Our feeling was that it would be approximately JPY8 million times 18 people. If the number of players at a club side were 25 people, then the income from image rights would amount to a total of JPY200 million.

These organisational principles were developed with reference to the German Bundesliga, whose teams were comparatively recently professionalised. Kotake stated:

> We got the impression that Germany was really thorough in covering minutiae. From Britain's regulations we have extracted the terms 'Visiting Club' and 'Home Club' and inconsistently substituted for them 'Visitor Club' and 'Home Club'.

Because legitimacy, due process and 'participation and expressing one's opinion' by member teams were considered to be important, plenary sessions were to become the highest decision-making level. The issue of players' contracts was also studied in depth and given much attention. For the convenience of those in charge of each club, a remuneration market chart in proportion to each player's ability was prepared.

The fifth stage: from incorporation to implementation (November 1991 to March 1993)

In November 1991, the J.League was inaugurated as a legal entity. The J.League now made a big leap forward, expanding into the area of cultivating new (latent) customers for a new business of which no one had any real experience. Mizuno, a sporting goods company based in western Japan, was given the opportunity to enter the new football business. According to Kawabuchi,

> all clubs contracted with Mizuno for their uniforms. These were offered at the unheard-of bargain price of JPY20 million per club. They were so eager that they developed new materials. The uniforms were totally different from the usual uniforms, both colourful and sensational. We felt ourselves to be deeply indebted that the Mizuno company made mention of the J.League during its spot TV ads and in its ads sponsoring the TV show *Neruton Benikujiradan* [featuring the popular stand-up comedy duo 'The Tunnels'], thereby raising the expectations of the public.

JSL members who had become part of the staff of the J.League's preparatory secretariat were dispatched to the United States, particularly to study the NFL sports merchandising market. They grasped the actual size of the business along

with practical developmental techniques and ideas. They came to understand that marketing and merchandising were indispensable to the 'sports business as a service industry', a concept with which none of those engaged in Japan's sports worlds were familiar at the time.

For the first six months after inauguration, the merchandise item called 'J.League' existed only in words and not in substance. However, the media's response far exceeded all expectations, although no actual game had yet been played. When in May 1992, prior to the first game of the Nabisco Cup, uniforms for each J-Team were officially displayed to the public, many of the next day's newspapers carried this event on their front pages. This was probably the first time in Japan's economic history that a new business, having no substance at all, was given such extensive newspaper coverage. Sasaki Kazuki, the director of the J.League's public relations office (and also Secretary General of the league), has estimated that the response of the mass media following the official inauguration of the J.League, converted into publicity terms, was equivalent to media exposure worth more than JPY60 million.

Results began to show up in the form of three large cash streams. The first was spectator mobilisation for the Nabisco Cup in 1992. According to Sasaki Kazuki, '10,000 people came to the qualifying rounds and we eventually drew 20,000, to the point that the local stadiums could not accommodate all the people. The gap between that and the JSL era was too huge for us to comprehend.' The second was the sale of official sponsor rights. With no difficulty at all, Hakuhodo, acting as the window, sold sponsorships worth JPY200 million for three years, per company, to eight companies. The third was merchandising. Related items of merchandise, which had been thought might be offered in 'test sales', sold so well that Sony Creative Products became confident in opening direct merchandising shops. At the same time, more than 30 companies queued up in order to gain sublicensing rights.

At last, J.League kick-off time!

With 25 years spent in constructing its foundation and with 5 years of system design behind it, the J.League looked forward to its kick-off in May 1993. Tickets for that day could be obtained only by submitting a postcard application, with a limit of four tickets per reservation. The response was far greater than had been anticipated. The number of application cards was 300,000, with more than 800,000 people wanting to attend. The secretariat was beside itself. Kawabuchi, however, immediately instructed the staff to send postcards to all of those who were unable to obtain tickets and to ask them to stick with the J.League.

The kick-off at a full stadium was covered by NHK's terrestrial broadcasting station. The TV viewer participation rate reached 32.4 per cent. Based on the population, 1 per cent means one million people, and hence potential J.League customers exceeded 30 million. Hosokawa, who watched the opening game from the stands that day, said:

> My gut feeling was that rather than being surprised, I was frightened. The public's response was far greater than we had imagined; and I was beginning to ask myself whether it was all right to have started such a thing.

Initially, nobody thought that they could sell J.League-related products. Kawabuchi once said: 'You don't need to make a profit from merchandising; but you have to make something of high quality. That will lead to a favourable image for the J.League.' Prior to the start of sales by official sponsors, nobody had been able to guess 'what is a reasonable price?' or 'at what price will it sell?' but once that box had been opened, more than JPY30 billion in sales was recorded. In 1993, the J.League's first year, it mobilised 3,235,750 paying customers for a total of ten teams and 180 games (an average of 17,976 per game). The league's profit, stemming from advertisements, broadcasting rights and merchandising, reached JPY8 billion, approximately 10 times more that that during the JSL era. Kawabuchi commented: 'If you don't call this a success, what would you call successful?'

Reflections on the design process

The costs of making a professional league

Until the start of the J.League, funding for the organising committee was small, estimated to be less than JPY20 million over the course of three years including all expenses for committees, personnel and activities. Next, a total of approximately JPY48 billion was used from public sector investment funds. The funding was mainly from local tax revenues, plus grants from the national government. The provision of land for stadiums, as well as construction and peripheral environment costs depended on local governments in general. From the standpoint of budget categories, these investments were classified as park improvements and education expenses. Since public budgeting is performed on a single-year basis, construction costs were sometimes included in the budgeting for planning and foundation building. Thus precise calculations were sometimes difficult to make. Ibaragi Prefecture and the small town of Kashima constructed a covered stadium and invested a total of approximately JPY12 billion, and other local governments and municipalities invested an average of JPY2 billion to build new or improve existing facilities, totalling JPY18 billion (see also Ubukata 1994: 160).

Initially, all clubs were incorporated – although today, only Montedio Yamagata remains a corporate juridical entity. The capital required to establish a J.League club was JPY10 million in each case, and approximately JPY1 billion per club had to be assembled for business expenses. Shareholders were in some cases the former parent company, in others regional companies, the local government and the local populace. Except for capitalisation funds, major corporations regarded their support of the league teams as a kind of advertising expense. Although the National Tax Agency was uncertain about how to treat this kind of expenditure, ultimately it was all accepted as advertising costs. The total cost was JPY1 billion multiplied by 10 companies or JPY10 billion. The largest expenditures were for the players'

salaries, the fee for participation in the J.League, and the annual dues, plus fixed costs as a legal entity and sales administrative costs such as marketing activities. The review committee had calculated that the average player salary would be JPY8 million; but when the league actually started, that sum skyrocketed, pushing many clubs' entire costs to more than JPY1.5 or JPY2.0 billion. The initial funds came in the way of support from sponsoring companies, admission fee income, contracts for merchandise income and sales of club strips, advertising endorsements, plus distributions from the J.League. In total, the entire initial investment for the J.League business was approximately JPY58 billion. The JFA started the business with under 0.1 per cent of this total investment but continues, to this date, to exercise leadership.

The importance of the mass media

As already mentioned, the initial success owed a great deal to high mass media exposure and that derived from media reporting, not simply from advertising. The reports on TV and radio, and introductory articles in the print media were so huge in volume that the marketing value in terms of advertising costs was incalculable. Needless to say, in the spectator sports business the relationship with the media is the single most important element. Like the transportation infrastructure and the economic environment in previous times, nowadays the media has a big impact on sports. In the case of both the Olympics and the World Cup, the greatest cash source equals the largest customer, which is television due to broadcasting rights income.

Considering technological change, the time of launching the J.League was very important. In 1989, NHK began satellite broadcasting and opened the era of multi-channel broadcasting in Japan. Such a change of hardware induces a chronic shortage of software. Thus, the media is constantly on the lookout for 'killer content', among which sport is considered to be comparatively cheap and attractive to large audiences. In return, sports receive great benefit from exposure and from fees for broadcasting rights. Kawabuchi stated:

> The impact of TV networks is so great that they should be considered to be very important. However, it is a private business. If one depends even a little bit on one specific company, then someday it may be possible to be pushed around by it.

But the semi-public broadcaster NHK was given special treatment among all the media. Kawabuchi continued:

> NHK is the largest network, the management of which is not like that of a private company. It was at that time the only one involved in satellite broadcasting. Had it been a private company, it could exist only if it had sponsors, so it would more likely be subject to economic pressures. Frankly speaking, we treated NHK differently.

Kawabuchi, who had not been easily swayed by private media in the days of popularity and who had also not been influenced by trite slogans of equality for all broadcasters, made the wise, hard-headed, and calculated decision to stick with NHK from early on. NHK was then in a special situation. Sugiyama Shigeru, then director of the NHK Sports Center, stated:

> Concerning broadcasting rights fees, I agree with Chairman Kawabuchi's concept of not wishing to sell cheaply. His idea is based, not on a relationship of buyers and sellers but to nurture the J.League to be of the very best quality in terms of content. In a situation in which baseball seemed the only spectator sport, everyone wanted attractive alternative sports content.

Furthermore, the beginning of satellite broadcasting also influenced the situation. Sugiyama commented:

> Of the two satellite channels, we were going to use one as a terrestrial wave for hearing-impaired and visually-impaired people. Immediately following the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984, we began to subtly look into the possibility of using the other channel, which had a clean slate in terms of programming. A major component for that would be sports. Major league baseball, American football's NFL, and football were candidates. The 1990 World Cup in Italy clearly defined its importance as possible content for satellite broadcasting. The 1994 World Cup in America also clearly demonstrated its importance in terms of the increase in the number of contracts for satellite broadcasting.
>
> Looking back on the subsequent 10 years, it was beneficial to both NHK and the J.League. We invited Kawabuchi to be a guest commentator at the 1990 World Cup in Italy; and we learned from him, from an Italian vantage point, the situation faced by the football world and the prospects for it. As a result we were kept up to speed, so when the concept of the J.League was introduced, it did not seem an incongruity. That helped.

Nonetheless with the bursting of the Japanese football bubble in 1995, the private TV stations that had pushed ahead of others in making daily visits to the secretariat retreated gradually. Only NHK satellite broadcasting and private for-fee satellite broadcasting, which entered the market after 1998, continued live football broadcasting on a regular basis.

One of the reasons for success was the structuring of a win–win situation between partners. This quality is commonly observed in successful venture businesses that involve risk taking. This does not only relate to the relationship between the media and the football league. Sony Creative Products, for example, had merchandising know-how, virtually no competitors, and it leaped at the J.League secretariat in search of new business, volunteering to make presentations. Mizuno and Hakuhodo became involved by having personal contact with the staff of the early activation committees. Compared with companies having a track record, such as Adidas or Puma, and the advertising agency Dentsu, both Mizuno

and Hakuhodo were latecomers into the market. Thus they decided to really take a chance by investing in the business. As a result of the business partnership, the J.League obtained a royalty income of 4–5 per cent of the retail price from merchandising. Based on the reverse calculation method, a market size of approximately JPY50 billion was created in the first year. Although merchandising income declined later on, the cumulative amount for the first 10 years was a market size of JPY200 billion.

Excluding redundant allotments, the total sum from the cumulative settlement of accounts for the J.League and each of its clubs' entire sales during the last 10 years came to more than JPY200 billion. Added to that were the costs of transportation and meals, etc., which stadium entrants spent, averaging JPY2,000 per game per head. If multiplied by the cumulative number of spectators, it amounts to approximately JPY75 billion. The J.League thus created a market totalling JPY530 billion, representing the initial investment of JPY58 billion plus the cumulative flow over 10 years.

Conclusion

The international diffusion of television has encouraged the internationalisation of sports since the 1970s. Since the 1980s, sports, and particularly the business of sports, can no longer remain confined to a domestic market. Without international exposure, sports lose their competitiveness. This is best symbolised by the Olympic Games. Today, whether or not a game is included in the official Olympics programme seemingly determines its life. Another major international sports event, paralleled only by the Olympics, is the Football World Cup. As football can be considered as a leader in the international sports world, the issue of how to popularise and improve football domestically can no longer be solved within the domestic market alone. Whether or not one can participate in the Olympics or the World Cup, and whether or not a certain level of performance can be attained, became the most fundamental and important issues for success. For football as a form of commerce, those issues turned into quality standards. Amateurs were unable to develop the level of competitiveness to that of commercial/professional game quality. The market in Japan provided a negative judgment against the JSL's merchandise in the form of a reduction in the number of spectators. This created a sense of crisis within the JSL, which in the long run created the impetus behind the launching of a professional league.

Analysing the specific activities during the five-year process that preceded the launch of the J.League in May 1993, the importance of 'knowledge formation', 'nurturing of human resources', 'information networking' and 'sharing of values' become evident. In the case of the J.League, the so-called DNA for evolution already existed in the football world. After the secretariat of the JSL company football league moved out of the football association's headquarters in 1983, it occupied a small office in Kanda. The distance nurtured a sense of autonomy and independence, and the place served as a sort of salon at which staff members and team managers got together to talk about problems surrounding football in Japan.

Because what was discussed at the league's office represented a sort of prior consensus, the later procedure for agenda setting to solve problems could be carried out smoothly. Tacit knowledge, shared values and the will to innovate lay behind the phenomenon and did not need to be openly expressed. These belonged in the psychological and emotional cultural domain.

What became evident through my interviews with key players in the process was that business success was not the ultimate goal for the whole group of founders. The primary goal was to start the business in order to improve the level of football playing and be able to beat the Korean national team one day. A common business consensus is that one has to improve quality in order to promote enterprise, but the J.League founders reversed the conventional logic. After the project started, its principles of enterprise went even beyond the framework of creating a sports business. Over time it evolved into a scheme that sought to change society, such as in the slogan 'to make this country prosperous through sports'. This ideology eventually became linked to the J.League's 'centennial vision' (*hyakunen kōsō*), announced in 1996 after the Japanese football bubble had imploded.

The merchandise called sports differs from other products particularly because it is public property. Thus pushing its business aspect to the fore right from the beginning could invite unfavourable customer reaction. Sports operate within a paradoxical merchandising market in that restraint in pushing the business aspect will in fact enhance the business. In that sense, forthrightly pushing its public aspect, saying 'for the good of society' and 'for the country', as advocated by Kawabuchi and others, was a quite reasonable strategy and should therefore be evaluated as good for this business.

Another significant advantage in the case of the J.League system was that all committee and staff members were ready to innovate. They even adopted a concrete image of themselves as being innovators rather than entrepreneurs. The fact that almost all of those involved in its management were fundamentally businessmen was quite different from other sports in Japan, in which school-teachers primarily carry out management. The Japan Soccer League, which was disbanded in March 1992, not only nurtured the leading football players, but it also developed management personnel through independent activities, not to mention sharing operational know-how. These company men contributed their business knowledge, which had been gained through their primary professions. The accumulation of management knowledge and the assurance of a supply of human resources and personnel networks became major factors in the subsequent creation of the J.League. But the marketing of sports is very different from other products, as the staff members learned from studying the NFL and Europe's football leagues. The will and the ability to learn are worth noting because their level was so high. Through their activities as organisers up to the inauguration of the professional league, the staff of the secretariat honed their skills and gained real ability on the job. As for the broadcasting rights business, Kawabuchi and several senior staff members attended the 1986 and 1990 World Cup Finals as commentators. They spent several weeks together with other broadcasters, gaining knowledge about the business of broadcasting. At the same time, within NHK, a

network of 'sympathisers' was organised to provide significant support when the J.League was launched.

This study posits the J.League as a prime example of a successful new business enterprise. Its success is different from that of a new public offering after simply achieving profitability. In the case of the J.League, new customers were created out of the blue in very large numbers, resulting in the formation of a whole new market. It may be more accurate to say that potential customers had been given life, while at the same time, from the standpoint of the creation of employment opportunities, the scale was immense. Concerning the future, prospects are not bad at all. The FIFA World Cup 2002 in Japan and Korea, which had been unimaginable in the years of the amateur league, drew some of the highest audience rates in the history of Japanese TV broadcasting, resulting in a maximum of 66.1%. In other words, this huge public interest demonstrated a future potential of approximately 70 million football spectators/customers. It has to be admitted, however, that realisation of this number might take a little bit longer!

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4 Football in the People's Republic of China

Robin Jones

By way of introduction, there are three contexts in which an understanding of football in China may be located: the Chinese, the Asian, and the global, and although this chapter will focus primarily on the Chinese context, the Asian and global contexts add another layer of understanding.

The global context

In global terms, football is the prime example of omnipotence in sport. Affiliations to FIFA now stand at over 200 countries and international football competitions on all five continents together with the World Cup, underline the pervasive appeal and spread of the game. Thus, China's involvement in football is neither surprising nor unique. On the contrary, it would be remarkable if a country the size of China were not a member of the football community. First affiliating to FIFA in 1931 (the year after the first World Cup), China failed to get beyond the preliminary or the qualifying rounds until 2002.

China, already a full member of the United Nations, has now become a member of the World Trade Organisation and has actively and successfully sought sporting recognition at world levels, especially since its re-entry to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in November 1979. Now, in the twenty-first century, it is no longer in sporting isolation.

The Asian context

The Asian context is more complex. The subcontinent was an important part of the British Empire of the nineteenth century, itself a key part of the spread of the (British) games tradition, through various means such as tradesmen, government officers, army personnel and Christian missionaries, of whom over 3,000 were reported as working in China around 1900 (Geil 1904: 42). Asia was also the fertile breeding ground of ancient Chinese secular and non-secular ideas, Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, which developed religion, civil society and philosophy in ways quite distinct from the ideas and practices of the early European (including British) invaders. Interestingly too, Asia spawned many distinct languages that had few, if any, European roots in ancient Latin or Greek.

Thus, sport in Asia was exposed in its development to both indigenous and foreign influence. Again unsurprisingly, kicking games akin to football may be traced to Asian, and specifically, Chinese roots. A book issued by the Chinese Olympic Committee (1996: 26–8) shows pottery from the Han (226BC–220AD), Song (960–1279), Jin (1115–1234), Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties depicting kicking activities and games that clearly relate to football. Nevertheless, such has been the success of western sport in crossing international boundaries that today, western sport is strongly represented in the constituent countries of Asia: cricket and hockey in India and Pakistan; baseball in Japan and Taiwan; basketball and rugby in China and Japan; badminton in Malaysia and Indonesia ... and football everywhere!

Asia contains six of the ten most populous countries of the world (China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Japan) yet in football terms, only two Asian countries (Japan and Korea) are ranked in the top 50 countries of the world. However, that is far from saying that Asia is weak in sport or that Asia does not have its own sporting culture, and China's decision to affiliate to bodies such as FIFA, the world association of football, and the IOC may be seen as representative of a nascent Asian identity, in the sense that the future power balance may have its epicentre there. In turning to the context of sport in China, this broad picture should not be forgotten.

The Chinese context

The twentieth century has witnessed extensive conflict and war, and China has certainly not escaped the ravages of such conflict, having experienced an extended period of civil unrest (1920–1940s), eventual civil war (1948–9), invasion by a foreign power (Japan, in 1935), and involvement in the regional conflicts of South East Asia (Vietnam and Korean wars). Thus, if, towards the end of the twentieth century, the development of sport in China was lagging behind the West, there are plausible reasons why this was so. However, such has been the pace of change (technological, economic, political and social) in the past two or three decades, that sport in China has been able to mature rapidly and begin to take its place on the world stage, as their 70th place in FIFA's rankings (as of June 2003) and their third place (28 gold, 16 silver and 15 bronze medals) in the Sydney Olympic Games medal lists shows.

Since 1990, the introduction of the five-day week, the improved road, air and rail networks, the growing wealth of individual citizens (especially in the major cities), the influx of western trade and commerce, the creation of a stock market, the re-structuring of State offices and industries and the move towards a market economy, have all been part of the reformist fervour that the government of President Jiang Zemin marshalled. The appointment of Hu Jintao, following the 16th Chinese Communist Party Congress in October 2002, as the next leader of China inevitably raises some questions over the continuation of the reforms and the place of sport within that process, but nonetheless, with some justification, the government can claim success for their sport policies: by the end of 2001,

Beijing had won the right to hold the 2008 Olympic Games (announced by the Executive Committee of the IOC on 13 July 2001, Moscow); the capital had held a widely acclaimed World Student Games (August 2001); China had been accepted into the World Trade Organisation, and a bid to hold the World Cup at some future date is now under consideration. After the gloom and isolation of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), there perhaps is a growing feeling that the twenty-first century offers a real sense of optimism.

A brief outline of sports (Riordan and Jones 1999) and football in China (Jones 1999), shows that the modern game (i.e. Association Football) has a history of about 80 years from 1924 when the Chinese Football Association (CFA) was founded. At that time, the socialist revolution was in its infancy, the peasant class was still bound by long-established customs, invasion by Japan and World War II were both close, and significant changes were to come in 1949 following the declaration of the People's Republic (even though these were still a far cry from the conditions that were to emerge by the end of the twentieth century). Perhaps this goes some way to understanding why football in China did not make spectacular advances in the early phase. The reforms to the Chinese economy, first envisaged by Deng Xiao Ping in the 1980s and subsequently advanced by President Jiang Zemin during the 1990s began to bear fruit by the end of the twentieth century, and under these conditions football has swiftly advanced. Indeed, it would be fair to point out that sport in China has, over the last decade, moved significantly towards a western model and away from the pattern first established by the former Soviet Union.

For the first four decades of communist rule (1949–90), China's sports system was part of the state-organised bureaucracy, closely monitored and controlled from the centre, and funded by the government. This of course was also the pattern of organisation in state industries, in which employees had a secure, if somewhat meagre, future. Sport was organised in a carefully structured hierarchy from national to provincial and city levels, and sports men and women (athletes, administrators, officials, coaches, and sports scientists) were employed by the state in return for their contribution to competitions and championships of various kinds. As discussed by Brownell (1995), who analyses the background to, and the symbolic meaning of, the Chinese National Games from 1959 to 1987, provincial sports teams were established for the purpose of the Chinese National Games throughout China. The National Games included football and were held approximately every four years (note, though, that national games, as such, pre-date the communist era, tracing back to 1910).

China, during these decades, was active in the international sports movement, (notably in table tennis, and also in conjunction with other communist countries) but additionally had to contend with many obstacles: the turmoil of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–76), widespread famine (in the early 1960s), and withdrawal from the Olympic movement in 1958 (China was a member of the IOC from 1922, withdrawing from the IOC in 1958 and re-joining in 1979). Thus, it might be argued that, until the 1980s, China was too pre-occupied with internal affairs to sustain a world-class sports effort outside the

Communist Bloc (there were exceptions to this, notably again in table tennis), and by the time the post-Maoist government of Deng Xiao Ping had come to power in 1979, China was still not achieving the sporting success that its size merited. Continued failure to qualify for the World Cup finals during the 1980s further underlined the weak state of Chinese football, and even the country's results in the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games (15 and 5 gold medals, respectively), although indicating potential, were further signs that China was not catching up with world standards as fast as she would like. Reform was thus increasingly inevitable (perhaps even attractive) to the sports movement, and in any case the government by this time was adopting a reformist approach to its national institutions and state industries.

The 1990s were to witness an accelerating drive to reform across the whole spectrum of government offices. The sports system, developed so successfully by the former Soviet Union and East Germany, had to embrace change, and football was in the forefront of these changes when the first professional league was established in 1994. Perhaps it doesn't seem much to the western observer that western-style professionalism, in a game such as football, also spread to China; after all, Chinese athletes had long received monetary payment from the state (as state amateurs) but now this was more than just recognition of a long-standing practice. The phrase 'with Chinese characteristics' (used frequently by the Government to indicate their influence over the structural reforms to industry and government offices that they were introducing) is relevant here, because the establishment of professional football was not the result of independent clubs and individuals making some collective decision to seek professional status, but was itself part of the Government's own sports commission's involvement in the fundamental reform of the Chinese economy.

The decision to set up western-style professional football leagues in China in 1994 indicates:

1 a realisation by the Chinese that the existing system wasn't working (certainly that was the case measured by past results in the World Cup);
2 a determination to succeed, even if that meant compromise and reform (for example, the compromise allowed market forces to bring about change – sometimes painful – to management practices such as reducing the influence of the Communist Party on management decisions).

However, there were some reasons to think that the experiment would not work, or at least would take a long time. Central to this was the fact that, even though the Chinese Football Association (CFA) was advised and supported by the International Marketing Group (IMG), the Chinese personnel were plucked from a system that derived not from the free market, but from centralised state control; they had no direct experience of market economies in general, let alone professional football clubs. Player transfers, agents, professional associations, contracts and rights, franchising and media control, were 'scripts' still to be written. This lack of free-market experience was equally true of state industries which had

to abandon practices long held dear by the die-hard communist party members involved in management; practices such as jobs guaranteed by the state even if there was insufficient demand and lack of competition. At worst, there was the possibility that the new Chinese football clubs would assume that becoming professional required little more than giving new job titles to existing staff, and charging more for entrance tickets. However, in choosing football to lead the sports reforms, the international game provided such a well-established and powerful role model that the ground rules for success were fairly clear. What was required was commercial backing (the international marketing firm, IMG, provided this in 1994 and continued to source sponsors for the Chinese Football League in the following years), experienced football managers from overseas (Jia A, the Chinese first division, now has several), talented players from overseas (all clubs in Jia A have several), a competitive league structure (Jia A, Jia B and regional leagues are now established), a national cup competition (now operating during mid-season), invitation tournaments with overseas teams (several English and other country's clubs have played in China), exporting good players abroad to gain international experience (in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe), developing youth teams (Jia A and B clubs are now required to include a minimum number of young players in their squads to ensure player development), raising awareness in the media (the national television network, CCTV, and local networks all broadcast football), establishing links with foreign clubs (for example the Sichuan Football Association has close links with Stockport County in the English Second division) – all these were part of the jigsaw of international success practised by the most successful football nations.

China had been involved in football for many decades, but since 1949 the People's Republic had been unable or unwilling to adopt a strategic approach to developing the game of football. The 1990s was the decade of change. A comparison could be made here between football and other sports in which the Chinese did achieve international success. For example, China was five times women's world volleyball champions in the 1980s; in table tennis, it has been supreme for the last 30 years at least; in women's field hockey, it is in the world's top six countries and in women's football, the Chinese women are ranked third behind Germany and the United States of America.

Four reasons are suggested to explain why Chinese football has had widely differing success.

Chinese tradition

It would be too strong to claim a direct link between China's embracing of western sporting traditions in the twenty-first century and the Confucian ethics of more than 2,000 years earlier, but understanding tradition is part of the understanding of China that to western observers is both complex and deep. The order of Chinese society has its roots in the traditions of Confucian ethics (Confucius, 541–479 BC) and Taoist thinking (sixth century BC). The notions of civil society, of harmony and balance, of filial piety and respect has given Chinese society its own cultural

imprint, which Chairman Mao Zedong in the post-1949 era saw as impeding the progress of the country under communist rule. Eradicating such tradition was an impossible task, and Mao's slogan of 'friendship first, competition second' (made famous in the early 1970s through international table tennis matches between England and China that were to become the pre-cursor to the opening of China, a decade later, to the outside world), whilst being far more a political metaphor than a sporting one, nevertheless was a curious reflection of the very things that he was attempting to change through his rejection of tradition.

The rise of women's football in China to world status merits comment, because it contains elements of the rejection of tradition that first Mao Zedong and then Deng Xiao Ping espoused. The women won the silver medal in the 1996 Olympic Games, were fifth in the 2000 Games, came second to America in the final of the 1999 World Cup, have won the Asian championships on numerous occasions, hosted the first World Cup in 1991 and were again selected as hosts for the fourth World Cup in 2003 (subsequently re-located to the USA in September 2003 because of the outbreak of the SARS virus in China in spring 2003). Chinese women's ability in a sport where the men have yet to achieve the highest honours thus presents a paradox that may be partly explained by the challenge to tradition and the determination of the sports leaders in the final decades of the twentieth century to seek Olympic and world success. Thus, women's football, which was a new and relatively clear field, offered the hope of success not easily available in the elite and highly competitive men's field.

Lack of exposure to international competition

Not even the development of a domestic football league in China, in the few years that it has been in existence, can make up for the lack of exposure to international competition. However, in view of the fact that China qualified for the 2002 World Cup finals it might be fair to say that the efforts of the CFA to address this problem are bearing fruit. A critical review of China's efforts in the World Cup led many commentators to suggest that lack of international experience was a key factor in limiting China's progress to the final rounds.

The nature of the game itself

The fluid pattern of the game does not lend itself to domination by individual skill alone in the way that, say, gymnastics and diving do. The complexities of team strategies and game tactics in football do not rest only on individual skills, but on understanding and game awareness, and whereas the skills may be practised in isolation, game awareness cannot.

The school programme

Football is not a game that has been widely adopted by schools in China. As popular as football is today as a spectator sport, it is not part of the general physical

education curriculum in schools. There are still relatively few schools that have suitable facilities for teaching football, and relatively few teachers that have the expertise to teach the game. As a consequence, the massive pool of potential talent in China remains untapped. Of course, had China decided to start its football reform by the integration of football into the state education system, the scale of the task for a population of 1.2 billion people would suggest that improvements to the national team might have taken far longer than was hoped. The lack of football pitches in Chinese schools, and indeed in other places such as parks, remains a major block to the development of youth football in China. With more facilities, the youth teams attached to the professional clubs, and the special football schools that have been established, would have access to a greater selection of talent; the 'Pele' of China may not yet have even tried the game, whereas in Britain and elsewhere in Europe, virtually every boy (and, increasingly, every girl) has played the game extensively by the time they are eleven years old. And in England, from eleven years onwards, school teams and youth teams are a prominent part of weekend leisure. As reported in a regional English newspaper (*The Leicester Mercury*, 26 January 2002: 53), during the football season, in Leicestershire (a county in the centre of England), 300 games of youth football (from under nine years to under nineteen) take place every Sunday. This figure is for a population of just 750,000 and does not include Saturdays, when an equally large number of games take place. Nor do the figures include inter-school games. Conservatively therefore, there are 400 football pitches in the county of Leicestershire, along with many clubs for young players, volunteer referees and club officials.

Compare that with the situation in China, where, in a city such as Chengdu (population 3–4 million, and itself home to a Jia A team, Sichuan Da He), in Sichuan province, the number of youth football clubs and the number of football pitches is minute by comparison. Few local schools in the city have football pitches, and it is seldom included in the taught curriculum of school physical education (personal communication with Peng Yi, Chengdu Institute of Physical Education, 2001). On the other hand, some parents can, and do, bring their child (note the singular, following China's one-child policy introduced by Deng Xiao Ping in 1979) to football clubs for basic training and playing, for which the parents have to pay a small fee.

The Chinese professional football league

Teams in the Jia A league are located in less than half of China's provinces and municipalities, and use a wide range of provincial and city stadiums with capacities from ten to eighty thousand spectators (average capacity 33,600). In the 2001 season, 3.25 million spectators attended the 26 rounds of the league competition, giving an average weekly attendance of 126,000 for the seven premier league matches each round. Over the season, match attendances averaged 18,000 (the smallest and largest gates were 1,000 and 51,000 respectively), but the best supported club in the league – Shaanxi Guoli Hans Beer, who finished ninth in

the league – attracted an average of 36,600 spectators per home game, whilst the league champions Dalian Wanda attracted an average of 20,600 per home game.

These figures are comparable with premier league attendances in England and underline the position of football as the largest spectator sport in China. Originally, the league (the Marlboro Chinese Football League) was sponsored by the Philip Morris tobacco company, but in 1998 Chinese Government legislation introduced a limited ban on tobacco advertising at premier league matches. Only one tobacco advertising board in the stadium was to be allowed and as a result Philip Morris terminated their sponsorship of the league. The drinks company Pepsi Cola then took over the sponsorship and from the 1998–9 season the league was called the Pepsi Cola National Football Group A League. Pepsi's sponsorship was to last for five years, until early in 2003 they abruptly ended their support. Amongst the reasons that were reputed to have caused the severance, a dispute over the contract with IMG and Pepsi's greater interest in sponsoring individuals rather than teams were claimed. That left the Chinese football league potentially without a sponsor until the German communications company Siemens agreed, in March 2003, to take over from Pepsi. It is interesting to note that other international companies have also become sponsors of Chinese football, such as Fuji Film for the annual Chinese Football Association cup competition, and Coca Cola for youth championships (Jones 1999; see also the homepage of the Chinese Football Association).

International linkage

The CFA has been active in promoting international links. During the 2001–2 season, more than 50 players and coaches from overseas were employed by clubs in Jia A and Jia B (most commonly, from Russia, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uraguay, Korea, Iran and Saudi Arabia), whilst European clubs (for example, Crystal Palace, Dundee, Eintracht Frankfurt, Aachen) contracted a small number of Chinese players. The Sichuan provincial football association have established links with Stockport County Football Club in the English First division in an initiative that is aimed at the development of young Chinese players and is an encouraging sign that Chinese football is making strategic plans for the future. Although still in its early stages, a link between Sichuan and Stockport has been set up whereby young Chinese players would receive both their formal education at a local school and their specialised football coaching at the English club's football academy. To some extent this is similar to the Chinese national junior squad who were sent to South America for special training and coaching in the second half of the 1990s.

In a further expansion of sponsorship, Chinese companies are linking up with clubs in the English Premier League, the most obvious of which is Kejian's (China's top mobile telephone and wireless communications company) sponsorship of Everton Football Club, and Dalian Shide's (China's champion club in the 2002 season) co-operation agreement with Newcastle United Football Club. Kejian's two-year, US$3 million sponsorship of Everton's football shirts involves player–

coach exchange, a proposed end-of-season tour to China by Everton, and training of youth players at the Everton Football Academy. Newcastle, in conjunction with Dalian, plan to set up a new football club based in Hong Kong, and to share in various exchange arrangements for players and coaches.

Football has brought to Chinese sport all the 'glamour' of premier league football in Europe, the chanting, faithful fans, the star status for key players, the media attention, the drama, and also the scandal. The sniff of corruption has now blown across the Chinese Football Association which could have a damaging effect on their international image – important when China is considering seeking support for a bid to hold a future World Cup. China's credentials for staging international sporting events are impressive. It has successfully held the Asian Games (1989), the Asian Winter Games (1996) and the World Gymnastics Championships (1999); it was a close second to Sydney in the bid for the 2000 Olympic Games; it held the 2001 World Student Games in Beijing (described by the President of FISU as 'the best ever'), and has been awarded the 2008 Olympic Games, on which Beijing has announced it will spend US$23 billion (Beijing 2008 Olympic Games Bid Committee, 2001).

Further, achieving membership of the World Trade Organisation in 2001 has given enormous credibility to China's economic development. Thus, tarnishing their successful image with a failed bid for the World Cup because of corruption would be a blow to the future of the game in China (not that China's sport has been free from accusations of corruption in the recent past, witness the drugs issue just prior to the Sydney Olympic Games and the bitter comments from, notably, the Australian swimming authorities). Yet, in October 2001, players and coaches from five Chinese football clubs were accused of match fixing and banned for a year. The accusations were levelled at Changchun Yatai, Chengdu Wuniu, Sichuan Mianyang, Guangzhou Jili and Jiangsu Shuntian, clubs all in Jia B. At stake was promotion to Jia A and the scandal has grown to include referees, club officials, players and 'third parties', over claims of bribery. Television interviews, press conferences, anonymous letters, arguments and denials surrounding payments to referees, players allowing teams to score, games being thrown and so on, resulted in Sichuan Mianyang being deducted six points and fined CNY200,000 (approximately US$25,000). Five players were sacked by a sixth club (Zhejiang Lucheng), for allowing Changchun to win a match, and Sichuan Mianyang was relegated to Division 2 (below Jia B) by the CFA. Coaches at all five accused clubs were banned for a year, and Guangzhou Jili was withdrawn from the Chinese professional league by the club president. And in the Jia A league, sponsors Wanda (a real estate company) of the champion club, Dalian, ended their support of the club because of corruption in the game. They were replaced by construction materials company Shide. Scandals such as these have clearly affected the sponsors of Chinese football clubs and in the 2002 season there were at least five changes in sponsors of Jia A clubs. There has also been some public disquiet about the overall financial stability of the Chinese club system – accusations from fans that football is only the medium for sponsors to make money, and of funding running thin at some clubs. Further public revelations, including an admission by a club chairman

that he was involved in bribing referees, resulted in the arrest (in March 2002) of one of the referees, accused of accepting bribes to fix matches.

The Black Whistle affair, as it has become known, has yet to be fully resolved, but the extent of the corruption – players, club officials and referees – is a serious indictment of the professional league in China, calling into question the credibility of the CFA itself. Uncontrolled corruption is likely to dampen the interest of individuals and clubs in Europe to play in China, and the CFA, with local associations, will need to give this serious attention. Why should a European player, coach or club jeopardise their own public image by being associated with corruption?

Xu (2001) lists corruption amongst four problems of the professional game in China. Along with issues concerning the professionalisation of Chinese football, its proper administration and the reduction in centralised control of clubs, Xu points to corruption as being in urgent need of effective control measures if football in China is to continue to grow in stature. Of course, sport and scandal are not new bedfellows; the IOC has itself been under scrutiny over the bidding process for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games in Salt Lake City, making the question of sports' public credibility a sensitive issue. Thus, it is imperative that corruption in Chinese football – however small the problem may be – is tackled robustly in order that support for the game at the highest level continues.

The other aspect of football that has made its unwelcome mark on the Chinese football scene is spectator violence. Now of course, British football fans have been involved in some appalling incidents over the years that have exasperated the police, the football authorities and the British government. In the Chinese case, large gatherings of people in public places, in circumstances that, potentially, allow violence to erupt, may also be seen as symbolic of a growing willingness to test the limits of authority. Before the matches, the arriving fans throng the streets in noisy demonstrations of support for their team; and entrances to football stadiums are carefully controlled by police who also patrol the perimeter of the pitch. As in other countries, these crowds are potential flash points of opposition to authority, to which the Chinese government is particularly sensitive. Recently, in March 2002, crowd violence erupted in the city of Xi'an in Shanxi province, when local fans, angered at the decision of the referee in awarding a late penalty, invaded the pitch. The unrest continued after the match, escalating to the burning of seats in the stadium, and setting fire to vehicles outside. The club, Shanxi Guoli, was later banned from playing their remaining home games of the 2002 season at the stadium and fined CNY100,000 (US$12,000), which, if nothing else, demonstrates a serious intent to address the problem of violence in football. Unrest on this scale is not typically associated with life in Chinese cities and there is little doubt that the issue of public order will continue to evoke a strong reaction from both the football authorities and the government.

Conclusion: into the future

The Chinese Professional Football League is now undertaking substantial restructuring in order to create a Chinese super league by the 2004 season. Over the

2002 and 2003 seasons, relegation and promotion have been limited, so that, by 2004, the structure will comprise a super league (equivalent to the English premier league), followed by a first division and second division. Teams in the super league will be expected to have net assets of CNY50 million (US$6 million) and an annual revenue of CNY30 million (US$3.6 million), backed by a track record of three consecutive years of sound financial management. Paradoxically, this restructuring of the league has resulted in the disenchantment of some fans who see it as removing (albeit temporarily) competitiveness from the games.

Other reforms to the league system include prohibiting an overseas manager from appointing a non-Chinese assistant manager, and proposals to introduce national training camps and competitions for young players under the age of thirteen, substantially increasing the opportunities for young players to play football within the school curriculum and improving access to facilities. It would seem inconceivable that football, the largest spectator sport in China, should be confined to professionals only and there is now clear evidence of the growth of the amateur game. In 2002, 'China club football' was launched, sponsored by Adidas, in conjunction with Beijing Radio Film and Television Group with the aim of creating a national amateur league; and in December of the same year, the 'China youth schools football project' was also launched. This latter scheme (backed by the German Deutsche Bank) aims to involve 6,000 schools and 6 million young players in a football training and teaching project, and is based on a similar scheme in Britain, the Schools Football Initiative. The Chinese project has been drawn up by a British company, Sino-Navigator Sports Business whose Sports Director worked for Adidas from 1996 to 1998 promoting grass-roots football in many countries. Sino-Navigator aims to develop the grass-roots game of football in China over a 15-year period by introducing substantial joint-venture capital to the potentially lucrative Chinese market.

As football develops in China, the question arises, 'Can football continue to be a role model for other Chinese sports in this period of reform?' It would seem that football in China is creating its own power structure (a large fan base, professional players and coaches, etc.) that sets it apart from those other sports also trying to move to a professional model, such as volleyball and basketball, but which attract far fewer spectators and much less media interest. This reflects the global power of football but also suggests that future reform of the Chinese sports system, led by football, is likely to be a very uneven process.

Speaking at the China Football 2000 Forum on football towards the twenty-first century, Zhang Jilong, Vice President of the CFA, suggested that China's football industry, with a history of a few years compared very favourably with that of the developed countries with a history of 100 years and that China should feel proud of its achievements (Zhang 2000). Reaching the World Cup finals showed there was justification for this pride. (It could further be argued that as national symbols of government success, the changes in the sports administration throw a considerable aura around the government's image as successful providers.)

There is little doubt that the 2002 World Cup gave an enormous boost to the status of the game in China. Having proved that progress towards world standards

in the game can be achieved, there is every incentive for correcting the problems and seeking greater success. Ma Guoli (2000) of CCTV (China's national television network) recognised that patience and determination may be required if China's football industry is to grow. He cites the need for the Chinese football administration to avoid interfering in the market, for players to temper their expectations of millionaire status, and for the Chinese media to face challenges to their monopoly. Already, football attracts extensive media coverage in a network of national and provincial television companies, in newspapers and glossy magazines and in a bewildering array of internet sites. Football may symbolise the rapidly changing face of China: the expansion of overseas influence, the surge of commercialisation, and the emergence of a leisure industry. In this context, to use the term 'changing lifestyle' in the western sense is perhaps premature, because there are many for whom change has negative connotations (e.g. unemployment), but wealthier Chinese citizens today have access to a widening domestic market and much more free time than their parents ever had.

More than most sports, professional football enjoys a wide cross-fertilisation of ideas and practices brought about by the exchange of players, managers and officials on a world-wide scale. In the early stages of development, the migration of expertise into China was through managerial and coaching appointments, and later, through middle-ranked overseas players joining Chinese clubs (limited in the number per club). The point has now been reached where Chinese players are themselves migrating to top European clubs, and China's success in reaching the 2002 World Cup finals in Korea–Japan underlines this progress. The remaining stage is for top European players from the English, German, Italian and Spanish leagues to transfer to Chinese clubs, but this may yet be some way off.

Football in China has probably passed the critical mass necessary for continued survival and future growth. Sponsorship is undoubtedly driven by commercial considerations and the domestic and transnational opportunities for this are immense in a country the size of China. As the Chinese Football Association puts in place youth schemes and as the amateur game begins to flourish, the commercial aspects grow in scale, but just as this happens, the focus may switch away from the *game* to the *business* of the game. It is this point that synthesises an understanding of the Chinese from the local, the Asian and the global perspective.

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Part II
Players and supporters of the East Asian game

5 Japanese football players and the sport talent migration business

Takahashi Yoshio and John Horne

Introduction

Discussion about globalisation and sport has taken off since the early 1990s. One aspect of this has been the migration of sports talent (Maguire 1999). A small, but growing, number of authors have undertaken sociological and historical analyses of the migration of sports talent (Bale and Maguire 1994) and a number of these have focused on football players (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001; Magee and Sugden 2002). In the 2002 World Cup, four out of the 23 players in the Japanese national team squad were 'migratory players'. In the FIFA Confederation Cup held in 2003, over one-fifth of the national team members were 'migratory'. According to a survey conducted by the national daily newspaper *Mainichi Shinbun* (2002), 71 per cent of J.League players hoped to play abroad – amongst players under the age of 21, the figure was nearly 85 per cent. In total, since the launching of the J.League in 1993, over 70 Japanese players have moved to foreign football clubs. Whilst Nakata Hidetoshi (at the time of writing, playing for Parma in Italy's Serie A) was estimated by *France Football* magazine to be the sixth best paid football player in the world (quoted in *The Guardian*, 7 May 2003: 30), to date there has been no sustained discussion of the mobility of Japanese football players in this circuit of sport labour migration.

Recently, some journalistic (Birchall 2000; Moffett 2002) and academic (Horne 1996; Takahashi 2002) accounts of football culture in Japan have appeared in print in English and Horne and Manzenreiter (2002) included accounts of the development of professional football in Korea and Japan and the political and diplomatic significance of the first co-hosted World Cup. With a few exceptions – see for example Chiba *et al.* (2001), who analysed migrant players in Japan, and Horne with Bleakley (2002) – little has been written about the internationalisation of Japanese football. This chapter thus aims to fill two small gaps in the knowledge base about Japanese football. Firstly, the chapter outlines the main themes of existing literature on football player mobility. Then, using previously unpublished data, it describes the history and geography of the migration of Japanese football players. Three time periods are identified – before the launch of the first professional football league in Japan (the J.League) in 1993, from then until the first appearance of the Japanese national team at the World Cup Finals in 1998,

and since 1998. Two broad sets of factors are shown to have influenced Japanese footballer migration: socio-cultural factors and structural factors. The chapter concludes by raising issues with the football player migration literature.

The migration of sports labourers

Bale and Maguire (1994) were amongst the first to undertake and systematically organise writing on the migration of athletic talent. Their collection of papers exhibited a range of conceptual tools and theoretical frameworks to study the migration of athletes. More recently, social historians have focused on the international migration of football players. Lanfranchi and Taylor (2001: 1) note that from 'the very start of the game, men have moved across national borders and from city to city, to play football'. Arguably, Scottish professionals were the earliest 'international' migrants as they were lured south to England by the professional contracts on offer after 1885 (the Scottish Football Association did not permit professionalism until 1893). From their detailed historical survey, Lanfranchi and Taylor discern three main types of football migrant: the itinerant, the mercenary and the settler. Each has been stimulated to move by three main factors: economic crises and national financial weakness; the existence of semi-professional or unpaid amateur opportunities only; and the attraction of European leagues that can offer unrivalled lucrative contracts. The first set of ('push') factors helps to explain inward migration to European, and since 1993, Japan's professional leagues, but not outward migration from Japan. The second set of factors (also 'push') relate to the situation in many Scandinavian countries, Japan before 1993 and, as we have just mentioned, Scotland a century earlier. The third set of 'pull' factors has meant that in the 1990s 'Serie A, the Premier Liga and the (English) Premiership have become the football equivalent of Silicon valley' (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001: 5).

Lanfranchi and Taylor acknowledge that the expansion of football in East and South-East Asia has extended the labour market in recent years. They write 'Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and even China have all started to admit foreign players and have reciprocated by sending their best talent abroad' (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001: 12). They state that Japan offers a particularly interesting case study in the light of the government's opposition to foreign labour. They note that 'Non-nationals had played as amateurs in Japanese football for some years but it was the acceptance of full-time professionals, and the creation of the J.League in 1993, which encouraged the influx of migrant footballers' (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001: 12–13). Missing from their study, however, is more detailed consideration of the mobility of Japanese players themselves. In this chapter we will attempt to estimate the true extent of Japanese football player mobility.

The recent history and geography of Japanese footballer migration

The data to be discussed in this section were collected primarily from websites and the print media (newspapers, magazines and books) mainly published in Japanese. In particular, we found the website (http://liquid.s27.xrea.com/josfp/), which dealt with Japanese players who played abroad and gave almost a full account about Japanese overseas football players, most useful. The bulk of the data relates to players who competed for clubs in the top divisions then existing in Japan. Data for players before 1993 therefore refers to those who played for the Japan Soccer League (JSL) company teams. It also includes a few high school, university and in one exceptional case (Mizushima) elementary school students. We include these as they are indicative of a possibly distinctive Japanese type of migrant football player, which we discuss in our conclusion. We obtained the permission of the administrators of that website to use their data for this study. We also corroborated these data by checking other Internet websites – such as those that were written by a player or a player's agent – and through interviews with key informants.

FIFA regulations governing the status and transfer of players state that an amateur or non-amateur player who has become eligible to play for a club affiliated to a national football association may not be registered with a club affiliated to another national association unless the latter has received an international registration transfer certificate issued by the national association which the player wishes to leave. The national football associations concerned must publish the international transfer certificate for any migrating player. Unfortunately, Japanese Football Association (JFA) official data was not available for analysis in this study. In the light of criticisms that have been made of some earlier writing on athletic talent migration, we also attempted to interview Japanese players who play abroad, especially in Europe. Direct interviews were not possible, but we obtained 'third party' information from key actors involved in the process of player migration – a senior FIFA official, Japan Football Association staff, a lawyer and a football agent – who all wished to remain anonymous.

Our database covers the period 1975 to mid-2003 and accounts for a total of 107 cases of migration. Some players appear several times but the database demonstrates, we believe for the first time in English, that a substantial number of Japanese football players have been 'moving with the ball' for several decades (Table 5.1). We have organised our material into three time periods. These correspond to the years before and after the launch of professional football in Japan and the growth of the internationalisation of football.

'Seeds': before the launching of the J.League (up to 1992)

The first period is prior to the launching of professional football in Japan in 1993. This period saw the first steps into serious international football for Japan. After the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964, Sugiyama Rykūchi received an offer of

Table 5.1 Japanese football players 'moving with the ball' 1975–2003

Period	*Example of players / country / club*
'Seeds' pre-1992	Mizushima Musashi / Brazil / São Paulo FC
	Okudera Yasuhiko / Germany / 1. FC Köln
	Miura Kazuyoshi / Brazil / Juventus
'Shoots' 1993–7	Miura Kazuyoshi / Italy / Genoa
	Ogura Takafumi / Netherlands / Excelsior
	Nishizawa Akinori / Netherlands / FC Volendam
	Yamaguchi Takayuki / Brazil / Coritiba
	Fukazawa Masahiro / Argentina / River Plate
	Kinoshita Kei / USA / Seattle Sounders
	Nii Hidemoto / France / Racing Club de France
'Fruit' since 1998	Nakata Hidetoshi / Italy / Perugia
	Nakamura Shunsuke / Italy / Reggina Calcio
	Ono Shinji / Netherlands / Feyenoord Rotterdam
	Takahara Naohiro / Germany / Hamburger SV
	Toda Kazuyuki / England / Tottenham Hotspur
	Inamoto Junichi / England / Fulham
	Hiroyama Nozomu / France / Montpellier HSC
	Zaizen Nobuyuki / Croatia / HNK Rijeka
	Matsubara Yoshika / Uruguay / Peñarol
	Kawamura Takahiro / Argentina / River Plate
	Takeda Nobuhiro / Paraguay / Sportivo Luqueño
	Maezono Masakiyo / Korea / Anyang LG Cheetahs
	Fujiyoshi Shinji / China / Chengdu Wuniu
	Miyazawa Hiroshi / Australia / Canberra Cosmos FC

US$200,000 from a foreign club. After the Mexico Olympic Games four years later, at which the Japanese Olympic football team defeated Nigeria, France and Mexico and gained the bronze medal, Kamamoto Kunishige got offers from some European clubs (Nakata 2001: 145–6). But both refused these requests (Moffett 2002: 15). At that time the Japan Football Association would not accept player migration on the grounds that the national football league would have fallen even more in popularity if their best players had gone abroad (Nakata 2001: 145–6). Before 1986 in Japan there was no opportunity to become a professional player, and so if they played as a professional in a foreign country, they would find it impossible to return to Japan to play football. As Nogawa and Maeda (1999) have noted:

> Transferring between teams and from one company to another was prohibited unless the company terminated the team. This prohibition seemed to be rooted in the deeper unwritten code that employees had to be loyal to one company throughout their life. Switching jobs was strongly discouraged as it was seen as disloyal conduct.
>
> (Nogawa and Maeda 1999: 224)

Although he was only a 10-year-old trainee who joined a football camp in Brazil in 1975, Mizushima Musashi has some claim to be considered the first Japanese footballer playing abroad. Pele, arguably the most famous player in the world, had a hand in his going abroad. As a child Mizushima dreamt of becoming a football star, so the JFA and the 'deep unwritten code' could not deter him from going. He enrolled with the junior team of São Paulo FC and signed a contract with the senior team in 1984. In 1987 he moved to Portuguesa and returned to Japan in 1989. His career served as the model for 'Ōzora Tsubasa' who became the central character in the famous football manga (comic book) *Captain Tsubasa*.

Whilst it was quite difficult for the best players in Japan to move abroad to *play* football professionally at this stage, there was a chance for company players to *study* football abroad. For example, Hitachi Limited sent their better company players to Palmeiras in Brazil and Furukawa Electric Company sent some of their players to West Ham in England. Okudera Yasuhiko who worked for Furukawa Electric Company also had experience in Palmeiras before moving to (West) Germany. In Okudera's case, there was a connection between the president of a Furukawa-related company in São Paulo and the chairman of Palmeiras. It was 1977 before Okudera, by then a member of the national team, became the first top-flight Japanese player to play professionally abroad. As a national team member he went on a training tour to West Germany and 1. FC Köln recruited him. At the height of their influence in West German football, Köln went on to achieve the league and cup 'double' the season after Okudera joined them. Following Köln, he moved to Hertha BSC Berlin and then Werder Bremen. In 1986, after nine seasons, he returned to Japan. He had been accepted in the top German football league, the Bundesliga and played a total of 235 games, scoring 25 goals in nine years. He was nicknamed the 'Oriental computer' by the German football magazine *Kicker*,[1] but news about his success was rarely reported on Japanese TV.

After Okudera, three more players moved to European countries and 15 players migrated to South American countries to play football before 1993 (see Figure 5.1). Three of the players moving to Europe had played for a company club[2] and two of them had experience of being a national team member. They moved to clubs in West Germany or Holland as first team members and their average age when they moved was less than 22 years. Most of the players who moved to South American countries, on the other hand, were teenagers and they joined a youth team and underwent training. The numbers increased after 1988 and one of the reasons given for this was the positive experience of the pioneers, especially Mizushima and Miura Kazuyoshi, who had a book about his experience in Brazil published in 1987. Following Okudera's return to Japan in 1986, the Japan Football Association altered the prohibition on non-amateur players that enabled him to play in the Japan Soccer League. Thereafter it became possible to make a livelihood as a professional player in Japan and the dream of becoming a professional player could come true for talented teenagers.

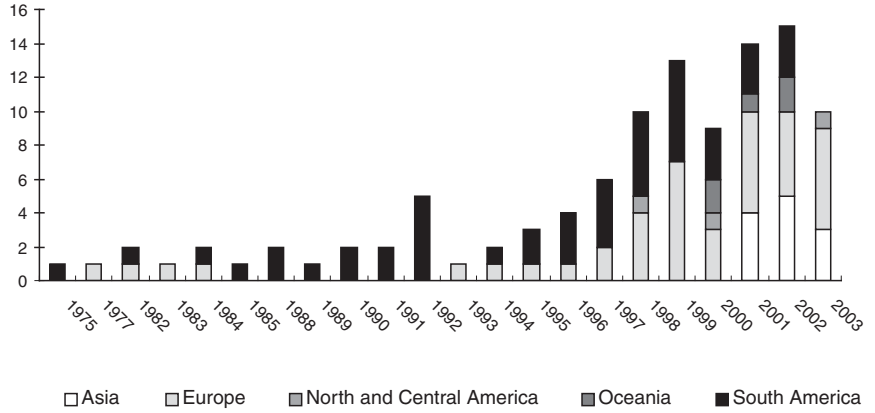

Figure 5.1 Annual numbers of Japanese football players moving abroad, 1975–2003

'Shoots': before qualifying for the 1998 World Cup (1993 to 1997)

The second distinctive period we identify is from 1993 to 1997, that is, before the national team had ever qualified for the 1998 World Cup Finals. After the J.League was launched, there was a massive improvement in the quality of Japanese football and football-related business in Japan took off (for more details see Horne 1996). The reputation of Japanese players in the world remained low, however. The Japanese national team failed to qualify for the 1994 World Cup Finals (after the 'tragedy of Doha') and despite the launch of the J.League the fact remained that the national team had never appeared at the World Cup Finals.

Following his experiences as a trainee, Miura became a professional player in Brazil. When he eventually returned to Japan he became the first Japanese star of the J.League. After his rise to stardom in Japan he tried to develop as an international player in Italy (with Genoa). However, his trial in Italy was not so successful. Additionally, because he attracted a Japanese sponsor (Kenwood) to the club, there were some suggestions that he moved there not on the basis of his ability but because of the money power of the sponsor. The foreign club certainly noticed that there was a beneficial financial relationship between merchandising, TV rights, sponsors and the Japanese player's transfer.

After 1993, there were many examples of young professional players migrating to train and gain experience abroad, such as Ogura Takafumi and Nishizawa Akinori. Both of them went to study football in Holland. Another player, Yamaguchi Takayuki, went to Brazil.

During this second period, a total of 16 players moved to foreign clubs (six European, 10 South American). The connection between J.League and foreign clubs was, however, still relatively weak and restrictive. Most of these players, except Miura, were young players (average age 20) and they could not get into the first team squad of their J.League clubs, so they were sent to foreign clubs to study football.

Two distinctive cases are Kinoshita Kei and Nii Hidemoto who played for Japan Football League (JFL) clubs (i.e. a mixture of company and would-be professional clubs in two divisions). Both players left for fresh fields overseas before their clubs were promoted to the J.League. Kinoshita joined Seattle Sounders in the new football league launched in the USA after the 1994 World Cup and Nii joined Racing Club de France in 1996.

'Fruits': after qualifying for the World Cup Finals (1998 and since)

The national team qualified for the 1998 World Cup and the reputation of Japanese international players grew as a result, especially as FIFA had already decided that the 2002 World Cup would be co-hosted by Korea and Japan. The number of migrant Japanese players increased massively year by year. To August 2003, there had been 71 instances. The trend during this period was for increasing numbers of Japanese players to go to European and Asian clubs.

To date, Nakata Hidetoshi has probably had the most successful migration experience abroad of all the Japanese football players. Following his transfer to Perugia in Italy he got two goals in his debut game against Juventus and has developed his reputation as an international class player. His playing and business success led other players toward contemplating migration. In addition, new connections between J.League and foreign clubs have been established. Some foreigners who used to be J.League club coaches or players have gone back to their home country and invited Japanese players to migrate to clubs there. The development and extension of this transfer link shows another dimension of the network of the football business in operation.

In the context of this expansion, increased migration to other Asian and Oceanic countries can also be explained. The Singapore professional football league, the S.League, was launched in 1996, and the Chinese professional football league, the C.League, was started in 1994. In the C.League, because of rapid Chinese economic development, there have been many investments related to the football business. Many of the Japanese players who moved to Asian clubs were those whose contracts expired with J.League clubs. Their average age was 26 years and most of them had already reached their playing peak. For example, Miyazawa Hiroshi was invited to Australia by an Australian club manager who used to be the head coach of a J.League club and was then invited to New Zealand by Wynton Rufer, a former team-mate at a J.League club.

Of the 107 cases of migration in our database covering 1975–2003, 25 involved national team members (see Figure 5.1). Some of these (such as Nakata, Nakamura Shunsuke, Ono Shinji, Takahara Naohiro, Hiroyama Nozomu, Toda Kazuyuki and Inamoto Junichi) have played for leading clubs as a full member of the first team squad. In the cases of the players who had been national team players, almost two-thirds of them moved to European countries and one-third migrated to South American clubs. Only one player moved within Asia – to a K-League (Korean) club. Those that have never been national team members showed a different tendency: 52.9 per cent of these players moved to South America, 19.1 per cent

moved to Europe, 16.2 per cent moved to Asia and 11.8 per cent moved to other areas. This data suggests that only the better players moved to European clubs and others – for example, those whose contract expired with a J.League club – moved to Asia, Oceania and South or North America.

In sum, during the 28 years covered by our database shifts have occurred in the geographical spread of Japanese football players moving with the ball. During the first phase, 16 of the 20 players went to South American clubs. In the second phase, 10 went to South America and six went to European league clubs. In the third phase, since 1998, 20 Japanese players have transferred to South American sides, whilst 31 have moved to Europe, 12 to Asian clubs, five to Oceania clubs and three to North and Central American leagues. The decline in player migration to South America can probably be explained by the economic instability of the football-playing countries in the continent. The expansion of Japanese player mobility to European leagues reflects the benefits of exposure on the world stage afforded by World Cup Finals qualification. Movement of players to Asian leagues indicates the 'footballisation' of Asian societies, a phenomenon that is explored throughout this book. From this largely quantitative description, we turn in the next section to a consideration of qualitative explanations for Japanese player migration.

Influences on Japanese football player migration

Socio-cultural influences

In our data, we can identify several different motivations for playing abroad. Young players who migrate, but who have never been national team members, do so mostly for training purposes. Most of them join a foreign club for only one season and return to Japan. For older players, moving abroad is a more risky decision. They may already have been a member of the national team, receive a large salary and be assured of a high status if they remain in Japan. Despite their social position, they may have an ambition to rise in the world of football. Hence as Toda stated after his move to Spurs:

> Nothing is guaranteed for me here, of course, I have a lot of hard work to do, but I may never get this chance again, so it was something I had to do. I would have had big regrets if I had turned down the offer from Tottenham.
> (Tottenham Hotspur 2003: 11)

Another important factor influencing the player is the degree to which he feels that there is a great deal of enthusiasm from the foreign club concerned to secure a contract with him. Okudera said that the most important factor for him in his decision to go to Germany was the strong encouragement he received from the manager of 1. FC Köln (Nakata 2001: 145–7). Nakamura also mentioned the same point[3] when describing his move to Reggina Calcio in Italy.

Nakata presents a slightly different case. In her book about him, Komatsu noted that:

> many Japanese migrants chase a dream to succeed in international football, but Nakata Hidetoshi never cherished that dream. He said that playing abroad is just one of the options.
>
> (Komatsu 2000: 54–5)

Later she added that:

> Nakata said that he did not want be a person who knew only football and he did not want to narrow his world.
>
> (Komatsu 2000: 218)

Before he finally moved to Italy, Nakata had begun to feel that the Japanese media did not represent him accurately. One statement by him reported in the *Asahi Shinbun* led to right-wing threats being sent to his club and the Japan Football Association. He felt that he could not go to his own home and had to stay in a hotel for three months. It was this, amongst other things, that convinced him to move to a foreign club.

Players who move abroad have to adapt to a new foreign culture environment. As the manager of Tottenham, Glenn Hoddle, said about new signing Toda:

> When you come to a new country it is always difficult to settle in to a new club with new team-mates, management and way of thinking … That is often the case when you move within Europe. So, when you come from Japan it is completely different and he is going to need some time to settle.
>
> (Tottenham Hotspur 2003: 15)

Obviously, Japanese is the dominant language in the J.League, so Japanese players must learn a new language if they move abroad. Nakata began learning Italian from a private teacher before leaving Japan. Other players often describe their foreign language development on their websites. Nakata commented as follows:

> Basically, if a player cannot stand life overseas, he would not be able to play football either. Unless he can adjust to foreign living, he will not bring his full ability into play.
>
> (Nakata 2001: 25)

Nakata has commented that positive and sometimes aggressive self-assertion is the most important characteristic in playing abroad. Even though he was a top Japanese player, Nakata often felt initially that fellow players did not pass the ball to him (Nakata 2001: 28). Zaizen Nobuyuki, who moved to Italy and Croatia,

said in an interview that he found it really difficult to blend in with the foreign life. He sometimes felt that others had an unfriendly attitude, held Japanese players in low regard and believed that the Japanese must be bad football players.[4] Possibly as a result of this treatment, some Japanese players have expressed a preference for being 'itinerant'. Hiroyama left the J.League and to date has moved to Paraguay, Brazil, Portugal and France. He wrote on his website (http://nozomi-web.com/) that whenever he had the chance he chose the 'way of a migrant'. He was not too concerned with fitting into any particular country's football playing style.

Finally, in the 1990s it has been suggested that new attitudes toward work have emerged in Japan. The deep, unwritten, code (noted by Nogawa and Maeda 1999) preventing employees from aspiring to transfer to new jobs, underpinned by the lifetime employment system, may have begun to be challenged. According to a national survey by the Cabinet Office (2002), 20- to 30-year-olds have begun to think that the purpose of their job is firstly to get money but secondly to develop their talents to the full. The welfare and labour white paper published by the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2002) has also noted that amongst the young generation (under 30 years old), the sense of obligation to their company is substantially weaker than in previous decades. This shift in cultural attitude and work ethic may also be one of the factors encouraging Japanese football players to seek work abroad. However, important as attention to players' own accounts of their motivations for 'moving with the ball' is, it is arguable that a full explanation for the growth of Japanese football migration in the past decade cannot ignore structural and institutional developments that have enabled them to do so. It is to these that we now turn.

Structural and institutional influences

As Lanfranchi and Taylor (2001) noted, a number of different social factors have historically underpinned the migration of football players. In the case of the growth of the migration of Japanese players, the permission to play football as a professional in 1986 and the starting of professional football in 1993 were crucial institutional factors. The establishment of official FIFA-approved football agents in Japan since 1998 has given Japanese player migration a further boost. The J.League itself established a system of studying abroad and some young players, for example Kawamura Takahiro and Fukazawa Masahiro, moved to foreign clubs under this scheme, a form of apprenticeship. From the outset of the J.League there was also encouragement to play abroad from Kawabuchi Saburō, the President of the Japan Football Association, although he also said that he was going to restrict the numbers of young players moving abroad.[5] Finally, on the demand side, after the Bosman Judgement in 1995, European clubs could not fully restrict the number of overseas players. The European Court introduced freedom of contract and brought an end to the foreign player quota systems in most European Community countries. Therefore, the opportunity to move to European clubs increased, and this regulatory change has undoubtedly influenced player migration.

Despite these developments, in many respects our analysis concurs with that

of McGovern (2002). The football labour market in different societies is deeply embedded in, and thus influenced by, specific economic, historical and social determinants. Whether one views the contemporary football labour market as an example of globalisation or internationalisation therefore depends upon the degree of functional integration of foreign player recruitment into the strategies of football clubs. His argument is applicable to many Japanese football players migrating to foreign clubs. Some Japanese players are undoubtedly effective players for their clubs, because they have the same abilities to play football as others. One additional bonus many of them bring, however, is the ability to attract money and commercial business from Japan. Japanese capital has been invested in international football since at least the beginning of the 1980s when FIFA announced that Tokyo could host the Toyota sponsored European/South American Cup (or world club championship). Since the launching of the J.League, even more Japanese companies have become aware of the commercial opportunities generated by international football. Japanese companies have invested in football as a means of advertising their goods and services to an international market. At the same time, heightened interest in the performance of Japanese players abroad has accelerated competition between domestic broadcasters over television rights for European football, and stimulated spin-off industries such as sports tourism.

Once again, the careers of Miura and Nakata are instructive. Miura brought Japanese company money to his host clubs and Nakata merchandise enjoyed very good sales amongst his Japanese fans. As the Serie A gained Japanese money from TV rights, an economic windfall surrounded Nakata in his early days in Italy:

> According to newspaper reports, 500,000 Perugia shirts bearing his name and his No. 7 were being shipped to Japan for fans following his progress.
> (Horne with Bleakley 2002: 125)

Whilst McGovern (2002: 39) notes that football labour markets have been 'expanding along different international patterns that have national elements', it is noticeable that (with the exception of Arsenal and Spurs in North London, explicable through the links with Arsene Wenger and Steve Perryman/Ossie Ardiles respectively) it has not been the Premiership elite in England who have actively sought to secure Japanese footballers. Like other extension strategies, the recruitment of Japanese players has been driven more by the logic of commercialisation than internationalisation. Increasingly, football clubs in mature soccer cultures have recognised the economic benefits that Japanese (and in some cases Chinese) players can bring to them – referred to as the 'Nakata syndrome' by some observers (Hamilton 2000). Whether the 'Nakata syndrome' becomes an institutionalised feature of European football club financial strategies, however, remains to be seen.

Horne and Bleakley (2002: 126) have suggested that a problem for some Japanese players might be that the financial return for playing abroad would be small compared with staying in Japan. They suggested that the reason why some

players were prepared to accept a drop in salary could be explained by their ambition to play football abroad, as a test of their own abilities and to perform better as a national team member. This appears to be different from the situation that McGovern (2002) mentioned for players from Ireland, Scotland and, more recently, Scandinavia, that 'English clubs have always offered the prospect of a full-time career, higher wages, and better conditions than those available at home'. We now know that in certain cases – Nakata, Ono and Nakamura for example – the move to a European club (eventually) led to higher salaries than they received in the J.League.

McGovern (2002) also notes that Britain's political history and its colonial past cannot be ignored in explaining the patterns of player migration to England. In the Japanese case, historical connections also help to explain why so many players have gone to South American countries. Many Japanese migrated for economic reasons in the first half of the 20th century. Matsubara Yoshika said in an interview that it was because he had relatives in Argentina and an interest in the Spanish language that he could move to Uruguay readily.[6] Another player, Takeda Nobuhiro,[7] also said that an attraction of his move was that he had many opportunities to meet with Japanese–Paraguayans and get invited to their parties! The support of former Japanese migrants for new football migrants can therefore be viewed as invaluable.

In addition, as McGovern (2002) notes, more recently established social ties and networks are also important factors influencing why certain countries and clubs attract migrant players. Former foreign players or managers who worked in Japan have encouraged Japanese players to migrate. Toda was asked about the influence of his former J.League club coach, Steve Perryman, on his decision to sign for Tottenham and said:

> I didn't make the decision to join Tottenham just because Steve was supporting me, but he gave me a lot of advice and I am very grateful for that. I was very happy when Steve was my coach at S-Pulse and he has told me a lot about the history and tradition of Tottenham Hotspur.
>
> (Tottenham Hotspur 2003: 9)

In some South American countries, on the other hand, a system for educating Japanese players who want to study football has developed. Zico, a former Brazilian captain, Kashima Antlers player and, at the time of writing, the Japanese national team coach, established a football club – Centro De Futbol Zico Do Rio (CFZ DO RIO) – in Brazil. Several young players with Kashima, such as Suzuki Takayuki, Abe Toshiyuki, Ikeuchi Tomohiko, Hirase Tomoyuki and Nozawa Takuya, also played at this club for a short time. A similar situation has recently developed in Singapore, where a Japanese company branch in Singapore has actively promoted the migration of players.[8]

Discussion: can we place Japanese football migration into existing typologies?

Sociologists of sport who have written on football labour migration have tended to either develop or respond to the work of Maguire (Maguire 1999; Maguire and Stead 1998; Maguire and Pearton 2000; Magee and Sugden 2002). Like Lanfranchi and Taylor, there has been an attempt to produce typologies of football labour migrants. Four aspects of this writing stand out. First, it tends to focus on the cultural, rather than the economic determinants of football player migration. Second, it tends to focus on football migration to and from Britain, especially the English professional league. Third, the data on which the material is based tends to be drawn from the print media – football compendia, magazines and newspaper articles – although there are some studies that also use interviews (see Magee and Sugden 2002, who make this a criticism of Maguire's work). Fourth, whilst the end result of much of this writing has been the production of typologies related to the pulls and pushes on players – that is accounts of the motivations of sportsmen in travelling for work – the purpose of these typologies is not always clear.

As we have noted, Lanfranchi and Taylor (2001) produced a three-part typology ('settler', 'mercenary' and 'itinerant'). Maguire (1999: 99–107 especially) had earlier used the first two of these but also added the figures of the 'nomadic cosmopolitan', the 'pioneer' and the 'returnee' in place of the 'itinerant'. Developing Maguire's typology yet further, Magee and Sugden (2002) identify six types of migration to English league football. They include the mercenary, the settler, and the nomadic cosmopolitan, but further differentiate between the 'ambitionist', the 'exile', and the 'expelled'. Drawing upon our database of Japanese player mobility, it is clear that whilst some Japanese cases fit in to these typologies, some do not. We will briefly discuss some of our findings with reference to the most comprehensive and recent, Magee and Sugden (2002), typology.

The *mercenary* is the migrant who is motivated, above all else, by earning capacity and thus has moved to English football for the associated economic reward (Magee and Sugden 2002: 429). Japanese players, in most cases, do not discuss their annual salary and their desire for wealth. However, as in Nakata's case, remuneration for their talent is clearly one of the reasons for their migration. The *settler* is someone who has moved to English football and remained in England for a sustained period: four or five seasons or more (Magee and Sugden 2002: 431). In the case of the top Japanese migrant players, most of them have been apt to return to Japan after only one season. The vast majority of Japanese players who have moved to Europe and South America have been on loan, rather than full registration contracts, and have therefore had the safety net of a home-club back in Japan. In any case, many of those who travelled to South America aimed at developing their football skills, and did not intend to stay there for a long period of time.

The *ambitionist* category has three elements. First, there is someone who simply has the strong desire to achieve a professional football career (anywhere). Second, there is the player who moves to English football because he has a high preference

for playing there rather than elsewhere. Third, the ambitionist can also be considered as someone who has the desire to improve his career by moving to a better quality league (Magee and Sugden 2002: 431). Many Japanese players expressed their desire to play abroad. For example, Nakamura said, 'I have had the desire to play in a top European league for a long time'.[9] Many of our Japanese cases can be said to fit into this category.

The *exile* is someone who, for football-related, personal or political reasons (either voluntarily or through domestic threats to his career, his liberty or his life), opts to leave his country of origin to play abroad (Magee and Sugden 2002: 432). In some of the Japanese cases where a player moved to an Asian country, Oceania, North, Central or South America, they migrated in order to continue to play football because they were refused a contract for the following season. Takeda, who moved to Paraguay, said he got an invitation from an acquaintance who used be a J.League player. As he did not have the chance to be a member of the first team at home, he faced a critical situation and decided to go to Paraguay. After he was threatened by the right wing in Japan, Nakata's decision to leave the country can also be viewed under this category.

The *nomadic cosmopolitan* is someone who, throughout his senior playing career, is motivated by a desire to experience different nations and cultures, particularly in major world cities (Magee and Sugden 2002: 432). Although the cities that he moved to are not 'world' cities, Hiroyama fits this category. He lived in countries such as Paraguay, Brazil, Portugal and France. He enjoyed living in different countries. Nakata also transferred three times and has lived in Perugia, Roma and Parma.

Magee and Sugden's sixth category, the *expelled*, refers to a player who is, in effect, forced to migrate to England, for example, after expulsion by the football authorities. A combination of behaviour problems and high media exposure made it virtually impossible for them to continue to play professionally in their home league. Again Nakata's case could be considered to fit this. Although the Japanese Football Association never expelled him, he personally felt that he had been expelled by a section of the football media.

Our data revealed several kinds of Japanese football migration, most of which conform to earlier typologies. Few Japanese could be described as *settlers* – moving abroad completely and for a long period of time. Even since 1998 most have gone on temporary loan contracts to foreign clubs. It is clear, however, that further analysis can reveal other lines of differentiation than those previously identified. Many of the Japanese migrants have been young trainees (between 15 and 20 years old). Some did not receive a positive report from a J.League scout, so they pursued their dreams elsewhere. These players tend to go to South American or occasionally European clubs. Japanese players know that Europe and South America are the core football areas and have the best information and recruitment networks.

Whilst previous attempts to typologise migrant football players have focused on 'those who migrated with the intention of earning a living playing football' (Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001: 6), we would suggest that a distinctive feature of

much Japanese football migration in the past 30 years has been the intention of experiencing life in a nation in which there is a fully developed soccer culture. Many mobile Japanese football players have been looking to taste, experiment, and serve a kind of football apprenticeship with a club in an established league in Europe and (especially before the late 1990s) South America. If there is a specifically distinctive Japanese football migrant type it might be the *taster*. Kamamoto may have laid down the origins of this taster approach in 1968 when he spent two months in West Germany prior to the Mexico Olympic Games on the recommendation of JFA officials. There are many more cases of *tasting* outside of our database. This category includes young and older football players who want to experience life in a mature football culture, as well as amateur football players and what might be called football *obsessives*, known in Japanese as *mania* ('football-maniacs' or 'football-freaks'). In the light of our findings in researching Japanese football migration to date, further comparative research into this category of non-professional football migrant is needed, as is research into the migration of Japanese coaches and women football players.

Conclusion

Amongst the many factors that have transformed the movement of football players in the past three decades have been:

- technological improvements in transportation and communication,
- the growth of the numbers of actors and institutions facilitating mobility (agents, national and supra-national football and non-football organisations),
- the expansion of FIFA (to 204 members by 2004),
- the expansion of television coverage of football (as increasingly it becomes valuable 'entertainment content'),
- the end of the 'Cold War' and the collapse of state socialism which led to the opening up of borders, and
- in the European Union, the Bosman Judgement that laid the basis for greater internationalisation of European league football.

This collection adds a further specific feature to the list:

- the 'footballisation' of East Asia (the growth in national professional football leagues – the J.League, the S.League, the C.League and before that the K-League).

In this chapter, we have attempted to undertake a preliminary analysis of data derived from a unique database detailing the mobility of Japanese football players since 1975. We have noted that previous writing on migrant football players has tended to focus on cultural rather than economic determinants, and migration to and from Britain, especially English professional leagues. Whether the focus is on socio-cultural or structural influences, it can be argued that economic determinants

of professional sports labour mobility remain centrally important. From a socio-cultural perspective Lanfranchi and Taylor (2001: 4) acknowledged 'the motives of football migrants have mainly been economic'. More structurally, Klein (1994: 198) noted 'Labour migration most often takes place as a response to lack of economic opportunity … or competing capitalist interests open new labour markets elsewhere'.

Before 1993 and the launch of the J.League, the Japanese situation was one of a weak football infrastructure. This did not lead to widespread player migration, however, because of the influence of the amateur tradition in Japanese sport and the incorporation of football into the corporate sport system. In addition, football was not the nation's culturally central team sport (in this respect, analysis of the migration of Japanese baseball players to Major League baseball in the USA would provide an instructive comparison with football and we hope to pursue this in another article). Since 1993 Japanese football players have increasingly begun to follow Japanese sponsors (capital) to European and South American league clubs and likewise Japanese capital has begun to follow players (through the emergent sports tourism business, for example). Increasingly, football clubs in mature soccer cultures have recognised the economic benefits that Japanese (and in some case Chinese) players can bring to them. But it is notable that most Japanese and other football players from East Asia are hired on loan rather than full registration contracts. Football clubs operate risk-averse strategies. Rather than providing evidence of a global labour market in football therefore, as McGovern (2002) suggests, we find confirmation that employer strategies in national football labour markets, whilst internationalised, continue to determine who gets recruited by which clubs and why.

Notes

1 (http://web.ffn.ne.jp/~mitsue_favorite/reading/football_columns/030318.html).
2 Kazama Yahiro joined a football club supported by a local company just before moving to Germany – if he had remained attached to his university club, since it was an amateur team, there would not have been a transfer fee involved (http://home.att.ne.jp/blue/supportista/kanda/kanda18/kanda18_2.htm).
3 He mentioned this decision on his official website (http://shunsuke.com/message/20020704.htm).
4 (http://www.soccer-m.ne.jp/interview/859/index_02.html).
5 (http://www.jfa.or.jp/news/news200109.html) (http://www.sanspo.com/soccer/top/st200207/st2002071003.html).
6 Interview with Matsubara Yoshika in Japanese (http://www2.saver.ne.jp/~gogo/oversea/story1_b.htm).
7 A Paraguayan club manager who used to play in the J.League invited him to Paraguay.
8 About 30,000 Japanese are living in Singapore and one of the S.League clubs has a Japanese executive (http://www.enpitu.ne.jp/usr/bin/day?id=3928andpg=20020429).
9 (http://shunsuke.com/message/index.htm).

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6 Football 'hooligans' and football supporters' culture in China

Tan Hua

Introduction

Eric Dunning and colleagues (2002a) have recently published fourteen accounts of 'fighting fans' from around the world. Whilst the compilation includes one chapter about fans in Japan (Takahashi 2002), there was little discussion of football in China or Korea. In this respect, the following survey offers a chapter missing from the Dunning *et al*. collection. Since the 1980s Chinese professional football has developed tremendously, but the quantity and intensity of football-related social disorder, especially the visibility of football hooliganism, has also increased. In this chapter, I will analyse accounts of social disorder and other incidents of football hooliganism against the wider background of Chinese society and culture in order to understand better its distinctive characteristics. This chapter thus provides one of the first detailed analyses of Chinese football hooliganism and football supporters' culture in the English language.

Hooliganism around the world

Three of the co-editors of *Fighting Fans* usefully outline four reasons why football hooliganism – or to use less journalistic language, fighting and crowd disorder at football matches – retains great topicality after more than three decades of academic research into it. First, there remain considerable theoretical and methodological divergences over its explanation. Second, and as a result of the first point, understanding of the social and psychological roots of football hooliganism remains low, amongst policy makers as well as academic researchers and members of the public. Third, football-related crowd disorder has not been effectively curtailed. As each new season comes around and as the countdown starts toward one or other of the football mega-events (especially the UEFA European Nations Championship and the FIFA World Cup Finals), the media remind us how much football-related disorder remains a feature of the game. Fourth, and most instructive for my purposes, is the fact that Dunning and his collaborators consider that the investigation of hooliganism beyond Europe, where it has been most rigorously investigated by social scientists, can provide 'fresh insights' (Dunning *et al*. 2002b: 218) into the phenomenon. This chapter therefore sets out to provide an outline

of some of the salient features of hooliganism in Chinese football. It is hoped that the fresh data and analysis of it will contribute to the wider understanding of hooliganism as a truly universal phenomenon. However, it should be clear that there is a need for continuing research into one of the world's newest and potentially largest professional football markets.

The media and the growth of sports culture in China

Since the late 1970s, Beijing Television, now renamed China Central Television (CCTV) has broadcast some important international sports programmes. Commercial sponsorship of programmes has seen an enormous increase in the range of sports televised on Chinese TV. This has included Italian and British football, Kodak's sponsorship of the 1994 Asian Games, Honda's backing of the 1992 European Football Championships, Motorola Pager's World Cup Highlights and Chivas Whiskey's financing of the Wimbledon Tennis championships (Huang and Green 2000: 279).

Meanwhile, the number of Chinese families owning television sets has increased considerably (see Table 6.1). Television ownership was estimated at 300 million by 1997, and Huang and Green (2000: 273) suggest that 'television viewers in total probably surpassed the one billion market (sic)' in 1998. Both factors have made more people pay greater attention to sports. The potentially enormous Chinese football fan community – some estimate 150 million football fans – has been shaped gradually, but the number of violent events has also increased steadily.

A brief overview of crowd disorder in Chinese football

Compared with the crazy scenes at many occidental football matches, Chinese spectators have usually been quite introverted and restrained. Generally, before the 1980s, there was almost no large-scale reporting of football hooliganism. From the 1950s to the 1970s, sports-related social disorder did not occur often, probably because many of the spectators at selected matches and events had been instructed by the government to attend.

Chinese football fan associations emerged as a result of the national team's involvement in important international matches. For example on 19 May 1985, during a qualifying round match for the World Cup, the Beijing-based fans took part in what Zhang Bin, football producer with CCTV 5, described as the most serious riot in Chinese football history.[1] After the China team was defeated by

Table 6.1 Chinese families owning television sets in the 1980s (millions)

1980	*1981*	*1985*	*1986*	*1987*	*1988*	*1989*	*1990*
5.21	10.59	49.68	64.09	83.14	107.68	134.01	158.37

Source: Tong 2000: 37–8

Hong Kong (1:2), the fans from Beijing gathered around the Chinese national team hotel over-night and smashed 28 cars belonging to foreign diplomats and reporters. The police arrested 127 troublemakers. Five of them were subsequently sentenced and jailed for up to two and a half years (Dong and Mangan 2001: 90). The 'May 19th event' not only led the head coach of the team to step down (Zeng 2002), but also saw the birth of the earliest football fan organisations in China. These included Shenyang Football Fans Association (June 1986), the Chongqing Football Fans Association (September 1986), the An Shan Football Fans Association (1986), and the Chengdu Football Fans Association (April 1987). Since then fan associations have been founded in cities with league teams (Jia A and B) and even a few cities with no team at all (for a brief description of the structure of Chinese football see Jones' Chapter in this volume). These associations almost all undertake the same activities, such as organising travel for fans to cheer on their team, watching matches on TV or talking freely about football matters. Football fan associations provide help in the assignment and distribution of tickets. Most of these associations also have their own band and cheering squad. Many have agreed rules about how to behave at football matches.

One of the original intentions behind the establishment of these organisations was to organise the fans so as to prevent the occurrence of disturbances. In fact the establishment of these organisations, on the contrary, appears to have coincided with the growth in football-related social disorder. According to statistics, between 1994 and 2000, the Chinese Football Association (CFA) condemned 43 events that involved pitch invasions or similar incidents (Cao 2000). Some outstanding examples of football-related social disorder are as follows:

- **Shenyang 24 May 1985** The defeat of Shenyang by the visiting Hong Kong team caused a large-scale fan disturbance (Bai 1988).
- **Nanchong 23 May 1988** When the Sichuan football team was defeated by the Tianjin team in a National Youth League match, the Sichuan fans clashed with police on duty. Some fans took the chance to steal and smash property. The riot lasted from 7 p.m. until dawn the next day and resulted in more than 110 injuries and an estimated US$100,000 worth of damage (*Nanchong Daily*, 26 May 1988).
- **Shanghai 10 July 1994** During half time the fans of both sides – Shanghai Shenghua and Sichuan Quanxing – pulled off the plastic chair cushions and threw them at each other. When the Sichuan Quanxing team walked out from the changing room, the raging Shanghai fans threw water bottles, lighters and other sundries at them (Wang J. 2002a).
- **Wuhan 10 May 1998** After the Wuhan Yaqi team conceded a goal against Shenzhen Ping'an, spectators in the stand erupted into disorder, and the police had to arrest four of the culprits. After the game, when Wuhan Yaqi had been defeated, nearly a thousand fans surrounded the nearest station to the football club (Wang J. 2002a).
- **Yanbian 31 May 1998** In this game, Shanghai Shenghua played against Yanbian Aodong. When the host Yanbian team had a penalty kick awarded

against them, they held up the game for three minutes. The game ended in a 1:1 draw. After the match the Yanbian fans came together at the city hall square and shouted slogans such as 'Don't humiliate the ethnic minority' and 'Seek justice from the Chinese Football Association'. The Yanbian city government sent five men including one vice-executive to the capital Beijing, asking them to punish the match referees. Leaders of the National Sports Committee, the National Minorities Committee and the Office of the State Council received this delegation (Wang J. 2002b).

- **Xi'an 15 July 2000** Eight football-related disturbances took place in the first half of 2000 in this city and the Office of the State Council issued a notice requiring reform and rectification (Hao Zi 2000). But on July 15 when the Shaanxi Guoli team played the visiting Chengdu team, the Xi'an fans encircled the referee and clashed with the police. Many policemen were injured and more than ten cars were damaged. The police used tear gas and high-pressure water hoses to break up the fans. Eight fans were arrested on the spot (Cao 2000).
- **Xi'an 24 March 2002** A penalty kick was the fuse of this turmoil. A fan rushed onto the pitch to assault the match referee and then some fans set fire to the seats. A Qingdao Yizhong player was wounded, a police car outside the stadium was set on fire and four other police cars were destroyed. The local public transport system was held up for several hours. The disorder lasted from 5 p.m. until 10 p.m. The police eventually used high-pressure water cannons to control the situation and took 19 hooligans away. Five were later held in detention (Wang and Duan 2002).
- **Beijing 8 September 2002** During a game between Beijing Guo'an and Shanghai Zhongyuan, fans of both sides were chanting at each other all the time. After the match agitated fans pushed over the barriers in the middle of the road and local transportation was held up. This increased the fans' commotion and they blocked cars from coming and going. Two cars were smashed. The disorder lasted until midnight (Liu W. 2002).

It is worth noting that there have been very few violent events at Chinese sporting events since the 1980s except at football matches. Only football seems capable of attracting so many spectators and creating such a heated atmosphere. The following section will provide some evidence for the particular mobilising power of football.

Causes of Chinese 'football hooliganism' and football-related disorder

Rather than being well-organised and carefully planned acts of hooliganism, such as it has been suggested occurs in certain European countries (Giulianotti 1994), Chinese 'football hooligans' appear to be mostly young people affected by the atmosphere in the stadium. Some Chinese commentators believe that 'the accumulated impact of an evil social environment on people's minds' is the major

cause of hooliganism (Liu X. 1985). Yet the survey data suggest that young people tend to create trouble as a result of spontaneous emotional outbursts. They rarely set out to make trouble on purpose (Liu X. 2002). Interviews conducted with 45 'trouble-makers' have revealed that the main causes of football-related social disorder have been: a host team complex or old grudges against the visiting side; dissatisfaction with the discrepancy resulting from high entrance fees and the poor quality of the game; the forbidding stadium atmosphere; and the general rudeness of the opposing fans (Bai 1988).

As can be seen from some of the examples provided above, one direct inducement for engaging in football-related disorder has been when the fans become displeased with refereeing decisions and players' performances. For instance, on 24 June 2000 Beijing BTV Sangao narrowly beat Hebei Yishan 2:1 in the first qualification round of the second division cup tournament. This result was mainly due to the referee's poor decisions. After the match, Tangshan city fans and some Hebei team players jointly attacked the referee Yang Li (Luo 2000).

Gambling on football clearly exists in China. The Xinhua News Agency reported in 2003 that police in Guangxi arrested 41 gamblers because the money they were carrying to gamble with amounted to several hundred million RMB yuan (*Jianghuai Chenbao*, 23 July 2003). Yet many gamblers prefer to bet on European football matches rather than Chinese games, because some examples of match fixing have occurred. For example, football club Zhejiang Sanhua Lucheng admitted in public that they had once bribed some referees. They then published a 'repentance letter' from one of the referees who had accepted a bribe (Sina 2001). The interpreter of the Guangzhou Jili team revealed that some clubs tried to 'buy over' the Jili team's foreign assistant Tumu for 350,000 RMB yuan (Liu Z. 2001). Apart from confessions by referees, many similar reported events remain speculative because of the difficulty in collecting hard evidence and inconsistent match reporting.

But football-related social disorder in past seasons cannot be explained solely by the above reasons. Since 2000, criticisms concerning the 'black whistle' have grown louder and louder. This phrase is used to describe corrupt refereeing which many suggest has spread rapidly throughout Chinese football. The trust of the public and sections of the mass media in the CFA and in football matches generally has gradually begun to decrease. In January 2002 a special press conference was called to allow the CFA the opportunity to 'make clear its attitude towards black whistlers' (Gittings 2002: 20). Most of the events discussed above were caused by dissatisfaction with the referees' punishment.

The Beijing stadium event of September 2002 was also partially caused by the strong capital-city consciousness of the Beijing people. This sometimes results in a show of arrogance and a sense of superiority toward outsiders. Beijingesque chauvinism, for example, is clearly demonstrated in the derogative curse *shabi*, a Chinese four-letter word commonly heard in the stadiums of the capital. These words are not only scolding but also signal that the speaker despises the opponent's personality. This kind of insult and humiliation often becomes a stimulus for higher-grade conflicts.

When football-related social disorder happens, the TV cameras often transfer their focus to unrelated pictures. A long break occurs as the camera lenses are trained away from the focus of the conflict. Yet the football commentator will continue to commentate on the match until order is restored. It seems as if nothing really happened. Nevertheless the culprits are sometimes identified through video recordings, as for example, the Xi'an event on 24 March 2002 which was even broadcast on TV. The television relay initially turned a blind eye to the social disorder, but the newspapers in other cities produced a different account of events. In an early report about the Xi'an incident, the Xi'an media criticised the referee's mistake. The Xi'an media changed its tune only after the matter was dealt with formally by the Chinese Football Association.

It is interesting that although football-related social disorder has occurred quite regularly, the mainstream media continue to deny its existence. Even after the incident in Xi'an in July 2000, there were still voices that denied the existence of football hooligans in China (Liu X. 2002). However, more and more cases of disorder have forced the CFA to finally admit to the existence of football hooliganism in China. It is possible that the (subsequently successful) bid to host the 2008 summer Olympic Games and qualification for the World Cup Finals in Korea and Japan in 2002 has stimulated the authorities to act. On 6 August 2000, the Shanghai Shenhua Team beat the Shenyang Haishi Team 2:1 and then some fans attacked the Shenhua Team coach with stones. One Shenhua player and some club staff members were injured by broken glass. A CFA spokesman at last stated formally that there were some football hooligans in China's football stadiums: 'Though small in number, they leave vicious harm' (Li G. 2000).

Chinese governmental responses to hooliganism

In June 2000 the State Council summoned officials from the Central Propaganda Ministry and the Ministry of Public Security to be debriefed by the CFA (Jin Wen 2000). The State Council issued a notice requiring an improvement in football stadium security on 12 July 2000 (Cao 2000). The State Council confirmed the establishment of a Chinese Physical Education Competition Supervision Committee (*Beijing Chenbao*, 1 April 2002). At each working conference of Chinese football, all the senior officials in charge of physical education in cities with a professional team had to take part in a meeting to discuss problems of safety and security. The police in Beijing rehearsed a strategy to deal with football-related violence. Some local governments conducted investigations into the formation of local football fan associations. The focus was placed on monitoring the (admittedly relatively few) football fans that participated in violence.

However, all the efforts did not achieve the results expected. Whilst the government and the Physical Education Department wanted to crack down hard on the situation, violent events in Chinese football stadiums did not decrease significantly. Even in Beijing, two violent events occurred on 4 August and 8 September 2002 (*21 Shiji Tiyu*, 5 August 2002; Liu W. 2002). This suggests that the management of football fans remains weak in China, although the existence

of occasional disorder does not deter fans from attending matches. With this in mind, I will briefly try to identify the specific characteristics of Chinese 'hooligans'.

The characteristics of Chinese football 'hooligans'

It is difficult to draw a precise picture of hooliganism in China because of two major factors. First, as has been the case in Western societies, the term 'hooligans' seems to be widely used to describe the perpetrators of many different kinds of public disorder, which might include molesting and harassment, social upheaval or severe criminal assaults. The variety of 'hooliganism' is equalled by the variety of court decisions, leading sometimes to imprisonment and capital punishment. A second factor creating imprecision in our account is the difficulty in obtaining accurate overall data about football-related social disorder and its causes. In this respect the Chinese justice system is lacking in transparency. Nonetheless, as similar problems have confronted researchers in other societies it is possible to identify certain features of Chinese hooliganism.

The social characteristics of football spectators and football 'hooligans'

Most football 'hooligans' share many of the characteristics of ordinary Chinese football fans, as most of them are young men, workers and city residents (for example most of the 127 'hooligans' arrested by police at the May 19th event were young men under 30; of the five people arrested in March 2002 in Xi'an, three were students aged between 18 and 22). Football-related social disorder has happened in almost all the home cities except Chengdu, Guangzhou and a few others. But the cities of Xi'an, Shenyang, Chongqing and Beijing which have high unemployment, appear to encounter stronger and more popular football-related social disorder than other cities.

Regionalism and local colour

Wherever and whenever the Chinese national team competes in international football games, Chinese fans usually hold the national flag in one hand and in the other a flag reading 'xxx City Fans Association'. Many wear a cloth belt around their head or waist with the Chinese characters for 'xxx (city) fan xxx (some person's name)'. Although the identification of locality on banners displayed inside stadiums has become a marked feature of many other football supporters' behaviour, including England fans abroad, it is possible that the widespread performance of narrow-minded local patriotism is nowhere as common as among Chinese supporters. The display of personal identity plus local regionalism is likely to stimulate the Chinese supporters' emotional involvement. Quite often before a match begins, verbal conflicts and even assault and battery between Chinese fans from different regions have started. The cursing glossary in the Chinese dialects is very rich. As the majority of Chinese football 'hooligans' do not have

high educational standards, they are the more inclined to use verbal abuse. Beijing, Xi'an, Chongqing and other cities have their own football stadium chants and cursing dialects, for example *shapei* in Beijing, *zhe ni ma* in Xi'an, *ai qiu* in Chongqing and *biesan* in Shanghai. In spite of criticism from local government and the mainstream media, the situation does not look like changing for some time to come. Recently, announcements by stadium speakers or slogans written on stadium screens or signboards ask the audience to abstain from using such words which might harm the reputation of the host of the Beijing Olympics in 2008.

Strong individualism and consciousness of counter-mainstream culture

Surveys reveal that 40 per cent of football fans are under 20 years old and 40 per cent are 20 to 29 years old (Huang H. 1998; Han 1999). The perpetrators of the Xi'an event in March 2002 were actually two middle school students (Wang and Duan 2002). For certain kinds of football supporters, football cheering has become more than just a kind of 'collective appreciation of the beauty of the game'. For them it is also a kind of 'fashionable counter-mainstream culture'. Under such circumstances rationality is no longer the rule of the day. The emotional excitement within the group becomes much stronger due to mutual infection, and an individual's impetuous action can spread quickly and engulf more of the audience. In addition, the cheering squad is always ready to hold a party to maintain friendship ties.

When football support is enacted within the framework of 'fashionable counter-mainstream culture', fans often demonstrate their individuality in an over-exaggerated way and with extreme behaviour. For example, in 1993 when the Chinese team failed to qualify for the World Cup Finals, a Chengdu fan, Zhang Ke-kui, even attempted to jump down from the stand to commit suicide (Huang H. 1998). In 1997, when the Chinese team again failed to qualify, up to 100 Liaoning fans kept their upper body naked despite the cold weather. They insisted on kneeling down with red or white cloth belts on their heads, daubed with slogans such as 'Dare to die in order to rush out of Asia' (*shisi chongchu yazhou*) and 'Die for football' (*wei zuqiu er si*) (Wang J. 2002b). Usually such behaviour entails public reproach. Yet such actions are widely held in high esteem in the football ground. Many football fans regard them as the proper behaviour of real football fans. In December 1992, during the final game of the Asia Club Cup in Chengdu, a famous fan from Anshan, Li Wen-gang (nicknamed Luo Xi) ran into the stands, bare to the waist and carrying a big flag. Chongqing fan 'Little Landlord' Jia Qing-bao, who happened to dress in ancient landlord costume, was heard singing songs of victory loudly. Such individual acts strongly influenced and changed the behaviour of Chengdu fans, as well as giving the Chengdu Football Fans Association much publicity after five relatively quiet years. Due to the media interest, Li's action impacted upon fans from other regions as well.

The media: heating up and cooling down

Some Chinese football magazines depict scenes of Western football fans' behaviour. While some readers might find the attire and attitudes as shown in the magazines to be somewhat strange and obscure, they have had a lasting effect on Chinese fans. Broadcasting of all major European leagues has been available on Chinese television since the 1990s. Advertisers pay an average of US$5,000 for a 30-second commercial on China Central Television's (CCTV) sports channel, which attracts at least 200 million viewers each week (*Asia Week*, 13 July 2001). China's top broadcaster presents more than 20 hours of sports a day on Channel 5 and many more hours on its eight other channels. According to briefings from the Sport Business Agency, Italy's Serie A was the most popular European league (50 per cent), followed by the English Premiership (33 per cent), Spain's La Liga (12 per cent) and Germany's Bundesliga (5 per cent). Italy's dominance is probably explained by the use of its fixtures in the Chinese football lottery. Hence such loyalties might shift. The four-country Asian promotional tour of Real Madrid FC in the summer of 2003 stopped over in Beijing, where the club pulled in €2 million for its 90-minute appearance on the pitch and another €700,000 during their week-long high-altitude training session in Southwest China's Yunnan Province. The appearance fee was even heftier than World Cup champions Brazil pocketed (US$1.3 million) for a match in China earlier in 2003 (*China Daily*, 4 August 2003).

Due to the global media networks, wearing the local team's shirt, or dressing up in bizarre costumes, letting off fireworks when the team wins, drawing a picture of the national flag on the face or other parts of the body for international matches, and even the 'sexy football babe', have all become common figures in the Chinese football fandom imagery. In order to 'normalise' and restrain the fans' behaviour, the mainstream media have invited celebrities and experts to air their opinions. Although the celebrity cult has left its imprint on Chinese popular culture, football fans often hold these personalities' opinions in contempt and deride them on internet conferences. Yang Jie's novel *Zuqiu Liumang* (Football hooligans, 2002), based on one of the Xi'an events, cites a great number of remarks collected from internet forums. The words of a policeman on the spot illustrates the nature of local fan resistance against the authorities: 'Those unhappy about being called hooligans, and those happy about not being called hooligans, cannot be considered to be native Xi'anese'!

Chinese football fan consciousness

One final aspect of Chinese football fans' consciousness worth noting is their exaggerated sense of responsibility and self-importance. An experienced television football programme host on CCTV once pointed out that: 'Many fans are so potty about the players and the football games; they think so much about football, that they have lost themselves. They should be called "fans of football stars" and "fans of football coaches"' (Huang J. 2000). A sports columnist noted another

aspect: 'The name cards they give me are almost all printed with the title "President", "Head", etc., without exception. It is said that the Shenyang Fans Association has its own standing committee and holds regular enlarged standing committee meetings. Anyway, it increasingly resembles a political party or a government organ' (Hong 1998). In addition, Chinese fans also appear to consider themselves as coach, referee, and even the boss of the club. During the match, their vociferous requests such as 'change player X', 'dismiss the referee', 'fire coach X' resound throughout the ground. In 1993, when the national team failed again to take part in the World Cup, Chengdu Football Fans Association even organised a meeting under the umbrella term 'Chinese Football SOS'. Functionaries from all of the football fan associations attended the meeting and held group consultations about the 'pitiful' state of Chinese football (Xie 1993). This kind of intense social identification increases the fans' expectations towards their football team. As such, it is also one of the most important reasons why social disorder happens and why it is difficult for some of the fans to control themselves once their team loses a game. They don't simply accept failure of their team rationally but tend to give vent to their frustrations to the match referee, the opposing team and opposing fans.

Discussion points

Three sets of parallel power structures compete in the football stadium: the public power system consisting of the government, the CFA, etc.; the organisational power system composed of the fan associations; and the verbal power system influenced by the football 'hooligans'. The rise of 'football hooliganism' and football-related violence itself is certainly one major impact deriving from conflicts between the three competing power systems. China's football hooliganism, if understood as a sign of disrespect for football authorities and an articulation of resistance, is first of all a reflection of the lack of public trust in Chinese football. Second, as such, hooliganism is also a response to the great transformations Chinese society has been going through since the 1980s. Third, it is a result of globalisation processes that decimate the demarcation lines between China and the world, and simultaneously feed into the cultural repertoire of football supporters.

A crisis of trust during the transformation of Chinese football

The CFA and other concerned parties do not encourage the fans of visiting teams to travel away to cheer for their teams in an effort at preventing disorder (Liu W. 2002). Yet the authorities are always in a contradictory situation in their attitude towards the fan organisations. On the one hand, they need the support of the fans and the fan organisations, whilst on the other hand, they are worried that the organised fans are likely to bring about bigger disorder and that this may turn into more political behaviour. The local authorities all attach great importance to the management of the fan associations, and the chief of the local authorities

meets with the representatives of the local fan associations on a regular basis. The police are also trying to increase their contacts with the fan organisations, while they are drawing the main fan organisations into the organisers' committee, so as to strengthen their control over the fans and to keep away extreme behaviour (Huang H. 1998). Since 2000, some city authorities have adopted the English method of registering known football hooligans (Wang N. 2001).

The experience of Chengdu indicates that the founding of football fan associations may have been good for preventing social disorder in some instances. The level of the Chengdu team performance is far from being great, but spectators' attendance at the Chengdu stadium is up with the best of the more successful teams. There is virtually no disorder, thanks to the Chengdu Football Fans Association, and probably because its organisers are mainly officials and teachers (Huang H. 1998). In contrast to Chengdu, fan associations in other cities are often organised by workers and small shop owners. Their organisational ability and power of control do not match that of the Chengdu Football Fans Association. In fact, reactions by fan associations in other cities have often been stronger than those of ordinary (unorganised) fans when referees have made a mistake or a 'black whistle' incident has happened.

The performance of the Chinese Football Association has made the crisis of trust in match officials worse. Many fans have developed an extremely negative attitude towards referees (Yang 2002). This is exactly the fuse that triggered the March 24th event in Xi'an, as has been noted already. Many Chinese apparently consider such a crisis in public trust to be ineluctable during the process of transformation towards full professionalism and the commercialisation of Chinese football. Distrusting the football association, which represents the public power, and the professional football teams, goes side by side with resisting the (new) mainstream commercial culture. The internet has become the most important forum for divergent voices and represents an autonomous football culture-transmitting medium outside the traditional media and the semi-official fan organisations.

Football hooligans and cultural transformation in contemporary Chinese society

The increase in football-related social disorder reflects the transformations China's football has been going through. At the same time, hooliganism as well as the changes within football are consequences of recent social and cultural developments in China.

> The May 19th event symbolised the emergence of Chinese football 'hooligans', and the refraction of wider social and cultural transformations onto sport, especially football. That is to say, the political factor has faded in the fan's consciousness. Breaking off from politics, the fans desire that the team they support and adore can win. However, through lack of restraint in

> a new cultural and moral framework, this enthusiasm has evolved into a confusion about community spirit.
>
> (Liu X. 2002)

The traditional pattern – that intellectuals and educators influenced society in a rational way – is being replaced by a new pattern in which singers, movie stars, athletic stars and 'politicos' have the most influential power. Celebrity culture appears to diminish people's interest in upholders of knowledge, truth, justice and dignity. The material culture produced by and for the expectant crowd is spreading quickly in China. Fewer people nowadays pay attention to traditional values (Li X. 1996). In this context, hooligans have become a widespread public custom and a noticeable part of the cultural atmosphere in today's Chinese football stadium as well as throughout the whole society (Yang 2002). Hence the social and cultural roots of the fans' apparently irrational behaviour are also a weapon by which football 'hooligans' can resist the decay of traditional values and social order. The rapid development of professional football since the early 1990s has meant that the integrative spiritual circumstances and the coherent environment resulting from the planned economy that provided a developing space for professional football has been overturned. Under these circumstances it is possible that 'football hooligans' and football-related social disorder are not only problematic for society, but destroy older football traditions as well. In this sense, Chinese 'football hooligans' can be said to have a role to play both in China's football reform and in shaping the course of modern football in East Asia.

Core and periphery in the globalisation of sports

Chinese writer Wu Liang has noted that

> Football audiences are those who are not patriots but are always brandishing their national flag … The football audiences are those who sometimes support and adore an individual, at another time support and adore a city, still another time support and adore a country …
>
> (Wu 1996: 261–2)

This accurately depicts the consciousness of Chinese football fans and many of those involved with the whole of Chinese sports. Chinese sport fandom is underpinned by an anxiety about engaging with the globalising sport world whilst also fearing being left on the edge of it. This anxiety relates to the long period of backwardness and effective isolation since the mid-19th century. The combined pressures produced by slogans such as 'Dash out of Asia and head for the world', and the over-ambitious targets drawn up in the 1993 *10-Year Development Blueprint of the Chinese Football Business*, have been felt in the past by the national football team and fans alike. Under these circumstances, some fans could hardly face going to the stadium to watch the game. Chinese football could not possibly satisfy their national pride. On a domestic scale, however, supporting football provided

a means to satisfy their desire for flaunting their superiority and indulging in gambling and in local parochialism. Thus fans turned into football 'hooligans', or more precisely, some have become football 'hooligans' out of being ordinary fans.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated, as Dunning *et al.* (2002a) suggest, that there is a continuing problem of 'fighting fans' as the game of football spreads, and, in this case, as the footballisation of Asian societies continues. The data of this cursory survey suggest that age, and also sex and place of living, are major factors influencing hooliganism in China. Apparently, professional and educational background are also of importance, though additional research into the gender, class, and ethnic dimensions of the Chinese hooligan phenomenon is needed for further clarification. Media attention to football-related crowd disorder in China may play a role in amplifying it, but it clearly has also allowed Chinese fans to see international styles of support, which in some cases have been adopted and adapted to fit with local circumstances. Many of China's hooligan incidents appear to have stemmed from the so-called 'black whistle' problem. The extent to which Chinese football authorities, sometimes in conjunction with fan associations, can deal with these issues should be the subject of further scrutiny and research.

Note

1 My thanks to Jürgen Schwarz form Vienna who conducted the interview with Zhang in Summer 2003. Schwarz repeatedly came across similar assessments during his research on the role of the Chinese media in crowd disorder management.

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7 School sport, physical education and the development of football culture in Japan

Sugimoto Atsuo

Introduction

Modern sports were introduced into Japan in the latter half of the 19th century. Since its early days, the meaning and the practice of sport were primarily associated with more general objectives of the educational apparatus. Being no exception to the rule, football also found its first and primary home in Japan within the social field of its educational institutions.

The print marks of school culture have been observable in the practice of football throughout its entire history in Japan. The concept of school sports is deeply rooted in the idea of disciplined behaviour, body training and physical education aimed at overcoming obstacles. Students are constantly under pressure to comply with an ideology that rewards anybody who tries hard enough. In consequence, the framework of school culture has generated various forms of acceptable and non-acceptable ways of behaving and bodily habitus. As students are expected to do their best constantly, or at least to appear as if performing to the utmost of their abilities, the display of pleasure and enjoyment that may spontaneously arise during the sensual experience of sports has generally been regarded as off-limits. Verbal expressions illustrating the expected normative standard, such as 'don't let your teeth be seen during sport classes' (*taiiku no jikan wa ha o misete wa ikenai*), which means don't be caught smiling, restrain young football players from engaging in joyful celebrations even when they have scored a goal. Although such perceptions have become attenuated in the past twenty years, they have still been observed in recent ethnographies of school sport in Japan (dalla Chiesa 2002).

The unwritten rules of normative behaviour are enforced by a power hierarchy between pupils and teachers, who within school sports are generally the players and referees respectively. The player–referee relation in this setting cannot transcend the ordinary social order of pupil and teacher, even within the confined realm of the time and space of play, governed by its own rules. Openly expressing one's dissatisfaction with a referee's decision thus would be congruent with complaining about a teacher, which is an offence and usually is followed by sanctions. Acting against the framework of expected role behaviour is regarded as a breach of trust because it offends the preferred hierarchical mode of social organisation in Japan between a superior and a subordinate. Tamaki (1999: 64–7) has suggested

that such formative experiences caused the Japanese team, whose members had all been socialised into football within school sport, to lodge not a single complaint against the decisions of the match officials for the 1968 Olympics in Mexico. At this, only the second appearance of a Japanese 11 at an international tournament, the national team was awarded the Fair Play Award in addition to the bronze medal. Significantly, this might be considered the most outstanding achievement of Japanese football on the international stage in its first 100 years.

In this chapter, I will explain how football adopted its characteristic traits in Japan by referring to the history of its development in the school system. I will outline the different meanings attached to football as a subject of physical education and as an extracurricular activity of school sport clubs. Both categories have played an important role in modern school education, complementing each other for the common purpose of developing a body culture or in Bourdieu's terms a habitus, suited to the national endeavour of creating and nurturing the modern state. Over the years, the educational value of football as an activity requiring organisational behaviour became widely acknowledged, particularly due to changes in the wider social and cultural context. I argue that this selective reading and reception of the game obscured the opportunities for football to develop into a mass participation and spectator sport. Rather, it was baseball that evolved into the public's preferred form of recreation and mass entertainment as it distanced itself from the educational sphere. Finally, from a sociological point of view, the chapter offers some observations on why this distinctive cultural evolution of football took place in 20th-century Japan.

The establishment of football within school culture

Only five years after the establishment of the English Football Association in 1868, football was introduced to Japan by Lieutenant Commander Archibald L. Douglas, a British naval officer, and his subordinates who taught the game to their students at the later naval academy in Tsukiji (Horne with Bleakley 2002: 90). While a number of similar incidents, in which the game was transmitted from foreigners employed by educational institutions to their students, are known to have occurred in the later decades of the 19th century, progress in general was slow. Not to mention the scarcity of facilities, coaches and sports organisations, priorities in Japan's attempt to catch up with the leading Western nations were certainly higher in fields of academic knowledge, military strength and entrepreneurial expertise. Schools played a leading role in acquiring and disseminating the knowledge badly needed for maintaining the nation's wealth and strength. The body was assigned a minor role within this project as an instrumental tool for preparing male youth for military service (Manzenreiter 1999, 2001).

The early emphasis on military gymnastics followed the example of the French military academies. This was rejected as not suitable for the Japanese physical condition by George A. Leland, a leading authority on physical education from Amherst College, Massachusetts. Having been invited to Japan by the vice minister of Education, Tanaka Fujimaro, who was in charge of establishing a

nation-wide school system, Leland began in 1878 to supervise the foundation of the Physical Education Training College (Taisō Denshūsho), the education of the first generation of instructors specialised in physical education, and the compilation of a standardised syllabus. A textbook called *Rules of Outdoor Games* (*Kogai yūgi hō*, written by Tsuboi Gendō and published in 1885) described in Chapter 17 the proper way of playing 'football – a kind of kick-ball game'.

In 1886, the Physical Education Training College was absorbed into the Tokyo Higher Normal School. This predecessor institution to the Tokyo University of Education, and the current Tsukuba University, was one among a number of teacher training colleges established for the purpose of educating public school teachers. Following the establishment of a department for physical education, full-scale study of the subject and the training of physical education teachers got under way. In 1893, Kanō Jigorō, the founder of modern judo and the first chairman of the Japan Olympic Committee, was appointed principal of the teacher training college in Tokyo. Kanō proceeded to encourage a variety of physical exercises. In 1896, he initiated a general sports club (*undōkai*) with eight athletic branches for judo, swordsmanship, bayonet exercises, archery, gymnastics, lawn tennis, baseball, cycling, and football (Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 1911).

Graduates from the Tokyo Higher Normal School moved throughout Japan since they were sent as teachers to other teacher training colleges or as physical education instructors to all prefectures and major cities. Because each higher normal school had its own elementary and junior high school attached, they were seminal in the spread of knowledge about physical education and sport. As well as the dissemination of teaching staff, the teacher training colleges served to promote the spread of sports by research, publication and promotional activities. In 1902, Tokyo Higher Normal School teacher Tsuboi Gendō returned to Japan from a study tour in Europe and the United States to become director of the school's football club. In October of the same year, a large-scale sports field day was held at the Tokyo Higher Normal School, at which football was introduced as one of the games. Such sports field days were used to introduce various kinds of sporting activities and to demonstrate their rules and ways of playing as well as to show how to manage sports events. Therefore the events attracted many representatives from other schools that were eager to learn.

Tokyo Higher Normal School also contributed to the standardisation of rules and the dissemination of football knowledge. In 1903, its teacher training seminar published the first instructor's manual *Assoshiēshon Fūtobōru* (sic! 'association football'; Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Futtobōru Bu 1903) and in 1908 a second volume called *Fūtobōru* (sic! 'football'; Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Kōyūkai Shūkyū Bu 1908). Henceforth, football spread mainly among the teacher training colleges throughout Japan. Although such means of providing practical guidance were diffused widely throughout Japan, it is not known to what extent football was actually taught at the elementary and junior high school level. On the one hand, schools in general were lacking specialised educators, appropriate equipment and the required minimum of open space (Kōzu 1980). On the other hand, football was categorised as 'outdoor play' and regarded as a form of recreational activity

without further educational significance. Thus the most important places for integrating football into the Japanese sports landscape – in terms of the distribution, knowledge and practice of the sport – were the Higher Normal Schools, and they continued to be so for the first half of the 20th century.

Sport as an educational tool

Baseball, for its part, spread among the elite High Schools of the old educational system. In 1890, a student association was established at the First Higher School, a predecessor institution to the current Tokyo University. Within that association, seven athletic clubs were formed, offering in addition to the traditional Japanese martial arts of sword fencing, judo and archery, the newly introduced sports activities of baseball, track and field, boating and swimming. The list did not include football, even though the game was practised by English residents in the Greater Tokyo area and probably also by some university staff members. Only in 1924, 30 years after the establishment of a football club at the Tokyo Higher Normal School, was a football club inaugurated at Tokyo's Higher School. This developmental pattern including the time lag re-occurred at all the other elite schools that favoured baseball, rather than football, as an extracurricular sports activity (Notter and Takeuchi 2001). Interestingly, the ideology, values and body habitus incorporated into baseball during these early constitutive years would later come to frame the (educational) perception of all sports in Japan.

The differences between England and Japan in placing educational value on sport clearly reflect the differences in their formative process as modern nations. In England, the cradle of modern football, elite public schools had football and other team sport games adopted as part of the official curriculum by the 1860s. Sports were generally recognised as not only nurturing strong bodies but also as promoting socially desired mores and qualities such as the ability to act with courage, loyalty, justice, leadership and sportsmanship. For the creation of a middle-class elite capable of leading and administering the modern nation state, a habitus centring on the common values and norms exemplified by the notions of 'athleticism' and 'muscular Christianity' had to be instilled into society (Mangan 1981). Public schools fulfilled the role of instilling this middle-class habitus. The middle class itself then began to regard sports participation as a means of social differentiation, useful for achieving and expressing its elite status and for distancing itself from the nobility as well as from the working class (Suzuki 2002).

Japan, on the other hand, which tried to build a modern nation through an elite *coup d'état* rather than a civil revolution, decided to use models from the progressive modernised Western countries in order to accomplish its own modernisation. Having been forced onto the international stage for the first time, Japan was vividly confronted with the power differences between Western states and itself. Determined to survive by competing with the West, Japan attached great emphasis on the importance of winning. In the course of this importation process, the ideals of 'athleticism' were greatly transformed. In particular, sportsmanship and the 'good loser' attitude, which did not see the ultimate purpose in sports as winning at all

costs, were interpreted in a completely reverse way. Winning became the ultimate goal, opponents became referred to as the enemy, as if sport was quasi-war, and subordination to one's team and loyalty to the collective received intense emphasis (Notter and Takeuchi 2001). Nowhere did this Japanised sport morality become more evident than in *Ichikō yakyū* (First Higher School baseball). Winning, for the honour and glory of one's school, became the absolute objective of the baseball club. The ideological discourse surrounding school baseball transformed loyalty to the team into loyalty to the school and loyalty to the nation, thereby linking sports to issues of nationalism and national identity (Kiku 1993: 88–100).

For the sake of international success, individual wishes had to be set aside. In the interests of the greater collective, the state, the Japanese people were lured into adopting an ideology unique to Japan. Mori Arinori, Minister of Education from 1885 to 1889 and a leading intellectual of his time, eagerly promoted the spread of the concept of *ganbaru* (literally 'stick with it', meaning putting up with difficulties, or 'stoic perseverance') as a central value of sport education because he believed in patriotism, obedience and physical strength as central pillars of modern nation states. This was mainly achieved by placing the term into a central position in public addresses stereotypically employed at sport meetings throughout the country, and also by more subtle channels of cultural diffusion (Yoshimi 1999). Up to the present day *ganbaru* has remained the most commonly used term in Japanese sports practice.

The mission assigned to Japan's new educational elite was to serve as a model for a perseverant nation, an achievement that could not only rely on knowledge but also needed the experiment of coping with physical hardship. The elite schools were the most effective and thus most important place for instilling the respective habitus in mind and body of the rising elite generation. Inside the secluded high school dormitories, sports merged with physical self-discipline and the neo-Confucianist, Samurai class, background of the teaching staff into 'muscular spirituality' (Kiku 1983: 10–11). The quality of enduring physical pain was particularly emphasised in the practice of martial arts, baseball and other sports. Sport thus turned into a method of disciplining the self and a means to accomplish the capacity for perseverance. Stoic endurance was inextricably related to neglecting individual desires and self-sacrificing for the good of the team/nation. This ideology was effectively installed by various strategies of the administrators of education in Meiji Japan. Classroom routines, the Meiji Emperor's Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo*, 1890) that bound the entire populace to the state, and the ritual display of national symbols had a direct impact on the formation of patriotism, loyalty and national identity. Football, under these conditions, was restricted to being used as a text in the learning of stoic perseverance and loyalty (Sugimoto 2001).

Sport in the official curriculum, however, consisted mainly of physical exercise classes, while sports such as football belonged to the domain of play and were therefore not recognised as an important aspect of the school culture. *Shōgakkō Kyōsoku Taikō* (Principles of Elementary School Teaching) from 1891 expected physical exercise to assist in bodily growth, the acquisition of physical strength,

the maintenance of health, making one's spirits cheerful, and nurturing discipline. The body served as an object for discipline. Although not described as such, physical exercise in the latter half of the Meiji period clearly aimed at training the body for military service. The terms used for physical education school classes changed over the decades from *heishiki taisō* (military-style exercises) to *kyōren* (instructional training) in the Taishō era and *tairen* (body training, including martial arts training) during the militaristic upheaval of the early Shōwa period, further disciplining the body for military service.

Neither football nor baseball achieved great popularity within sports classes in compulsory education. While the immense support of the modern transportation and media industries helped to develop baseball into a mass spectator sport and entertainment spectacle, football remained restricted to the sphere of the educational system. In terms of ideology it was no less influenced by the 'budofication of sports' (Kiku 2000) than baseball. However, football threatened to sink into oblivion, while baseball managed to transcend the borderline between school and everyday public life. Baseball attracted major attention, moved the masses, entered media discourses, even in literary circles, and sparked the fantasies of thousands of young boys. Probably because it was never integrated into the official curriculum, it was just this sport and the way it was practised by its most well-known sport teams that turned *konjō*, the demonstration of 'fighting spirit' of the First High School baseball teams and other university teams, into a model for all sports in modernising Japan.

Football entering the official curriculum

Huge changes in physical education occurred under the influence of the American occupation forces following Japan's defeat in World War II, including new kinds of sport activities, improved techniques and training methods, new concepts (such as 'physical beauty') and radically altered purposes such as the idea of nurturing democratic attitudes through physical exercise (Monbushō 1947). In response to new teaching guidelines, football emerged as part of the official school curriculum for the first time in 1956. The guidelines that determined the way in which football was taught at schools were significantly revised in 1968, triggered by the Olympic Games of 1964. The Tokyo Olympics, which engulfed Japan as a national event, not only heightened the public's interest in sports but also visibly demonstrated the physical differences between Japanese and foreign athletes. It became obvious that the modernisation approach, which used the West as a model since the Meiji era, needed to be redirected in such a way as to overcome these physical obstacles.

Accordingly, the objectives of the guidelines for teaching physical education after 1968 aimed at 'the nurturing of a strong body, enhancing physical strength, acquiring exercise techniques, becoming accustomed to exercise, developing a fair play ethic, and abilities and attitudes leading to a safe and healthy life' (Monbushō 1968). 'The creation of strength' should be realised within the realms of physical education classes, while 'improvements in techniques' and 'expression' were left to the sports domain and dance respectively (Monbushō 1968).

Football was part of the sports domain and required systematic study in order to achieve the aim of technical improvements. The teaching guidelines stipulated detailed technical guidance for football as follows:

> The game should be conducted in such a way as to nurture football techniques, obedience to the rules, and giving consideration to methods of attack and defence. Individual techniques include: kicking, dribbling, shooting, heading, trapping, tackling and throw-ins. Collective techniques include: a) kick and rush attack, and its defence, b) attack and defence surrounding long passes and short passes, c) use of previously-learned game techniques.
>
> (Monbushō 1968)

The quest for improvements in techniques gave birth to the concept of 'bodily efficiency'. Questions such as how can the body be most efficiently moved so as to attain higher performance corresponded with the search for rationalisation and reorganisation in the economic sphere in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Searching for efficiency in sports thus reflected the replacement of mass production by new strategies based on technological evolution and qualitative improvement.

An all-out effort was made to eliminate waste, leading to the common understanding that waste was a sin, particularly as high value was placed on efficiency. During physical education classes, students now competed with each other as to how to acquire certain techniques in the shortest time and with the greatest efficiency. Students were graded according to how efficiently their movements were made. As in former times, uncontrolled body movements or over-vivid sentimental expression arising from the body in action were, if possible, to be suppressed. Seen from that standpoint, the importance of football in school physical education certainly increased, because, first, technical improvements could be clearly demonstrated, and secondly, competitive spirit was encouraged. However, the introduction of clear evaluation standards, such as 'can do/can't do' had the unwelcome side effect of causing feelings of disgust, guilt and inferiority on the part of some of the less gifted students.

The notion of *ganbaru*, which had been employed in the face of any kind of difficulties, was replaced by a more precise idea of 'stoic endurance', a need to acquire certain techniques. From the standpoint of effort making, acquisition of techniques was rated higher than talent, and the lack of improvements signified lack of trying. Therefore, training the individuals' techniques such as kicking, dribbling and shooting assumed central importance during football class. Only after having practised collective techniques would the class conclude with a match. This emphasis, however, prevented students from enjoying the game of football. The skills learned during these classes did not serve performance in actual matches very well. Techniques were learned for the sake of technique. The students were primarily taught how to stoically deal with simple and repetitious technical exercises (Sugimoto 2001).

What football delivers as a culture

In the 1970s, together with the end of the high growth economic period, the stoic concept of perseverance in anticipation of a better future, collapsed. With the re-engineering of the economy, concerns about the social and environmental costs of the Fordist production model became heard. Technology-led economic growth and the rise of the service industries promised another Japan waiting ahead, albeit only in very vague terms. Anxiety about the future increased to the extent that the notion of 'post-modernisation' emerged in sociological discourses from theoreticians such as Daniel Bell, Michel Foucault and Alfred Schutz. Under post-Fordist conditions, athletic activities that pursued technical improvements no longer fitted the purpose of education. Teachers became startled by the rising number of students who no longer wished to subjugate themselves to stoic perseverance for, in all probability, highly uncertain, victorious glory. Team sport clubs suffered, particularly during the transition period when they lacked the minimum manpower to continue effective training for tournament participation. Shortage of overall demand even forced some to be closed down.

The Japanese physical education system again underwent a significant change of direction. The outline for teaching guidelines from 1978 stipulated the objectives for physical education to be 'familiarising students with physical exercises, having them understand health and safety, aiming to improve their health and physical strength, and nurturing an attitude leading to an enjoyable and nice life' (Monbushō 1978). For the first time, physical education classes should be enjoyable in order to fulfil the first objective of making students familiar with sport activities. In adjustment to the concept of 'enjoyable physical education' (*tanoshii taiiku*), concrete class content was developed. The central government's policy of promoting 'sports for all', later dubbed 'lifelong sports', acted as a tailwind, because school physical education was considered to be the base for enjoying sports throughout one's lifetime.

Because the feeling of enjoyment in physical education had been suppressed for such a long time, the impact of this redirection was huge. The concept of 'enjoyable sports' could be interpreted as the liberation of one's feelings through physical exercise. The outline of the new teaching guidelines defined the objectives of football in the 1980s as follows:

(1) Football should be played under the theme of teamwork, at a level appropriate to one's ability. The game is to be played in such a way as to acquire technique, and to employ offence and defence in accordance with a strategy.
(2) One should be aware of one's role within the team, assume responsibility and cooperate in practice in preparation for a match; not to mention being able to adopt a fair attitude toward winning or losing. Also, during match practice, one should confirm safety at the practice site and be mindful of one's own health and safety.

(3) One should aim to resolve problems appropriately in accordance with the team's or one's own abilities as well as to enhance the way practice and games are conducted by improving rules or strategies.

(Monbushō 1978)

These guidelines did not provide an in-depth description of technical guidance, as had been the case a decade before. Enjoying the game was more strongly emphasised, and the general objective was defined as solving problems in a manner appropriate to one's ability, without focusing on winning or losing. In actual classroom learning, playing the game took centre stage, thereby replacing practising individual techniques, and standardised team performance. Instead, students began to think about strategy, rule improvements and enjoyment of the game. Liberated from body discipline drills, they could now embrace the pleasant experience of a football match.

Since the 1988 reform of teaching guidelines, many schools have started to offer sports activities as optional. The background to the introduction of the optional system was the proposed 'new outlook on scholastic ability', which did not question students' abilities to follow classes, but rather their interest in studying and ways to nurture their interest (Monbushō 1988). In sociological terms, coping with life in the information society was thought to require the skills of making autonomous decisions and choices on the basis of individual priorities; these skills were neglected by the compulsory system of previous times. With regard to physical education classes under the optional system, priority was to be placed on raising the students' general interest in body performance, rather than on gaining physical strength or acquiring exercise techniques. These ideas were also matured out of the notion of the 'enjoyable physical education' class. The enjoyment of a certain sport was expected to increase due to the self-determined selection process, in which students decided on the optional content of their physical education classes. In other words, they were not forced to participate in sports they did not deem to be suitable, and they were saved from the degrading experience of failure and the underlying accusation of not having tried hard enough.

Sports in the optional curriculum did not, as in the 1960s, serve the purpose of acquiring techniques. The optional system freed students in physical education classes from exclusively relying on teachers and their instructions. Permitting the students to choose and to solve problems on their own, empowered them to develop a sense of independence and selfhood. However, critics have pointed out that the optional curriculum has caused a variety of problems as enjoyment alone does not develop physical strength or technical excellence. Optional classes neither improved techniques nor did they enhance endurance or perseverance. Opting for the liberated self-determined system required at least the development of a new set of objectives. In Weberian terms, students formerly learned the values of modernity in sports such as football. Now sport classes serve as a kind of 'cooling action' in which students experience football as an activity they can actually accomplish and fully embrace.

Reproducing the 'winning is all' ethic

Attempts to improve techniques for the sake of winning games represented the hidden curriculum of the post-high growth period in Japan and reproduced the exclusive emphasis athletic clubs had always placed on winning. Students were entirely absorbed in daily training sessions, but they were not expected to reveal how much they enjoyed the game. Their ultimate mission, similar to the case of the First Higher School, was to win the match, the play-offs, and the tournament. Skipping classes because of taking part in athletic club activities was thus not treated as an actual absence but rather regarded as a personal sacrifice to the objectives of the collective. The concept of 'no pass, no play', a principle aspired to in schools in the United States where a student is forbidden to participate in sports if schoolwork is neglected, is not widely practised in Japan.

Not only the students believed that only those who endured hard training would be able to achieve victory. Winners in such a value system are highly regarded for trying and perseverance, rather than for talent, level of technique and excellence in performance. Sports games, particularly in the way they were performed at high schools, publicly demonstrated the performance of 'guts', which was selected as an ideal character model for the average (male, at least) Japanese.

School football tournaments commissioned by the Japan Football Association (JFA) include the All Japan High School Football Tournament (*Zennihon Kōkō Sakkā Senshuken Taikai*), the football games at the Inter High School Sports Meet (*Zenkoku Kōtō Gakkō Sōgō Taiiku Taikai*, aka *intāhai*) and at the National Sports Festival (*Kokumin Taiiku Taikai*) all at the high school level, the National Junior High School Athletic Meet (*Zenkoku Chūgakkō Taiiku Taikai*) and the National Junior High School Football Meet (*Zenkoku Chūgakkō Sakkā Taikai*) at junior high school level, and the playoffs to the All Japan Boys' Football Meet (*Zenkoku Shōnen Sakkā Taikai*) at elementary school level. The most traditional event dates back to the early years of media sport in Japan: the All Japan High School Football Tournament, first held in 1918, sponsored by the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun* as it tried to find a counter-attraction to the highly successful Kōshien High School Baseball Tournament, which was sponsored by its major rival the *Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun* since 1915 (Kelly 2000).

Only eight high schools and higher normal schools from western Japan participated in the First Japan Football Meet. Numbers increased steadily, and at the ninth meet (in 1927) the name was changed to the (Junior) High School Championship Football Meet. Regional playoffs were introduced, permitting schools other than those in western Japan to participate so that it could grow to be a nation-wide tournament. Tournaments were temporarily halted due to the war; but in 1947 national meets were resumed. The name was changed again in 1949 at the 27th meet to the All Japan High School Football Tournament, following the general reform of the school system in which former junior high schools became high schools. Since the 49th meet in 1970, Nippon Television began televising the games in cooperation with the JFA. During the heady days of the Mexico Olympics bronze medal success, high school football reached new heights of popularity.

At the 50th meet in 1971, a preliminary tournament style of organisation was introduced for each district, and the number of participating teams increased to 24. In 1976, the venue for the 55th meet was moved from Osaka to the National Stadium in Tokyo, increasing attention to the high school championship once more. At that time about 230,000 spectators watched the tournament over an eight-day period. For the playoffs, 55,000 people filled the National Stadium (NTV 2003). The popularity of football at high schools was certainly propelled by the opportunity to perform in the National Stadium in front of such huge audiences. In addition, changes in the educational system, the cultural industries and the sports environment enabled football to overtake baseball in terms of participants for the first time in 1995, two years after the launch of the professional J.League. Even at high schools, football had suddenly become the most popular sport. With the current exodus of some Japanese baseball stars to the United States and the consequent refocusing of Japanese media attention on the Major League, however, High School baseball may have reclaimed lost ground at the beginning of the 21st century.

Most other school sports events adopted the tournament style as well. Games against only a major rival lack the competitive element of rising in the rankings. League games, however, lack the tension of immediate knockout after a defeat. High school football tournaments thus acquired particular importance as they were performed in a highly competitive climate. The process of moving ahead in tournaments upon the basis of victory reflects the meritocratic ideology of Japanese society well. However, tournaments only produce one winner, and in the end create many losers. If all losers completely dropped out, overall 'productivity' would decrease. Thus there is a need to bring losers back into a tournament somehow. In other words, the possibility for return matches must be secured. In the case of sports tournaments, the experience of defeat creates feelings of annoyance, which very likely serves as the driving force propelling athletes back into a tournament. A standard expression commonly heard from defeated teams and athletes is 'Because of my feelings of annoyance at defeat, I am going to do better next time' (*maketa kuyashisa o* Bane *ni tsugi ganbarimasu*). In sport the feeling of annoyance with oneself and one's performance serves to impel athletes to resume the fray.

Another notable 'return match' centring on the feeling of annoyance in Japan is *Chūshingura*, the story of the 47 *rōnin* samurai, who avenge the 'execution' of their lord. The story, highly popular among the Japanese, was first made into a movie in 1910. It was then newly produced every year until 1942. During the war, movie production was strictly restricted, and in the years following the war, such 'return match' stories were considered inappropriate by the US occupation forces. However, in 1952 the tradition to replicate the revenge story was revived and continued until 1962, after which it ceased. The date may be coincidental, yet since the time of the Tokyo Olympics, the theme of the return match has been a preferred expression in Japanese sports. Virtually all sports commentaries since this period have employed the motif and described losers, as well as winners, as having come back for a return match. According to sport documentary

discourses, the purpose of many games apparently is to 'avenge a defeat suffered last year' (*kyonen no setsujoku o harasu*) or to 'pay back an old debt' (*kari o kaesu*).

High school football tournaments that continue year after year can be interpreted as return match stories akin to war stories or the *Chūshingura* epic. Presented in such a way as to attract maximum attention, inter-high school competitions evolve with the aim of first becoming number one in a region, then in a district, and finally in all Japan. The overall emphasis on winning that had accompanied high school sport since the Meiji period, developed anomic features over the years and became subject to criticism in the late 1960s and thereafter. As long as it served the ultimate aim of victory, anything seems to have been regarded as justified. This overgenerous perception even ignored the excessive use of violence that school sports club members could experience in the extreme competition to set up the most powerful varsity team at the hands of their coaches or elder team colleagues. In 2001, powerhouse PL Gakuen's high school baseball team was expelled from the tournament because the elder students had repeatedly mistreated and abused the younger team members. Cases like this were quite common but were hardly mentioned in the news. Yet once they became known to the public, they generated widespread concerns about the educational significance of such a win-oriented ideology and facilitated the introduction of an optional system.

School football and the J.League

Since its inauguration in 1993, the administrators of professional football in Japan have had aspirations of altering the notion of sport in Japan along the lines of sport as a 'public good' as it has evolved in Western Europe. The J.League's intention to establish regional-based sports facilities in Japan has greatly impacted on school football. Until the early 1990s, any football-loving youth had primarily to rely on the supply provided by the athletic club of his or her school. Establishing youth teams in their respective home towns was thus the first contribution of the J.League teams to enlarging the opportunities for sports participation in Japan. Moreover, the start of the football league also inspired the establishment of regional football clubs throughout the country.

Instructors in the regional youth teams were usually not schoolteachers, of whom very few were qualified to teach football properly, but were dedicated amateurs or in some cases licensed football coaches. Stripped of any educational ballast, practising football in the 1990s served primarily the purpose of practising football. While declining birth rates have started to reduce student numbers in many school districts and their potential to build up sports clubs, the wider focus of the region has in many cases helped to overcome this problem. Another advantage of the regional club system is its ability to develop training methods and objectives appropriate to players' ages and stage of football development. Whereas schools independently developed teams and players at each level anew for the short-term purpose of winning tournaments, the youth coaches with the professional J.League teams can devise training programmes with a longer-term perspective.

In 1978, the Japan Club Youth Football Federation (*Nihon Kurabu Yūsu Sakkā Renmei*) was established as an organisation to help the integration of regional clubs and the provision of facilities. In 1982, the National Club Youth Football Championship Meet (which is now called the Japan Club Youth Football Championship Meet) was held for the first time for its high school member clubs. In 1985, the Japan Club Junior Youth Football Federation (*Nihon Kurabu Junia Yūsu Sakkā Renmei*) was inaugurated for football clubs at the junior high school level. In 1997, the Youth and Junior Youth federations were integrated, with the objective of strengthening the relationship between the junior high and high school generations, as well as to establish a consistent leadership system. The new Japan Club Youth Football Federation was under way. By 2003, the number of clubs belonging to the national federation was, for under 18-year-olds (U-18), 110 clubs with 2,540 registered players. For under 15-year-olds (U-15), the federation had 834 clubs with 30,379 registered players, or 50 times higher than in the inauguration period of the late 1970s (Japan Club Youth Football Federation 2003). The presence of players with such a background at the highest levels of football, the professional league, abroad and in the national team, is also increasing. Among the 23 players that represented Japan at the 2002 World Cup, seven had been educated in football youth clubs.

The rise of the youth club teams has altered the entire youth football system in Japan. Until recently, high school teams and regional club teams used to hold all their events separate from each other, such as the All Japan High School Football Tournament and the Japan Club Youth Football Championship Meet (*Nihon Kurabu Yūsu Sakkā Senshuken Taikai*). Starting in 2003, the Prince Takamado Cup for the All Japan Youth Football Championship Meet (*Zennihon Yūsu Sakkā Senshuken Taikai*) was inaugurated as a nation-wide league tournament for all high school clubs and U-18 youth teams. Preliminaries are played out in nine regional divisions of the 'Prince League'. Entry to the final tournament is thus decided according to ranking in a league in which 6 to 20 teams participate. Given that the tournament style once served as an educational tool for instilling the basic values of a meritocratic society, the new system clearly signifies a major shift in society's orientation and the role assigned to football. It could be argued that, at last, football in Japan as a cultural activity in its own right has begun to establish strong roots.

Conclusion

In its 2001 Basic Sports Promotion Plan (*Supōtsu Shinkō Kihon Keikaku*), the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology recommended the establishment of 'comprehensive regional sports clubs' throughout Japan over the coming decade. In full awareness of the limits deriving from a school-centred sports system, the central government bureaucracy demanded that regional governments establish public sports clubs with a varied programme, catering for the needs of local people of all ages and technical levels. In order to further sport's autonomy from school and educational ideology, these clubs are to have

their own coaches and clubhouses. This policy shift is another sign of the formation of a new sports culture, which has already undergone fundamental transformation within school culture, and indicates the direction in which Japan's football culture is heading at the beginning of the 21st century.

Football, which had been introduced into Japan during the Meiji era, was incorporated into educational institutions after World War II. Inside the school system, and especially the physical education curriculum, where football was practised from its earliest years, the game was framed by some of its core ideological features, including perseverance, endurance, stoicism and self-neglect. Changes in society have evoked a reconsideration of these educational values, and the meaning assigned to football has consequently altered in line with major shifts in society. In contrast to baseball, which never parted from the school framework, football has at last been prised away from it and to a certain extent liberated from the tint of educational value. Triggered by the launch of the J.League, football is no longer simply regarded as an educational means to an end, but rather as an autonomous cultural activity, a healthy endeavour, a life-style, and for increasing numbers of Japanese people, a way of life.

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8 Government involvement in football in Korea

Chung Hongik

Introduction

This macro-functional study of football in Korea has three broad aims: assessing the current status of football at various levels, unraveling the pattern of government policy, and establishing the relationship between the status of football and government policy. Figure 8.1 is a schematic representation of the thought processes that were involved in the preparation of the present work.

The box on the left of Figure 8.1 contains five factors that are used to explain the nature and scope of government involvement in football, as well as the development and status of football within the country. The arrows within the figure indicate causal relationships among the variables, but they are not intended to demonstrate strict causality, as in the testing of a hypothesis. The intent here is only to show the general direction of flow of influence among the variables through an examination of historical records and recent data. First, let us take a brief look at the rationale for choosing the five factors in the box, by examining the effect each of them may have on sport policy. Their relationship with the development of football will be discussed later in the examination of the empirical data.

As in other policy areas, culture should also be a factor in government sport policy processes; government policies, for instance, would be closely related to a country's cultural tradition toward sport. For example, physical prowess was highly valued in societies where the majority of the ruling class consisted of warrior-aristocrats, as opposed to scholar-bureaucrats. During the course of modernization, those in the upper class influenced the emergence of modern sports, and

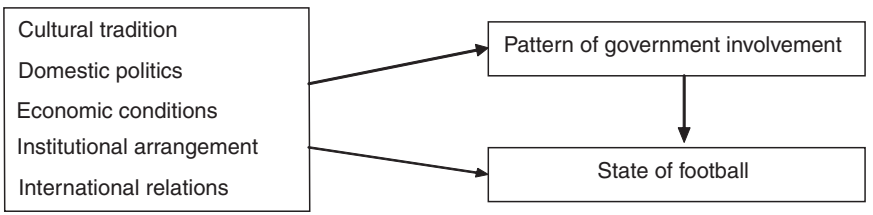

Figure 8.1 Analytic framework of government involvement in football

governmental power was used in order to restrict certain sports to the exclusive domain of upper class activities (Holt 1981). In contrast, societies with a scholar-bureaucratic tradition showed opposite tendencies.

Second, policy processes are an inevitable part of the political process, and policy is an outcome of the exercise of political power. Government is, therefore, more likely to adopt a favorable policy towards football when there is a need for the political elite to use it for mass support. Prior to 1990, this domestic political need was behind the energetic, and often effective, government sport programs in the Socialist countries in Eastern Europe.

Third, national economic conditions affect sport policy by both changing the demand for sport and increasing or decreasing government financial support for sport. While demand for sport, in general, is likely to increase with an improvement in people's material conditions, the demand for a particular sport would vary at different income levels. Thus, the total consumption for sport-related activity rises with the growth of income, but the demand for expensive sports, such as golf or skiing, may increase at faster rates than others.

Fourth, the pattern of government involvement in sport depends also on the major institutional arrangements relating to sports activities, the most important of which, for our study, seems to be the educational institution. The educational institution is directly responsible for school sport, but it also can exert an important influence on the development of adult and elite sports.

Lastly, governments are increasingly concerned these days with the international significance of sport, and their domestic sport policies often reflect the objectives they pursue in the international context. The willingness to provide huge financial support to promote elite sports and national teams is just one such example.

The present status of football

The development of football in Korea has taken place in four distinct phases, which closely parallel the history of modernization and the societal development of the country. Football was first introduced to Korea in the 1880s, around the same time that the country, aptly called a hermit kingdom, began opening up to the outside world. It is said that Koreans saw modern football for the first time in 1882, when the crew of the British carrier 'Flying Fish' played a football match while the vessel was in port near Seoul.

Not long afterward, however, the country fell prey to imperialism, and it was during Japanese colonial rule that football made its way into Korean society, thus acquiring in the process its most salient and enduring character, nationalism. The colonial government strictly controlled freedom of association; thus, sporting events provided rare opportunities for people to gather together in large numbers. As such, football served, on many occasions, as a major rallying point for anti-government protests and the independence movement. This eventually led to a ban on all football matches and the dissolution of the national and regional governing bodies by the colonial power, near the end of their rule.

By the second phase (from independence in 1945 to the mid-1970s) of development, football was firmly established as a popular sport in Korea along with baseball. Schools adopted it as a core physical education program; people attended football games more than other sports; and, most importantly, national teams swept major Asian championship matches, giving a much-needed boost to national confidence and pride for the newly independent nation. The primary government policy objective during this period was building strong national teams, and in pursuit of this goal the government adopted a corporatist administrative system, where authority over football was shared by the political, business, and football professional elites, each with separate roles to play.

The third phase (1975–1980s) of football development was characterized by commercialization. Economic prosperity caused a general decline in the public interest in football, both as a participant and spectator activity, which prompted, in turn, its transformation from a mainly amateur sport into the country's first professional sport. Also, in preparation for the 1988 Seoul Olympics, the government increased its support for national teams, an action that drew heavy criticism for neglecting other worthy programs.

The fourth and present period is singularly marked by the World Cup, which Korea co-hosted with Japan for the first time in Asia. The World Cup was a huge success by all accounts for both countries due to their excellent management of the largest World Cup tournament in the history of FIFA as well as for the superb performance of their respective national teams. Korea and Japan both advanced for the first time to the second round, and then the surprising Korean team went further to reach the semi-finals, defeating some of the best teams in the world along the way.

The 2002 World Cup was undoubtedly a watershed in the development of Korean football and it is still too early to assess its full impact. But important changes have taken place in a number of areas. One of them is the expansion and improvement in the infrastructure of football. The ten stadiums used for the World Cup venues, for example, were all newly constructed according to FIFA requirements with local government and state subsidies. Lots of new grass turf was laid throughout the country to replace turf of substandard quality, providing, especially for young players, the facilities needed to develop proper skills and tactics early on.

Also, there are signs that the audience is changing in terms of composition and size as a result of the World Cup, which had broad appeal across the general population among such diverse groups as high school girls, co-eds, housewives and professional men and women. The effect on the attendance at professional matches is not clear yet. The average attendance per game for the Korean League was 9,864 in the first half of 2002 before the World Cup. After the World Cup, the number jumped by more than 50 percent to 15,839 in the latter half of the year. But attendance fell back sharply to 10,729 for the first half of the 2003 season, mainly due to a loss of fan interest after the transfer of many national team players abroad. Among the national team players, five had been members of foreign club teams since before the World Cup and six were newly transferred

abroad after the World Cup. Globalization is another dimension the World Cup has brought to Korean football. Korean fans did not show much interest in foreign teams previously, except when they played against Korean teams. There is now a growing interest in foreign players and teams and they are frequently shown on domestic television.

Football in school

There were times when it was easy to find, in cities and small towns alike, children of varying ages playing football in their neighborhood playgrounds. However, those 'pick-up' games seem to have been replaced with much more organized activities and have been formalized around school. Therefore, the status of school football, in conjunction with physical education in school, will be explored.

Between the ages of six and 14, education is compulsory in Korea, but most children begin their schooling at four or five in kindergarten, and remain in school until the age of 17. Elementary school is for six years, from the age of six to 11, and secondary school consists of three years of junior high, and is followed by three years of senior high school. The distinctive features of the Korean education system, in relation to physical education, are the centrality of education, the importance of grades, and a highly competitive college entrance examination. Both parents and children accept it as a golden rule that a person has to go to college to advance in society, and not just to any college, but to a superior college. From elementary school, students are under pressure to sacrifice almost everything in order to prepare themselves for entrance into a prestigious college. This means studying multiple academic subjects for countless hours, which leaves little time for participation in extra-curricular activities, including sports. Physical education (PE) is compulsory in both the elementary and secondary school according to law, but it has been poorly managed and neglected by teachers and administrators alike.

In elementary school, PE classes generally meet three times a week for about 50 minutes each. The objectives of the present national syllabus are to provide the child with the opportunity to achieve improvement in health and physical fitness, to attain a sound mind, a broad range of physical skills, and an understanding of a range of games and sports. In reality, however, most of the objectives are not feasible because of a lack of adequate facilities, equipment, and qualified teachers. For example, most schools do not have PE teachers who majored in physical education in college because the current law does not require it. Children are taught the basic skills of track and field and the methods and rules of a few popular sports, but other than that, they pass the time playing various games, such as football, baseball, and volleyball, under the instructor's supervision.

However, circumstances are very different for those on school sports teams. For example, although schools are not uniform in the management of their sports teams, in many schools, children on the football team are expected to take their athletic activities very seriously. For them, playing games ceases to be fun; instead, winning and scoring goals becomes most important, for which they have to practice

long hours at the expense of their schoolwork. As a result, the players on the teams often end up being separated from the rest of the student body, and are treated more as athletes than students. Even at this early age, it is not unusual for both the children and their parents to view football as a means to a scholarship and an eventual career prospect.

In 2000, 260 boys' and 11 girls' teams were registered with the elementary school football association. Since the total number of elementary schools is 5,322, this meant that only 5.1 percent or 1 out of about every 20 schools had a school football team. In 1993, there were 152 boys' teams and just one girls' team, of which only the former increased to 167 in 1995. In 1996, the year it was decided that Korea would host the 2002 World Cup, the number of boys' teams jumped to 199. More dramatic was the creation of 10 new girls' teams in the 1999–2000 period, due also to various supportive measures that were adopted in connection with the 2002 World Cup (KFA 2001).

In secondary school, despite some basic differences, the PE programs do not differ greatly from those of the elementary school. Both middle schools (junior high schools) and high schools (senior high schools) have PE specialists teaching PE classes, as the law requires it. The law also stipulates that the purpose of PE is to introduce the students to a range of athletic skills in such sports as swimming, skating, gymnastics, and track and field, so that they may have good health, sound spirit, and enjoy sports and outdoor life. However, students spend PE classes mostly playing games among themselves, just as they used to do in elementary school. In the current national curriculum for secondary school, PE is allocated three hours per week in the first and second years but the time is reduced to two hours a week for the remaining years. But many senior high schools skip PE entirely in the sophomore and senior year, in order to give students more time to study for the college entrance examination.

In 1993, there were 125 registered football teams in middle schools, of which 117 were for boys and eight were for girls, and by 1995 the number of boys' teams increased to 130 while the girls' teams remained unchanged. Here again, many new teams were created after the country was chosen to host the World Cup Final. As of 2000, the number of football teams stood at 184, of which 162 were for boys and 22 were for girls. A similar trend was observed among high school teams. High school football teams numbered 97 in 1993, of which ten were girls' teams, which grew in 1995 to 101 teams in total, with 87 boys' and 14 girls' teams. As of 2000, there were 95 boys' teams and 11 girls' teams from 1,969 high schools, which meant that only 5.6 percent, or one out of every 19 high schools, had a football team (KFA 1999–2000).

Scouting for good football players begins as early as middle school, but the practice is widespread at the high school level, especially among the schools with a strong football tradition. First-rate players from middle school teams receive scholarships from a high school. For many high school players, football becomes the most important part of school, and they have to spend a great deal of time practicing, with little time left for serious study. As a result, it becomes practically impossible for them to prepare, academically, for the fiercely competitive college

entrance examination; this leaves the special admission for athletes program as the only avenue open for them to go to college. However, the numbers and qualifications of athletes that a college or university may accept under the special admission program are strictly regulated according to the Ministry of Education statute. This places severe pressure on the student-players and their coaches to perform well in big matches that count in the special athletics admission program.

Professional football

The Korean professional football league, the first such league to appear in Asia, was launched in 1983, a year after the start of the professional baseball league. Currently, about 450 players are registered on twelve teams, including two new teams created after the World Cup, each of which makes one of the major cities its home base. In 2001, the league, playing about 200 games from spring to late fall, drew about 2.3 million spectators (KFA 2001). During the same period, about one million more people went to see professional baseball games, though its average attendance per game is not much higher than that of football.

The most striking feature about professional football in Korea is that large commercial corporations, for which the teams function as an advertising tool, own all of the teams except the two new ones. Not one of the teams is said to be financially independent and they all rely heavily on subsidies from the corporations they belong to, which critics say is an important reason for the low quality and slow progress of professional football.

Corporate football

Corporate football, with its long history, is a unique feature of Korean football and has played a major role in the development of Korean football. These are the teams that belong to various large organizations, the majority of which are public concerns, such as major banks, public utilities, and metropolitan governments. At one time, the army, navy, and marines also had their own teams, as did some large private corporations. In their heyday, before the professional league was created, the corporate teams played virtually like professional teams, drawing large crowds throughout the country. The players on these teams were all regular employees of their respective organizations, but, in reality, they played football exclusively.

Today, 15 corporate teams still exist, three of which are women's teams, and with the professional league on the scene, they have become more like club or amateur teams (Choi 1999). Some teams still allow players to concentrate fully on football, but the others now require their players to do at least part-time work as well. However, these teams still remain an integral part of Korean football, and continue to make an important contribution. For college players who fail to be drafted to a professional team, these corporate teams provide an opportunity to continue their football career after graduation.

Government policy and policy themes

Over the years, several 'policy themes' (Houlihan 1997) have defined, individually or in combination, the direction and scope of government involvement in sports in general, and football in particular. The oldest and most enduring of them is the potential of football to reflect the international prestige of the country. Although the relationship between sports and national prestige is not confined only to football, it is accorded a special significance in Korea for two main reasons: its colonial roots and early dominance on the Asian circuit. As mentioned above, during its initial development stage, football provided an important rallying point for political and social resistance to colonial rule, and thus became associated with strong nationalism. Initially, during the 1950s and 1960s, the Korean national teams were very successful in Asia. It was a particularly difficult time for the newly independent country, a fragile, poor democracy trying to rebuild itself in the aftermath of a devastating war, and people were in dire need of some good news to cheer them on. The Korean national team won the first two Asian Cups in 1956 and 1960, which was followed by championships at the Merdeka Cup, King's Cup, Asian Youth Cup, and so on. So, many Koreans remember football as the sport that prompted national pride and international prestige when the country was faring the worst.

The second theme concerns the use of sports to strengthen military capacity, which had a colonial root, but became conspicuous in the period following the Korean War. Since the outbreak of the war, all the branches of the military had adopted a variety of sports, including martial arts, to promote the physical fitness of conscripts, some of which had later become popular physical exercise among the general population. The most well known among them is Taekwondo, a traditional Korean martial art that had almost disappeared but was revived by the military during this period, later becoming popular worldwide and an Olympic sport. For several years during and after the war, the government required both high schools and colleges to conduct military drills in conjunction with their physical education program; retired officers were sent to the schools, either as drill instructors or to be in charge of physical education.

A third theme is related to the attempt by the government to use sports as a means to promote economic development. For quite some time the government has been investing public money in the construction of municipal sport facilities to provide regional cities with revenue support, but the real recognition of the economic potential of sports came in the 1980s, which led, in part, to the government's decision to host the 1988 Olympic Games. According to the official assessment (KDI 1989), the Olympic Games were a huge financial success, and the profits were used to establish the National Sports Promotion Fund. Encouraged by the Olympic experience, the government has loudly proclaimed that the primary justification for hosting the World Cup was its great 'social and economic impact' (KDI 1998).

The final theme is the concern with health and fitness and the need to use sports and physical exercise in their promotion. Longevity has always been

treasured in traditional Korea, but the value of physical exercise and sports in connection with it had not been recognized at all. However, since the late 1980s, because of rapid urbanization and a steady rise in the standard of living, many began to show a keen interest in health-related matters and the benefits of sports and outdoor activities. Consequently, fitness and health have emerged as an important political issue, and the government, in turn, has made a substantial budget allocation toward the development of sports and outdoor facilities for the use of the general public. Accordingly, the budget for the sport-for-all programs rose from 8.0 percent of the total government expenditure for sport in 1995 to 10.8 percent in 2000, and again to 19.9 percent in 2002. As part of this program, neighborhood football clubs have been receiving material and financial assistance from the government, although according to critics the amount of support was not adequate.

Policy focus and instruments

Based on the policy themes mentioned above, during the past few decades, various goals have been proposed and adopted at one time or another by those responsible for government involvement in football. However, the primary objective has always been to build a strong national team, one that can win important international matches, resulting in national prestige on the world stage. Although government support was also concentrated upon national teams in other sports, it is particularly so in football, due to its wide appeal to the public as well as to the frequent success of the national teams in the past.

The government uses a variety of programs to support national teams. One such policy instrument is the stand-by national team system, in which players selected to a national team would train together for a long period of time for major international matches. However, the practice had to be abandoned after the professional league came into existence, because professional teams refused to release their players beyond a limited period of time. The national teams practice together for a much shorter period now. At present, there are four national teams under the management of the Korea Football Association: the World Cup team, the national team for the Olympic Games, the national women's team, and the national youth team. Of these four, the women's team has not received much support either from the Association or from the government because of its rather poor success record. Korea has produced fine female athletes in many fields, but not in football because football is not traditionally considered as a women's sport. Despite some success, the team has faired badly over the years against its frequent rivals from Japan, North Korea, China, and Taiwan. And it had never qualified for the Women's World Cup either. But in 2003, the team finally gained the right to compete in the World Cup by beating its rivals Japan 1–0 after losing 14 straight matches to them. After the game, the team captain told the press in an emotionally charged voice that they had been treated like second-class citizens compared with the men's team and hoped for better treatment in the future. It was reported that each player got a US$10,000 bonus after the qualifying win. It was the first

substantial compensation for the women but was definitely 'peanuts' compared with the reported sum of US$330,000 which their male counterparts each received after gaining fourth place in the 2002 World Cup.

In the past, all these teams practiced in the national training complex, which was especially built for the training of national teams in various fields, located on the outskirts of the capital city. However, in the last few years, they have moved out of the compound and have been using separate fields.

Among the financial incentives provided by the government, the national athletic pension plan is a uniquely attractive program for many players. According to the program, every time a player wins in a major international sport event, they earn some points towards their entitlement to a pension. For example, a gold medal winner in the Olympics would be given, say 110 points, which entitles them to between US$800 and US$1,000 a month for the rest of their life. Those who accumulate points beyond this level would receive a special one-time-only bonus proportional to their records, but not more pension. Another major sport policy instrument is the maintenance of an athletic unit in the army. Under the country's conscription system, all male athletes must serve in the military for about three years, which causes a great loss not only to the athletes themselves who are drafted in their physical prime, but also to the development of national teams. So, the government created the special athletic unit to give top sport talents the opportunity to continue their athletic career as army players in military service. Furthermore, the law gives an exemption from military service to those who make an outstanding achievement in major international games. Such an exemption is granted only after a careful review of individual cases, but a gold medal winner at the Olympics has a good chance of getting a favorable decision. All the players in the World Cup 2002 team who had not joined the army received exemption from military service from the President in recognition of their contribution to the team's success.

In contrast to the national teams, other football teams receive little support from the government. The absence of support is especially significant for school and neighborhood football teams. The condition of school football teams needs to be examined as part of the problem of poor physical education programs in schools.

As stated above, the government has shown little interest in improving the quality of PE in schools. Although the deteriorating health and physical fitness of the young remains a recurrent issue, most people, as well as government authorities, do not expect to improve the situation through school, which they think is already burdened with the more urgent academic task of preparing students for college entrance examinations. The result of parental abandonment and government neglect can be clearly seen in the way many school athletic teams are financed. The Ministry of Education allocates too small a budget for the school physical education program, so that most schools do not have enough money to maintain a football team on their own, forcing them, in the absence of a large donation from alumni, to rely on contributions from the families of the players.

The notion of 'citizen sport' or 'sport for all' began to take root in the early 1990s, with neighborhood football becoming an important part of it. There are

now more than 7,200 neighborhood footballs clubs, with a total 265,000 members, making it by far the largest neighborhood sport organization in the country (Korea Sport Science Institute 2000). The members of these clubs are good football fans, but they play together mostly for physical exercise and companionship, rather than for love of the game. Government support for individual clubs is usually non-existent, but local governments sometimes provide playgrounds and some basic equipment. Only regional and national matches receive substantial financing from local and central governments.

Administrative structure

Until the early 1980s, sport had not been recognized as a distinct area of public policy to warrant the establishment of an independent agency in the central administration. Before this, the administrative arrangement for sport policy was characterized by a diffuse and fragmented structure, in which various sections, belonging to several ministries, were given charge of policy management without effective coordination among them. Therefore, the creation of the Ministry of Sport, following the announcement of hosting the 1988 Seoul Olympics, was a complete turnabout in the government approach to sport. It was clear that the purpose of the new ministry was to ensure a successful Olympic Games, and not the promotion of sport per se, but it also provided a significant turning point in the pattern of government involvement in sport. The new Ministry drafted the first five-year long-term development plan for sport and outdoor activities, and was able to secure a greatly increased budget for its implementation. With the adoption of the plan, the government acknowledged formally the state's responsibility for the outdoor and recreational activities of the general public, and laid out comprehensive policy targets.

As expected, the Ministry of Sport underwent several structural adjustments after the Olympics. It first became the Ministry of Sport and Youth, then in 1993 it was integrated into the Ministry of Culture and Sport, and finally in 1998 it became part of the present Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The central government expenditure for sport nearly doubled during the 1990s, and its proportion of the total government budget also steadily increased at the same time. In 1995, only 0.102 percent of the government budget was allocated for sport, but the proportion jumped to 0.28 percent in 1998. However, it is the composition of the budget, rather than its magnitude, which is more revealing (Figure 8.2). A look at it clearly shows the extent to which government sport policy has been geared toward the reinforcement of national teams. Of the 1995 budget, 8.0 percent was earmarked for the sport-for-all programs, 10 percent for elite sports, 3.0 percent for the financing of sports organizations and 78.0 percent for international sports programs. Since most of the international programs involve sending national teams abroad for matches or practice and holding international games in Korea, the bulk of the revenue was being used clearly for the promotion of the national teams. The 2000 budget is slightly different, but the basic composition remains the same: 10.5 percent for sport for all, 17.4 percent for elite

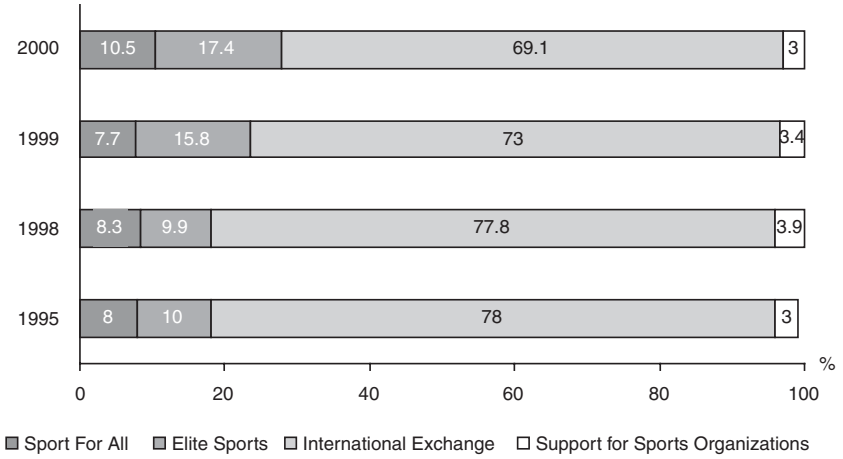

Figure 8.2 Composition of government expenditure on sport

sport, 69.1 percent for international programs, and 3.0 percent for financing of sports organizations (Korea Sport Science Institute 2000).

National governing body

The Korea Football Association (KFA) is a powerful national governing body, its roots going back to the early 20th century. It has, under its umbrella, five nationwide amateur and professional federations, as well as regional associations that are located throughout the country. It usually works in close cooperation with the government, from which it receives considerable administrative and revenue support. Moreover, because the sports sections in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism do not have the necessary manpower and experience to implement and supervise policies and programs, the KFA often acts as an agent of government in the management of government programs.

More often than not, the president of the KFA is chosen not from athletes or sports administrators, but either from influential politicians or heads of major corporations. Among the past presidents of the association are one former President, a former Prime Minister, and several owners of large business corporations; and the recent trend is to favor businesspersons over politicians, due to the huge financial contribution its president has to make to the association. The current president, Chung Mong-Joon, is the owner of a major conglomerate, as was his predecessor, and he runs the organization with the staff he brought in from his many corporations. Buoyed by the success of the Korean national team at the World Cup 2002, Chung Mong-Joon ran for presidential election, which was scheduled for December of the same year, only to fail in a bizarre political drama in the end. About two months into the campaign, he and one of the two other candidates decided to form a coalition because neither of them had a chance

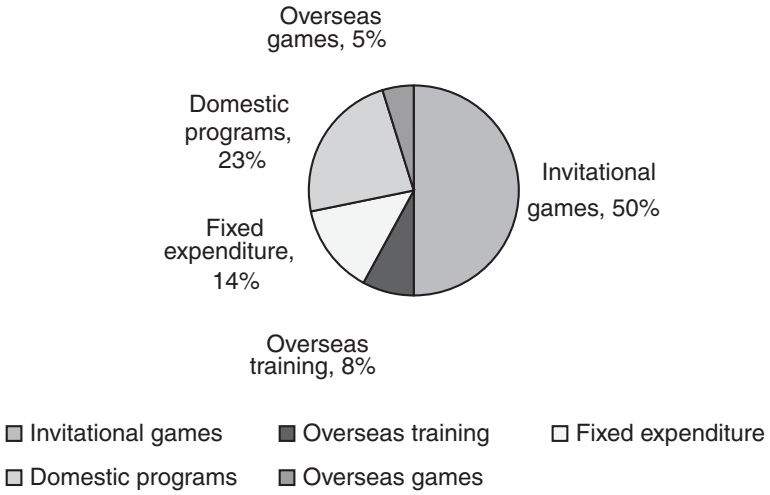

Figure 8.3 Composition of KFA's expenditure for 1999

of beating the stronger third candidate alone. Then, after prolonged negotiations, Chung agreed reluctantly to drop out of the race giving his support to his new-found ally Roh Moohyun. But on the day before Election Day, Chung abruptly announced the withdrawal of his support for Roh, which did not prevent his former partner Roh from winning a narrow victory.

The KFA is also, by far, the richest national governing body; its 1997 revenue was about US$11 million, in comparison with its nearest competitor, the Korean Volleyball Association's US$4.3 million. Among national governing bodies, the KFA was also the first to achieve financial self-sufficiency. The KFA's revenue for 2000 remained at around US$11 million, due to the country's weakened exchange rate, of which the government provided only 3.3 percent, while Chung's personal contribution accounted for 8.3 percent, with the rest coming from the earnings of the association itself.

Conclusion

From this brief examination of the state of football and related government policies, it should be obvious that the government has an overwhelming concern for the projection of national prestige through the success of the national football teams, which leads to excessive spending on international programs at the expense of others. As a result, school sports, including football, suffer the worst. The numbers of school football teams and players are very small, compared with other countries; moreover, they are critically under-funded and are poorly managed. Further, numerous neighborhood football clubs could be, with proper support and management, turned into valuable resources for the development of football. Indeed, the expansion of the government program for sports and outdoor activities

for the general public, has helped to increase the number of clubs and participants, but the quality of football played there remains the same.

Determining the causal chain that leads to a particular pattern of government policy on football is difficult, but it is possible to identify a number of important sources for the present policy, as stated at the beginning of the chapter. The first and oldest source of the present policy is a legacy of the traditional culture, which viewed sport or any form of physical activity, for that matter, as being unworthy of a gentleman's pursuit. During the last dynasty, which lasted over 600 years, the dominant ruling class were literary scholars, whose ideal was perfection in the pursuit of knowledge and spirituality. So, even to this day, there is a deep-down feeling among parents that becoming an athlete should not be the first career choice for their children.

A second source is the centrality of education and the selection of students in colleges on the basis of school grades and test scores in the entrance examination. As stated before, this has had the unfortunate result of neglecting, if not abandoning, most school athletic programs, leaving only a small minority of students on school athletic teams.

The third source is changes in the standard of living. A rise in living standards provides people with a new and wide variety of choices in athletic and leisure activities, diminishing the attractiveness of football, which is generally considered a poor man's sport. A case in point is golf; once considered a luxury, it is now accepted as the favored sport of the upwardly mobile middle class. As such choices become increasingly available, the political base of support for football is getting smaller and smaller.

The fourth source is related to the country's increasing dependence on the global social, economic, and political network, which makes it imperative to enhance the capacity to present a positive national image on the world stage. For a latecomer to the industrial world with the ambition to become a country to be reckoned with, it is perhaps not so strange to have an obsessive drive to succeed in the arena of international sports.

As elsewhere, football is now much more than just a sport; it is inseparably interwoven with the politics, economy, and education of society. Thus, government policy towards it is similarly enmeshed. The nature and processes of government football programs are intimately connected with government activities in the economic, cultural, and international policy spheres, and unraveling them is becoming ever more challenging.

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Part III

Football, representation and identity in East Asia after 2002

9 Football and the South Korean imagination

South Korea and the 2002 World Cup tournaments

Yoon Sung Choi

Introduction

> *What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?*
>
> (James 1983)

By posing this question, C.L.R. James calls attention to the critical necessity within the discourse of sports to refrain from speaking about sports exclusively; as an alternative, he offers us a legacy picked up by many analysts that focuses on the *non-sportive* and multi-dimensional social processes involved in the performance, spectatorship and organisation of sport-related mega-events. The 2002 FIFA World Cup, co-hosted by South Korea and Japan, provides a fruitful case study for examining precisely the way in which a sporting event should and can lead to discussions about identity formation at the global, local, civic and personal levels. Given the pervasive impact this sporting event had on the everyday lives of Korean citizens, it would be difficult to argue that football is only played out within the stadium itself.

Framed by a discussion of the nature and significance of sports and mega-events, this study attempts to investigate the changes made to everyday life during the World Cup as a means to project a new kind of Korea. The role of two specific groups is examined: (1) the National Council for a Better Korea Movement (NCBKM), an organisation instituted by the government to help facilitate a civic transformation in preparation for the World Cup, and (2) the Red Devils, the official fan-club of the national Korean football team. Both groups were instrumental in the national image-making and identity formation that took place within the nation during the football tournaments. Interestingly, although both groups shared the desire to construct and portray a positive image of their nation to the world, their attitudes and tactics diverged considerably. Thus, the competing discourses between the two organisations insert the 'image-making' that took place in South Korea into current theoretical debates concerning globalisation processes and whether or not they lead to homogenisation or heterogenisation, unity or fragmentation (Maguire 1999: 16). Naturally, the study of *global* sports reflects the general themes and inquiries that characterise the discourse on globalisation.

Following a thematic overview of mega-events and globalisation, I closely examine the agenda and changes instituted by the two groups mentioned above as a way of testing the social significance of sports-related mega-events, and the role they play in (national) identity formation. This analysis is concerned with the opportunities mega-events and sports cultures provide for nations and people in modern societies to address their individual and group *agency*. Moreover, it is an enquiry into the symbolic capacity of sports to fashion imagined communities.

Sports and mega-events

Sport has the powerful capacity and effect of positioning people in multiple roles. Anyone who is a fan of a team understands that both loss and victory are shared. By allowing people to strongly identify with a player/team, sport makes possible the transference or transcendence of roles. Essentially, the fan is able to *become* the player. As part of the team, one is no longer merely a spectator, but a part of the scrutinised party as well. Simply put, the game puts one's individual and collective identity at stake. It is clear that the politics of identity are tied into sports. What's more, sport-related mega-events such as the World Cup add multiple dimensions to this already complicated web of identity originated by sports. Mega-events broaden the panorama by diverting attention *away* from the stadiums, and expose other aspects of the nation to the world: its culture, city, people, etc. Giulianotti (1999: 13) highlights the football field as a global space, and also identifies the rivalries in the World Cup that exceed the boundaries of physical competition: nations compete both socially and politically, contending for much more than the football title.

So, how does a nation/group/individual react to the intense global gaze stimulated by mega-events? Furthermore, what are the implications behind their (re)actions? In *Global Sport*, Joseph Maguire gives consideration to the dual or opposing reactions precipitated by global sport; he addresses the 'contradictory role that global sport plays in binding people to habitus memories and "invented" traditions, yet also exposing them to the values, feelings and images of the "other"' (Maguire 1999: 7). According to his view, the nation attempts to unite and solidify itself through cultural 'invention', yet feels compelled to negotiate this construction with the glaring gaze of 'the other'. Implicit in global sports is this dichotomy between 'nation' and 'the other'.[1]

Maurice Roche refers to these contrasting reactions as *resistance* and *adaptation* models. He argues that from one perspective, 'sport culture, together with international sport mega-events ... can be argued to provide significant cultural resources for people in late modernity to use in order to adapt to the economic and political opportunities for life in the new social order'; conversely, he asserts that it can also be argued that mega-events provide cultural resources for 'people to resist the threats which this contradictory new order can be said to pose to the very possibility of maintaining a coherent personal identity and of exercising effective agency' (Roche 2000: 221). He astutely highlights the conflict between a group's inclinations to maximise the growth potential that global sports affords, with its desire to preserve autonomy at various levels. Through his observation,

he brings to the forefront the key terms and conflicts associated with globalisation and mega-events: 'opportunity', 'new social order', 'threat', 'identity' and 'agency'.

Along with Roche and Maguire, many scholars question whether local cultures are weakened, strengthened or pluralised by globalisation processes; in other words, do they lead to 'crisis of identity and dislocation' or 'ethnic assertiveness' (Maguire 1999: 180)? One paradigm in the debates on globalisation/modernisation of societies is the modernisation approach, which tends to emphasise the homogenisation of local cultures to the Western model of development. Others deny that globalisation necessarily weakens the 'nation-state'; rather, they argue that global forces challenge and *persuade* local cultures to adapt and undergo reconstruction (Hargreaves 2002: 28). The NCBKM and the Red Devils represent both of these opposing points of view.

South Korea: horizon of expectation

In his work on mega-events and modernity, Maurice Roche asserts that the staging of mega-events was and 'remains important in the "story of a country", a people, a nation. They represented and continue to represent key occasions in which national "tradition" and "community" including a national past, present and future (national "progress", potential and "destiny"), could be invented and imagined not just by and for leaders and citizens of the host nation, but also by and for the publics of other nations' (Roche 2000: 6). Indeed, the narrative of the 2002 World Cup with its diverse actors tells us an interesting story, not only about South Korea's contemporary condition, but its hopes for the future as well.

Jens Bartelson (2000) argues that globalisation not only functions as a 'space of experience', but also a 'horizon of expectation'. According to him, 'globalisation's "horizon" contains an implicit promise to transcend modernity proper and the strictures it imposes on political imagination. It is thus a mediating concept that brings about conceptual change, taking us … into the realms of pure becoming' (Bartelson 2000: 184). As co-host of the World Cup, the South Korean government as well as various other business groups and citizens were acutely aware of the nation's position on the horizon.

In order to intelligently discuss the *global* behaviour of South Korea during the World Cup, an understanding of Korea's specific social/historical context is crucial. In the 1990s and well into the early part of the millennium when preparations for the World Cup tournaments were in progress, South Koreans were slowly recovering from the economic crisis of the late 1990s. That the signing of the IMF bailout has been dubbed the '2nd National Shame Day' reveals the trauma and significance of this period for the nation (Shin and Chang 2000: 95). More than a mere economic disaster, the IMF crisis sparked a social calamity that disrupted all levels of Korean society. Unemployment rates skyrocketed, the number of homeless increased, the middle-class were severely weakened, and overall morale in society was extremely low. Consequently, a great deal of emphasis was placed on re-strengthening the economy and building the pride of the nation through this mega-event.

'All for the good of football …' states the last line of the Joint Statement issued by the Korean Football Association, Korea Organizing Committee for the 2002 World Cup, and Japanese Organizing Committee for the 2002 World Cup (KOWOC 2002). Nevertheless, despite the sport organisations' claims to be solely football-oriented, the way in which various social agents in South Korea chose to stage the FIFA tournament in South Korea brings to light the web of multifarious elements that extend beyond the 'good of football'. Consideration of the *un*official statements in conjunction with the official ones provides a more complete picture of how the 2002 World Cup should be interpreted. For example, in an article printed in *The Korea Herald* (2002), Sim Sung-Tae effectively illustrates the 'off-the-field' strategies and objectives of some South Koreans during the time of the World Cup:

> Many Koreans believe that the World Cup might be the best way to promote the country to the rest of the world, which still has a lasting image of Korea as a poor peasant country that was separated into two pieces after the Korean War (1950–53). Many foreigners still do not know that in 1996 Korea became a member of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, which is often called the social club of advanced countries.
>
> (Sim 2002)

This assertion captures one of the themes that is central to the following analysis of the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan: 'promoting the country to the rest of the world'.

In fact, this excerpt is from just one of the numerous newspaper articles at the time that illustrated the hopeful viewpoint of 'many Koreans' that the World Cup would boost their image to the world (e.g. Cossa and Skanderup 2002; Kang 2002; Kim Mi-Hui 2002; Lee In-Yeol 2002; Lee Jong-Heon 2002). Various social agents were focused on the non-sportive aspects of the football tournaments, and the victories outside of the arena they might gain. Among these potential victories were receiving recognition and legitimation from the outside world that they were a 'modern' nation, and boosting the economy through foreign investments and tourism. As former host of the 1988 Seoul Olympics, South Korea was fully aware of the potential for such events to speed up the process of rapid economic modernisation.

Kim Dae-Jung, president of South Korea at the time, captured the initiatives of the South Korean government when he spoke of the World Cup as 'a chance [for Korea] to make the country prosper diplomatically, economically and culturally, in sectors like tourism and science' (Roh 2002: 1). Similar to other political elites who have 'tended to intervene in and promote sport as an important instrument for the creation of a sense of national identity and as a way of enhancing their state-nation's prestige and influence nationally' (Hargreaves 2002: 32), Kim used the football tournaments as a means to achieve clearly outlined social and political programmes. As a media spectacle that 'generates greater media coverage than any other international sporting event … including the Olympics in terms

of the attention it attracts' (Kim Chong 2002: 1), the World Cup certainly had the power to captivate the attention of economic powers, other nations, and tourists, needed to achieve the prosperity that the government desired. After all, an audience of 37 billion TV viewers watched the 1998 France World Cup Finals, twice the number that watched the Olympic Games. As co-host to 16 countries playing 32 matches in each nation, South Korea hoped to host 800,000 foreign tourists (Roh 2002: 1).

Aside from television viewers and tourists, the attention of investors and foreign companies was anxiously anticipated. For example, Mark Kleinman states: 'There is nothing today to match the World Cup as a marketing event. And as the global audience approaches 50 billion people, 15 multinational companies, ranging from … Coca-Cola and Gillette to newcomers Toshiba and Yahoo, will be working frantically to ensure that their £25m sponsorship deals have been money well spent' (Kleinman 2002: 5). A successful World Cup would generate profits for not only FIFA, but various international corporations and South Korean businesses as well. FIFA's interests and those of South Korea clearly overlapped. Reinforcing the economic significance of the World Cup to its people was the daily spate of articles in various Korean newspapers listing statistics published by the Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency, Hyundai Institute, Goldman Sachs, and others. A range of editorials also voiced citizens' concern and anticipation of presenting a suitable national image in order to boost the national economy. Clearly, football, national image, and economic success were linked in the minds of the Korean people.

The Better Korea Movement: a model of adaptation?

> The BKM (Better Korea Movement) takes this opportunity to make this World Cup successful through our people's mature cultural and civic awareness. It means we are striving to strongly define our system of community life in order to raise our standards to match that of an advanced nation.
>
> (NCBKM Mission Statement)

As its name indicates, the mission of the National Council for Better Korea was to construct a 'better' Korea. The name, Better Korea Movement itself provides grounds for further reflection. 'Better' for whom? 'Better' than what?

> All the world's attention is focused on the fact that [the World Cup] is the first to be held in Asia and that it is jointly hosted by Korea and Japan. We need to boast of our strengths; and our weaknesses, we need to decisively correct. Through this event, there is no better chance to express our confidence about our citizens' awareness and national economy and to restore our reputation. We will receive greater attention through this event and that attention will in the end strengthen our pride and recharge our fuel towards improvement. And to make it our vital power, people will experience

> what Korea is like through our living environment and form an opinion and impression about Korea. That is the reason why the NCBK is needed. We're making an endeavor to make Korea's special traits and characteristics known. Since we are the first contact most foreigners will have, we must try to keep our moral standards so that we can leave a good first impression.
>
> (Better Korea Movement 2002)

The eager consent to change one's own ways in favour of an alternative paradigm raises many pertinent questions regarding power relations between nations and various social agents. After all, the rhetoric above is not without its contradictions. Although the NCBKM claims to be 'confident' about its citizens and that they intend to display Korea's existing culture, the activities sponsored by the organisation clearly reveal their desire to construct an image that is entirely different from their social reality. The rhetorical choice of 'living environment' as opposed to 'lived' environment offers crucial insight into their tactics for changing citizens' everyday lives. It implies a temporary suspension of the present for, paradoxically, an *advanced* present. The intentions stated above reveal an agenda to instil change by discarding the existing model of Korea.

Although the NCBK may have believed they were not re-constructing, but merely fine-tuning an extant 'modern' standard of living, the literature put forth by the committees as well as the programmes implemented by them contradict that notion. Tacit in the BKM's statement about its efforts to 'match those of an advanced nation' is the assumption that Korea operates according to a *sub*standard or second-rate criterion. Their success as an organisation depended upon transforming the 'lived' lives of its citizens before encountering the 'outside' world. Furthermore, two main points prevail and require further analysis: (1) the promotion and assumption of a unified and collective front, and (2) using the yardstick of 'the other' to measure its culture.

It would be erroneous to assume that the NCBKM was representative of all Koreans. Tied into the discussion of mega-events is the question of democracy. Maurice Roche claims that 'to a significant extent event producers have typically excluded the public from decision-making and planning roles other than in the form of finance providers (via taxation and subsidies) or in token ways' (Roche 2000: 202). Nevertheless, from editorials printed in various editions of different newspapers, it would seem that Korean citizens were unified in wanting to improve certain conditions in its civic society. One editorial printed in the daily *Chosun Ilbo* entitled 'Standards of thinking' reads:

> The *Chosun Ilbo* has been running a 'Global Etiquette Series' since the end of 1998, marking the 1,080th story on the opening day of the World Cup. While various real-life stories appeared, many were deploring ignorance of social order and lack of concern for others. If the nation at least makes sure to say sorry when bumping into others, not to spit on the street and keep reasonable ambiance in restaurants, the living standard of the country would take a step forward. Respecting social order is a way to make a better living

> for all of us, and therefore, the campaign must not end with the World Cup but should continue as a lasting goal for the society.
>
> (*Chosun Ilbo*, 1 July 2002)

Reading statements such as 'for all of us', 'the nation', 'the country', 'the society', one cannot help but question their ideological significance and validity. Who can justifiably represent 'the nation'? Moreover, what is an adequate representation of Korean 'society'? The self-improvement project of the NCBKM entailed transforming and 'strengthening' three main sectors in South Korea: culture (in the form of language, manners, etiquette), the city landscape, and national economy (promoting programmes that would potentially solicit future investment).

As John Sinclair (1996) and others have argued, language is one of the key components of culture. Thus, any transformation of Korean culture would logically involve modifying its linguistic capabilities. As a result, the national language was readily displaced in spaces of public interaction. Establishing a language and means with which Koreans could communicate with its foreign guests was, after all, an extremely essential objective of the NCBKM.

In collaboration with the Better Korea Movement, *Joongang Ilbo*, one of Korea's leading newspapers, launched the Before Babel Brigade (BBB). Wishing to obviate the type of confusion that had ensued in the ancient biblical city of Babel, the project was to establish an efficient way for foreigners to communicate and navigate their way through Korea. The BBB Committee not only offered simultaneous interpretation of English, Japanese, Chinese, and Spanish, etc. throughout the World Cup, they also provided translation and tour guide services over mobile phones during the month before the tournaments (Kim Ji Soo 2002: 3). Promoting the use of Korea's high-tech mobile phones was a strategy for exemplifying Korea's image as a blossoming information technology (IT) nation in order to attract business investments. At the same time, it would encourage better connections between Korea's helpful citizens and confused tourists.

In addition, the landscape of the city streets was greatly altered by the signs in English and Chinese that were added around sites of public transportation. Moreover, the Seoul City government even launched a telephone and internet hotline where people could report signs with incorrect use of English or other languages (*Seoul Now online*, 2002a). Clearly, the NCBKM wished to flaunt its capability to accommodate the linguistic needs of all its guests. As Ulf Hannerz asserts, due to the symbolic capacity of language, it marks 'the most inclusive social space within which people [can] engage in a common intelligibility, and thus develop [a] sense of "we-ness"' (Hannerz 1996: 21). Constructing a linguistically inclusive environment was the NCBKM's calculated attempt to 'match advanced nations' (see BKM mission statement). Making foreigners feel most 'at home' was a strategy that they hoped would influence foreigners' views of Koreans as 'modern'. Therefore, eliminating all categories of difference was crucial for creating a common base of modernity.

One Korean website stated Koreans' perception that they were weak at outward expression and smiling. However, it is highly doubtful that Korean citizens came

to that conclusion themselves. At the end of 1999, the Better Korea Movement had sponsored a panel discussion entitled 'Korea and Korean society seen by foreigners in Korea' (Meinardus 1999: 1). This seminar was an invitation for foreigners to offer any suggestions or critiques they had about Korean society at large. It is probable that the deduction regarding its smiling culture was derived from the judgments passed by foreigners during the seminar, for the perception of foreigners was highly valued during this time. Nevertheless, the article claimed the judgment to have been Korea's own. Ronald Meinardus of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, a German organisation that promotes liberal politics, expressed his scepticism about the BKM which he derived from this very panel discussion. Not only was Meinardus deeply affected by the political incorrectness of the 'stereotyping' by some panellists, he was more surprised that Korean natives not only stayed throughout the entire seminar, but offered standing ovations at the end as well.

Preoccupied with many of the same issues that this paper explores, Meinardus (1999) raised many provocative questions. He asked: 'What is the target image of the "better Korea"? Is it for Korea to become a Western society in East Asia, possibly even, to ask provocatively, a "Little America"?' Meinardus was wary of the BKM's attempts to efface Korea's own standards of living with an American replacement. Perhaps compared with other cultures, Koreans do wear impassive facial expressions. Whereas Westerners usually stand face to face and shake hands, Koreans bow, with their faces turned to the ground. As it was traditionally forbidden to look straight into the faces of elders, those who did not follow this cultural code were regarded as brazen and arrogant. However, the expressionless faces of Koreans were not a cultural faux pas, but a distinct cultural mannerism. To accommodate foreign guests, the NCBKM essentially encouraged Koreans to mask themselves with smiles, as it were. Clearly, cultural comparisons and *not* cultural relativism was the norm during the World Cup. Headed by the Bright Smile Movement Headquarters, Bright Smile Festivals were held all over Korea, and involved courses in kindness training, image making, and general manners; classes on international manners were provided free of charge by professional lecturers (*Hankook Ilbo*, 2 July 2002). South Korean citizens, much like the signs in English and other languages that were hung up all over the cities, were treated like smiling ornaments to decorate the national landscape.

As alluded to previously, these *cultural* transformations did not go completely uncontested. Despite the lack of publicity they received, not all Koreans agreed with the way in which their nation was being packaged to the world. For example, those who wished to highlight Korea's food culture received little support from the city. Food was a cultural product that was not 'for sale' during the World Cup. When the Seoul Metropolitan Government cleaned up the city's food carts before the opening of the World Cup, many people were displeased. Patronising the food carts that sold hot food had been part of a daily regimen for many pedestrians; the carts were a vital and vibrant element of Seoul's cityscape and sidewalks. However, claiming that vendors had poor sanitation standards, city officials banned street vendors from selling food cooked on the spot. Only allowed to sell food

that could be warmed up, *eomuk* (fishcakes on a skewer accompanied with hot soup) and *tteokbokgi* (spicy rice-cake stir-fry) were replaced by sandwiches, hotdogs and hamburgers that did not have to be cooked. Food stall owners and customers did not understand why these foods had to be banned. One 25-year-old customer commented: 'It is deplorable that there will be only hamburgers to eat in the streets of downtown Seoul' (Kim Sung-Tak 2001). Although the government claimed that it was for the sake of sanitation that the food carts were eliminated, it cannot go unnoticed that Korean food was replaced by American food, and Korean vendors displaced as a result.

In addition to food carts, *pojangmachas*, another staple of Korean social culture, was banned. Due to the elimination of these tented outdoor drinking venues where food is also cooked outside, businessmen and the younger generation looking for cheap and quaint places to drink and socialise were limited to more expensive restaurants or less desirable social venues. Street-side tents were undesirable to the NCBKM who aimed to make the streets of Korea appear as organised and sanitary as possible. Although there was not much evidence expressing displeasure at this decision by Korean citizens in the media, through my fieldwork conducted among Korean nationals who had been there at the time, the loss of *pojangmachas* was devastating, as part of their everyday mode of life had been temporarily suspended.

According to Meinardus (1999: 1), Seoul's traffic was another of the main contentions of the foreign monitors. Consequently, a training programme focused to 'improve' Korean driving culture became an ongoing project for a year before the World Cup. Suh Sang-Rok, former Vice-President of Samni Business group and a motivational speaker, was in constant demand during the World Cup to teach the practice of kind services to visiting foreigners during the global tournaments. These training sessions were especially geared towards Korean taxi drivers who are notorious for swoosh-cutting into lanes, foul language and reckless driving (Kim Ji-Soo 2001). In order to avoid potentially scaring off foreigners, the BKM made great efforts to change Korean driving habits. Targeting taxi drivers revealed that everyone had a role to play in representing the nation.

Another major initiative of the NCBKM was its *Clean Toilet, Clean Korea* campaign. Perhaps the impetus was caused by a comment in one article that stated: 'most people would agree that Korea has a notorious reputation for its foul public loos' (*Seoul Now online*, 2002b). Approximately 40,000 volunteers registered at a volunteer centre under the jurisdiction of the Seoul Metropolitan Government to help clean toilets and teach citizens how to use restrooms in a respectable way. Starting in 1999, the *Clean Toilet, Clean Korea* campaign invested 5.5 billion won (US$4.2 million) in building more rest stations along the highways. They emphasised such rules as forming one line at the entrance to the restroom rather than standing individually in front of each door. Significant financial and time investment was made in this movement. Additionally, more western-style toilets were installed to replace the traditional squatters (*Seoul Now online*, 2002b).

In October 2001, Korea was host to another global event. More than 400 participants from around the world gathered for a three-day World Toilet Summit,

where the goal was to 'raise lavatory standards worldwide … [and allow] participants to learn and compare the restroom culture of different countries'. Held at the same time, the Korea International Restroom Expo (KIREX) was an exhibition created to showcase the 'new beginning for 21st century toilets'. Tours of 'beautiful restrooms' were organised in Seoul and Suwon to flaunt their toilets. Sim Jae-Duck, president of the Korean Clean Toilet Association (KCTA), a 'nonprofit organisation established to raise awareness of public toilet etiquette and its conditions, with the overall aim of boosting Korea's image', observed that toilet culture and 'issues cannot be solved through the effort of one country. With close cooperation of the international community, we have to solve these common issues for the well-being of all societies … Thus, we would like to help lay the foundation for setting a new toilet standard and culture through joint efforts.'

It is perhaps a bit comic to note that even toilet culture is becoming a global culture. Clean toilets are, in fact, a symbol of advanced and modern nations. It is more than likely that one would associate unsanitary toilet culture with primitive societies rather than modern ones. However, the KCTA's ambitions exceeded wanting to achieve a 'modern' image. The summits also had direct relation to potential business that would boost the Korean economy. *Clean Toilet, Clean Korea* organisers said they hoped the exhibition would help promote Korean technology to be used in improving China's public restrooms in time for the 2008 Olympics. Financial gains were clearly a consideration in the BKM's efforts.

It may be easy to assume that the NCBKM's activities are indicative of local cultures' subservience and adaptation to the 'West'. However, their actions cannot simply be thought of in terms of these dualities. It is essential to consider that the motivations behind *weakening* their culture was ultimately in order to *strengthen* it; the World Cup was a particular and fixed moment in time when indigenous, daily life was temporarily on hold. Seen in this light, mega-events have a strong social impact in that through the suspension of time, they allow nations and societies to propel into the future.

Red Devils: an alternative paradigm

Recognising the challenge of changing customs and the behaviour of people, the strategy of the Better Korea Movement had been to establish rigid disciplinary programmes for affecting change within Korea's civil society. Their efforts required prominent financial and time investment from both organisers and members. The Red Devils, however, the official fan club of the South Korean national football team, provides an interesting contrast to the National Council for Better Korea. Although the Red Devils were organised to a certain degree, and also preoccupied with projecting a positive image of its group and nation to the world, their main objective was not to indoctrinate change among all Korean citizens. Their mission was merely to cheer on the Korean team and support them with their following. As representatives of the Korean spirit, they relied on an alternative interpretation and construction to represent the nation.

The Red Devils movement depended upon the unpredictable success of the

Korean football team. Consequently, their existence was more tenuous. Nevertheless, the Korean team's unprecedented level of success brought forth a burst of dynamism and energy in and through the group. Red Devil fever spread like a swift flame, and seemed to be contagious among all Korean citizens. The movement grew in accordance with the victories they could have never planned for, which was a direct contrast to the NCBKM's methods of careful planning and exactitude. Nevertheless, the spontaneous Red Devils were perhaps more successful in accomplishing the goals of the NCBKM which was to give the world a good impression of Korean citizens, making Korea infinitely more popular.

Although there had been no organised advertising campaigns to publicise them, the Red Devils ironically received the most attention in the Korean and international media. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, a German newspaper, reported that 'Korean fans have impressed viewers and visitors from around the world with their passion and fanaticism for the national team. At the conclusion of the tournament, it may be Korea's fanatical "Red Devil" supporters who provided the lasting global image of a month-long football tournament' (Yoo 2002).

Likewise, the *New York Times*, *Asahi Shinbun* in Japan and other newspapers around the world reported the same. Images in the media revealed 22 million people voluntarily pouring into the streets in major cities all over the nation to root for the Korean national team. Clad in red, draped with Korean flags on their bodies or painted on their faces, even fans that were not a part of the organising committee dubbed themselves the 'Red Devils'. Not only was this a group that united and included the majority of Koreans, its membership extended to foreigners in Korea who had developed a passion for the Korean team, as well as Korean-Americans all over the world.

Networking through the internet, the Red Devils club came to represent the excitement, passion and patriotism of all Koreans. Chanting *Dae-han-min-guk* (Republic of Korea) in unison to the beat of the traditional Korean drum, and singing '*Oh Pilseung Korea*' (Victorious Korea) loudly through the streets, the spectacle was indeed fabulous. The bleachers of the stadiums during the games were a sea of red amidst the waving Korean flags. One major distinction between the Red Devils and the highly Westernising influences of the Better Korea Movement was that the Red Devils were patriotic, celebrating their Koreanhood with cultural symbols like the flags, the Korean language, and traditional musical instruments. In *Sports Worlds*, Maguire *et al.* claim that the 'symbols involved in sport – national flags, ethnic and regional emblems, songs and anthems chanted … are evidence of concretisation of identity within the sporting arena' (Maguire *et al.* 2002: 144). Remarking upon the recent increase in cultural nationalism in Korea, scholar Yi Jeong-Duk aptly observes that this is part of a trend to 'overcome the difficulties caused by the rapid globalisation in the 1990s'; he claims that 'by promoting Korean cultural elements as constituents of world culture, Koreans can insist that they are important because they have certain valuable and unique cultural phenomena which contribute to the world. Herein is an effort to reinvent or reconstruct the significance of Korean traditional culture to enhance the dignity of the Korean people' (Yi 2002: 27). Clearly, emphasising local culture, rather

than downplaying it presents an entirely different alternative to the NCBKM's strategies for improving the national image.

What was perhaps most impressive to people who had witnessed the Red Devil phenomenon, was the display of 'world-class standards of order, manner and sports etiquette …' (Yoo 2002). The writer describes how 'in a show of exemplary order, both street cheerers and stadium spectators politely picked up every scrap of paper and waste immediately after the end of each game'. Picking up trash was actually conduct that the NCBKM had encouraged its citizens to do. There is undeniably an overlap and infiltration of ideology between the BKM and Red Devils. On the surface, the Red Devil Movement was an indigenously 'local' movement that highlighted Korean 'culture' perhaps more conspicuously than the BKM. Nevertheless, the Red Devils themselves were not void of external influences. The Red Devils had internalised and were mindful of the tenets of the BKM, despite their spontaneous and unbound image. Behind its artless and unstructured appearance, the Red Devils displayed a contained and bridled passion. The Red Devils, then, were not only representative of a paradigm of resistance in their ethnic assertiveness, but also a hybridity or synthesis of the way in which local cultures can blend the global and the local to create a new national image.

For many, these images of controlled passion were a strong contrast to previous images of Korea. K. Nigel Buddon, chief executive of DuPont Korea, said 'people used to have memories of union workers wearing red bands protesting on the streets, and then dispersed by tear gas used by the police. Now those memories were replaced by images of the patriotic, organized, powerful "Red Devils"' (ibid.). Serving as a historical marker for how far Korea has come from its early struggles for democratisation, the Red Devil phenomenon helped Korea to achieve a rectification of the past. Additionally, these images were strongly contrary to European fans made notorious for rioting and looting after disappointing results in football matches in pre-World Cup media coverage. US sports writer Ronald Blum commented that: 'as soon as the final whistle sounded, street cheerers became sanitation workers, bending down to pick up trash. They were not the fierce faces of those European fans who tried to intimidate opposing fans and players' (ibid.). Another contributor to the *Joongang Ilbo* commented that 'the combination of shouting that fills the skies and the self-regulating order of hundreds of thousands is a mystery to people that are used to hooligan violence or South American-style frenzy' (Lee O-Young 2002: 1). Not only were Koreans part of the same scale of comparison to the West, they were even judged to be 'better' – not only 'better' than other national fans, but certainly a 'Better Korea'. Through the Red Devils, Korea was able to fulfil its goal of impressing others outside the nation and rectifying the tainted view of its past.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to show how sports and mega-events are used for non-sportive purposes. The 2002 FIFA World Cup reinforces the arguments of scholars such as Roche and Maguire, who emphasise the powerful influence of sports and

mega-events in society. The competing discourses of the NCBKM and Red Devils provide cogent insight into how a modern nation is imagined, and what representational strategies are deployed to achieve those images.

The South Korean way of hosting the World Cup also illuminates the struggles of a nation to define itself in the face of external pressure. South Korea's inability to cope with the increasing global demands, as there had not been sufficient institutional and policy reforms in place to deal with them, had been at the root of the IMF crisis, as Kim and Moon (2001) cogently argued. For them globalisation is essentially a euphemism for (neo-)liberalisation and thus a direct opposition to the strict state control over the economy by prior authoritarian governments. The vacuum due to the fading state-induced discipline then opened the door for the national traumatic experience of the failure to secure autonomy, which resulted in the transference of control to outside forces. However, what Kim and Moon failed to observe is the *transference* of discipline from internal or domestic forces, to the external during the economic neo-'liberalisation' period.

I contend that with any level of globalisation comes a strict disciplinary protocol. A perfunctory analysis of the actions taken by the National Council for Better Korea Movement and the Red Devils may reveal that South Koreans were excessively deferential and had renounced their control to external demands and influences. Indeed, in many ways, they had. After all, it cannot be contested that much to the chagrin of Korean citizens, their everyday lives were changed and modified to accommodate the foreign guests, spectators, businesses, etc. However, a more careful study of the disciplinary mechanisms installed to transform Korea's everyday landscape reveals a more complex level of discipline. Perhaps a testament to the 'modern' nature of Koreans, this pattern of using outside influences to advance and excel in the global market place, despite their ambivalent and personal feelings towards their perpetrators in the past, is essential to keep in mind when considering the notion of discipline during the staging of the World Cup.

Instead of providing us with a clear answer as to whether or not local cultures are strengthened or weakened by globalising forces, this chapter perhaps only serves to complicate the matter. Both groups tried to produce an *authentically* Korean image by drawing from external sources. This paradox is precisely the *paradox of globalisation* that sports-related mega-events present: the temperance of individual or local freedom with an outside discipline. In the age of globalisation, a nation can only achieve autonomy within boundaries, authenticity only through imitation, and reclaim the past solely by discarding it.

Note

1 I understand that setting up a simple dichotomy between East and West, Orient and Occident, is an inadequate model to analyse the relationship between the NCBKM/Red Devils and the 'West'. After all, the staging of the World Cup involved a complex web intertwined with the interests of various groups. As Arjun Appadurai (1990) states, 'the new global [culture] has to be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center–periphery models (even those that might account for multiple centers and

peripheries). Thus, it is essential to keep in mind the staggering, simultaneous and more importantly, uneven levels of power in globalisation.'

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10 Football, fashion and fandom

Sociological reflections on the 2002 World Cup and collective memories in Korea

Whang Soon-Hee

Introduction

The 2002 FIFA World Cup co-hosted by the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and Japan was the first World Cup to be held in Asia. The author has conducted observation, interviews and studies of the impact of the event in both Korea and Japan. Fieldwork in Korea was carried out from the start of the 2001 FIFA Confederations Cup, the so-called World Cup 'rehearsal', onward. Interviews were held with committee members of the Korean World Cup Organising Committee, host city officials and board members of the 'Red Devils', the national team supporters' organisation. Field study was also conducted in stadiums and on the streets of Seoul, Taegu, and Incheon. After filming the fans in the stadiums and on the streets, interviews were conducted with selected supporters. The larger research project from which this chapter stems covers questions such as: How did host cities prepare for and organise the event? How did the citizens participate in and think about the preparations? And, have local communities changed as a consequence?

This chapter offers sociological reflections on two of the most significant manifestations of the Korean public's involvement in the 2002 Finals: public viewing and street cheering. My argument is divided into two parts. The first discusses the intersection of public space and football supporters' culture in Korea. As I will argue, to understand the body cultures of street supporters, it is necessary to examine the structures and practices of individuals that constitute these particular cultures. As structural factors, I will first discuss the content of street supporting; second, the transformation of the meaning and usage of space over time; and third, the differentiation strategy within the street supporters' body culture. Taking the practices of individual supporters into account, I apply Erving Goffman's dramaturgical approach to micro-sociological analysis in order to explore the dramatic street scenes in Korea during the World Cup. The second part will reflect on the significance of 'national flag fashion', or the variant usage of the national flag (*taegeukgi*), for different generations of Koreans. I analyse their respective frameworks of collective representations and the way memories of the past have been changed over the course of the 2002 World Cup. The chapter thus offers both an analysis of the external manifestation of Korean football

Plate 10.1 Street supporters' face painting and national-flag fashion

culture, recognised and remarked upon by observers throughout the world, and the internal meaning of *taegeukgi* fashion for Koreans.[1]

Public space and football supporter culture in Korea

The 2002 World Cup informed the observing world that even if football plays no significant role in the image of a nation, its people might turn into devout supporters. In Korea, where all 64 final games were available free on terrestrial broadcast, street supporting was equally important as the event itself and featured prominently during June 2002. To allow public viewing, FIFA demanded broadcasting rights fees of 2 to 5 million Korean won (€14,800 to 37,800) per game above those already paid by broadcasters. Central Government as well as host cities actively promoted public viewing. A total of 2,021 screens at 1,868 locations nationwide were set up so that people could watch the games together with many fellow supporters. Hence an aggregate audience of 22.4 million street supporters, which would be half of the Korean population, was counted by officials to have assembled in the streets during the Korean matches. The most popular place was the Kwang Hwa Mun intersection in Seoul, where a total of 3.5 million spectators watched the seven matches (*Chosun Ilbo*, 4 July 2002).

In the stadiums as well as on the streets, hundreds of thousands of supporters were seen shouting '*Tae! Han! Min! Kuk!*' (Republic of Korea!) and 'Cha cha, cha, cha, cha!' while dancing and stretching their arms upward in a coordinated manner to show their encouragement. When the fans yelled *tae!* and *min!*, they raised their volume to a deafening level. Then they would hold their arms in front of their chest and clap their hands with the same rhythm. The supporters repeated the same performance over and over again. These fans were described in one Japanese newspaper as follows:

> Korean supporters had been shouting *Taehan minkuk* hundreds of times. However, when the penalty shoot-out started just after 6 p.m., they became silent and held their breath for the moment of truth. When the fourth player on the Spanish team missed his penalty kick, the Korean supporters came to life again. As Hong Meong Bo scored to win the game for South Korea, supporters began chanting the *Taehan minkuk* theme … Around the Kwang Hwa Mun intersection, which became the landmark for Koreans to come and watch the games, some 800,000 street supporters (figure provided by the police agency) had Seoul awash in red. The instant the Korean team secured victory, a drop curtain was pulled down saying 'Let's go to Yokohama!' … Nearly five million people were reported to have participated in street supporting throughout the country.
>
> (*Asahi Shinbun*, 23 June 2002)

The *Asahi Shinbun* gave this description of the South Korea–Germany semi-final on June 25:

> This was the first time for the Seoul stadium to stage a match featuring the home team. After the game had drawn to an end, 60,000 'Red Devils' gave encouraging applause to the players who were squatting down on the ground. Immediately after a signal from a supporter gong, the Red Devils rediscovered their voice and kept shouting '*Tae! Han! Min! Kuk!*' … The centre of Seoul, from the city hall to the Kwang Hwa Mun intersection, was transformed into a football stadium on June 25 and was brimming with over one million supporters. After the game, they continued to chorus '*Arirang*' and the national anthem ... Their applause and voices echoed throughout the downtown, which was quite a spectacular view. Entranced supporters shouted at the highest possible volume, with innumerable hands rising upward.
>
> (*Asahi Shinbun*, 26 June 2002)

As South Korea advanced to the second round, and then from the quarterfinals to the semifinals, the drama inched closer to a crescendo. On June 25, more than seven million people reportedly participated in street supporting for the game against Germany. Where did this apparent intoxication come from? What kind of pleasure did the fans seek to gain from supporting on the streets? By so doing, what did the transformation of body cultures initiate? Did street supporting change the meanings of space and time, thereby producing a new culture? The following section analyses these mechanisms of transformation of the body culture of Korean football supporters.

Travelling through time and space: street supporting as sport tourism

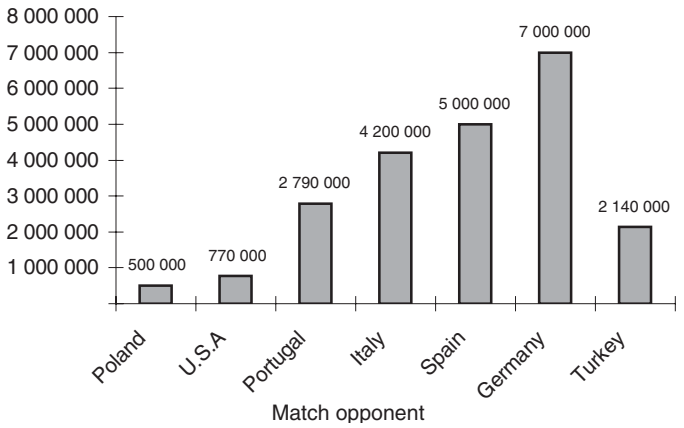
In Japan, public viewing was partly restricted; specifically, street viewing was banned. It was reported in the *Asahi Shinbun* that, 'the municipal administrators

of Aichi and Saitama suspended public viewing' and 'they were fed up with uncontrolled public viewers' since 'the over-zealous fans crowded into the stadium after the Japan–Russia game and made it difficult to maintain public safety' (*Asahi Shinbun*, 11 June 2002). Another newspaper was more scathing of the fans: 'enthusiastic young supporters cause disturbance', 'people went astray', and 'the police tried to deter them' (*Nikkan Supōtsu*, 11 June 2002). That the Japanese media attributed the suspension of several public viewing activities to deviant behaviour, especially by young fans, had to do with an emerging antagonism between 'young supporters making a disturbance' and 'the police trying to control them'. The Japanese media occasionally labelled excited young Japanese supporters as 'Japanese hooligans'. To avoid conflict between the two sides, and any uncontrollable situation in a public space, the authorities decide to suspend public viewing.

In Korea, by comparison, the scale of public viewing snowballed during the World Cup (Table 10.1). In addition to existing electric bulletin boards on buildings and screens set up by local authorities, dump trucks carrying large viewing screens were mobilised. These screens, provided by companies eager for advertising exposure, added an unknown number to the already large array of public viewing spaces. Korean fans, just like their Japanese counterparts, were excited to the extent that they climbed up on public transport vehicles and shouted support for the national team. However, the police and security guards generally tolerated people who were in this state of extreme excitement. The security personnel preferred to wait for the supporters to climb down, and even hugged them while they guided them away. The media widely covered such behaviour, but there was no mention of it being a 'disturbance' or being 'deviant'. In fact, they portrayed street supporters in a positive light.

What made the two countries' news media discourses so different? In Japan, the guidelines for one's public behaviour are found in daily social life, and

Table 10.1 Estimated numbers of street supporters in Korea



Source: *Sege Ilbo* 2 July 2002.

Plate 10.2 Korean supporters in a state of extreme excitement

excitement that goes beyond a certain level is considered in a negative light. World Cup matches were considered to be 'stand-alone', with the emphasis on the football, on individual national team matches, with a quick return to normal behaviour expected. Following the example of Japanese hero Nakata Hidetoshi, a cool appearance was considered desirable. In Korea, excitement right after the game was not considered as deviant. Rather, it was seen as merely a part of the larger international football festival, with the emphasis on the mega-event. Freeing oneself of the shackles of normal social behaviour was tolerated and in fact encouraged, creating a fun, 'hot' atmosphere, compared with the 'cool' of Japan. Therefore, the same type of behaviour was labelled differently in Korea and Japan. While the term 'Japanese hooligan' was used to refer to the excited Japanese young supporters, none of the Korean media contemplated describing their local fans as being 'Korean hooligans'.

As the Korean team continued to progress through the tournament, the number of supporters mushroomed. Japanese newspapers described them as young people, supporters, and civilians, and inserted pictures of the rapturous crowds. Although the young, energetic crowds that dominated public places might have caught the eye of most readers, virtually all social demographics from the young to the old were cheering the team on the streets. Moreover, between half and two-thirds of the street supporters were women, and 40 per cent of the Red Devils' members were women (Kim 2002: 110).

The Red Devils purchased team shirts, painted their faces and bodies, and prepared various means of signalling support. Street supporters, as if they were going on a day trip, brought picnic sheets, hats, sunglasses, snacks and drinks,

and headed for the public viewing locations. The space for public viewing became something of a tourist attraction. This behaviour of boisterous merrymaking meant two things to them: watching a game, and enjoying a short trip, or in other words, 'sport tourism' (cf. Standeven and De Knop 1998). That street supporting enabled people to enjoy sport as entertainment and sightseeing made the fans' performance more meaningful. Street fans found a special space far removed, if not always physically, from where they routinely live and work.

This special trip, unlike an ordinary trip that is a temporary movement of a relatively long distance to seek something new, took probably only ten minutes by public transport. However, the experience during the journey was far from any normal form in their daily life. The time and space associated with street supporting could provide people with an extraordinary experience of excitement. During the World Cup, street supporters threw themselves into the special settings of this global sporting event, seeking an extraordinary experience available only for a fixed period, and then returned to their daily lives. As the fans changed back to being regular commuters, the symbolic space of public viewing became just a street for public transportation.

Plate 10.3 A part of the sports tourism experience, Korean fans wearing Red Devils clothing and national flag fashion mingle happily with USA supporters they have only just met

The transformation of symbolic meanings and the structure of the street supporters' body cultures

By analysing the way fans communicate and interact with one another among the staged gathering of individuals on the streets, their body techniques can be unveiled. Rather than verbal communications and 'expressions given', 'expressions given off' (Goffman 1959: 4) – including broader types of behaviour that others interpret symbolically – is an appropriate concept for this phenomenon. Assessing the changes in 'the definition of the situation' (Goffman 1959: 3–4) as time passed and 'the arts of impression management' (Goffman 1959: 208–37) contribute to our understanding of the actions of street supporters who created and shared the meanings of the symbolic space. The change of meanings over time can be located through four developmental stages: symbolic transformation, supporting, recurrence, and symbolic re-formation.

First stage: the symbolic transformation of space

The first stage appeared during the preparation period. Street supporters arrived in town at around 10 a.m. to wait for the games that began at 3:30 or even 8:30 p.m. Prior to kick-off, the streets were packed with fans. To avoid traffic jams and congestion, public traffic access was temporarily suspended in some areas so that people could travel more smoothly. Police and security guards were mobilised to control the traffic and ambulances were carefully deployed. Public screens and relay broadcasting systems were set up, official sponsors of the World Cup prepared stages for their advertisements, and singers and cheerleaders got ready to give performances. Street vendors started selling items such as national flags, horns, and shirts. People who had gathered on the streets rushed to buy food, drinks, and products to support their team, repeatedly practised their chants and cheering, and took part in various entertainments.

The event was a carefully stage-managed affair involving many different actors. The way supporters defined the public space and the 'main involvement' as well as the 'side involvement' (Goffman 1963: 43) of the street supporters varied. As time went by, they began to exchange 'expressions given off' with one another with the intention of showing that they were ready to support their team. Both the macro-structural and micro-individual factors produce the second stage, 'the space of supporting'.

Second stage: the space of supporting

When the game was broadcast on a public screen, the streets began to function just like a football stadium. In this process, the way street supporters participated in the event and interacted with each other was transformed from 'main involvement' to 'side involvement'. The game as main focus monopolised the attention of street supporters, leading them to be absorbed deeply into the game. Interaction as minor focus helped to keep the supporters' behaviour in order (Goffman 1963). The initial role (the main involvement) of the police and security

guards in the first stage was to maintain public order. However, in the second stage, their main occupation involved observing the game. Law enforcement no longer became so necessary since the spectators were so engrossed in the game. Maintaining public order thus became a secondary concern for security personnel. A similar change in priorities impacted upon street vendors, whose initial main involvement, selling merchandise, was replaced by watching the game as primary objective in this stage. The change for street supporters was no less obvious. During the first stage, they behaved differently, such as eating, joining in amusement activities, and asking other fans to write their wishes and names on the national flag. In the next stage, their primary objective consisted solely of watching the football match.

Supporters on the streets formed and then shared a common 'definition of the situation'. This space, which had been carefully produced, imposed rules as a 'dominant involvement' (Goffman 1963: 44), under which everyone had to watch the game. Directed by the Red Devil's commanders, street supporters began to sing '*Arirang*' and repeatedly shout '*Tae! Han! Min! Kuk!*' In this sense, street supporting was voluntary as well as involuntary. Enforcement existed to the extent that people tended to regard being quiet or supporting in one's own way as inappropriate in this particular setting. It must be emphasised that people were involved in this setting to a very high degree. If they did not express strong support, they might have been exposed to 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) – shame or feelings of exclusion from the public street supporters' culture.

One example of symbolic violence and social sanctioning occurred during the Korea–Spain match on June 22 where Mr and Ms K had joined the street supporters at the Kwang Hwa Mun intersection to cheer for the Korean team. But, as Mr K explained:

> I desperately wanted to cheer for the team. However, I was embarrassed, and simply couldn't. On that, the people around us looked down on us as if to say 'why aren't you cheering?' Their attitude was 'why won't you cheer together?' Those glances and attitudes were truly horrible, and hurt us.
>
> (Cho 2002: 210)

The reason why Mr K felt he could not chant '*Tae! Han! Min! Kuk!*' and sing the national anthem along with everyone else was not simply because of feeling ashamed or lack of self-confidence. In the same place in 1987, Mr K was standing as a commanding officer in the military police arrayed against the pro-democracy demonstrators. During the demonstrations, the students defying the police were constantly singing the national anthem among other songs. Five years later, when thousands of students outnumbered the police, the national anthem was again sung with gusto, making the police break out in goose-bumps. For Mr K, thereafter, the national anthem became an object of fear. Recalling those grievous memories, and despite the ebullient mood around him, Mr K felt a deep sadness, and was simply unable to sing the national anthem light-heartedly. But, after Korea's

victory, when the street was enveloped in excitement, he was at last able to sing it, side by side with the young people who he had once feared, with his daughter on his shoulders and with tears rolling down his cheeks.

Third stage: the space of recurrence

After the end of the game, the supporting space was normalised – returned back to a place of regular transportation for people going about their everyday affairs. Public screens and stages were withdrawn, underpasses that were closed during the match were reopened, and the police and security personnel returned to their normal duties. Street vendors wound down their businesses, and the spectators, who enjoyed the atmosphere of the festive occasion for a while, gathered their belongings and returned to their normal daily lives. Many of them voluntarily participated in cleaning the streets. Cleaning the streets had two ceremonial implications: it represented the closing of the event, and also a moving forward to the next stage. The fans could enjoy acting as initiators of a new stage and ending the previous one. Pursuing this kind of pleasure was highly symbolic.

Fourth stage: the symbolic re-formation of a multi-structural space

After the World Cup party was over, the streets returned to normal as if nothing out of the ordinary had occurred. However, for street supporters, this familiar public space after the carnival was no longer exactly the same as it was before, either culturally or symbolically. Through the experience of having enthusiastically supported the national team, people formed meanings and collective memories attached to a specific time and space. Such re-formation of public space has taken place periodically throughout Korean history. South Korea experienced large-scale pro-democracy demonstrations in the 1980s on the same streets. This provided Koreans gathering on the streets with a special significance associated with democratisation, a time of strife, solidarity, and national identity. After the 2002 FIFA World Cup, enthusiastic street supporting gave two additional meanings to the previous symbolic senses: the street had been the scene of a global event, and helped produce the pleasure of supporting. Consequently, this familiar public space, the street, which was essentially a place that reinforced a sense of solidarity and national identity, had awakened multiple meanings for the Korean people. Hence it can be defined as a 'space of symbolic re-formation' in a cultural as well as symbolic sense.

The change of meanings, as described by this four-stage model, was primarily concerned with the body in public space and the symbolic meaning attached to actions and objects in such social space. The discussion showed that the variety of meanings was caused by the sequential transformation of time and space, as well as by the different objectives, orientations, and memories of the participants in these time–spaces. The second part of this chapter will discuss the implications of the re-forming of these collective representations for the participants' image of society and memories of the past. A prominent role in the public display of

nationalist or patriotic attitudes of street supporters was attachment to the national flag, the *taegeukgi*, which turned into a fashion statement. Supporters wrapped the flag around their bodies, and wore it like a cape or an apron. Some girls tailored tank tops from the flag. Virtually all painted the *taegeukgi* on their bodies, arms and faces. However, the generous usage of this national symbol was mainly practised by the young generation, sceptically watched by their parents' and grandparents' generations. The mechanism of ambivalence and multivalence will be explained by referring to the structure that reproduces representation, the memories of representation, the recent national-flag nationalism and its contribution to reconstructions of memories of the past.

Reproducing the memories of representation

According to Maurice Halbwachs (1998: 1–4), personal recollections and memories are, contrary to their apparent individuality, collective memories constructed through information exchange and interactions with other members of the same social organisation. Restoring memories of the past involves a complex set of reorganisation processes, in which meanings are attached in line with a collectively shared framework. The collective framework is used as a means of adjusting a collective memory to each era, and is usually constructed in line with or in differentiation from dominant world views in society (Halbwachs 1992: 39–40). The individual act of memorising thus has a certain political quality: storing and retrieving memories involves the adoption of the collective framework and the reconstruction of the past.

For contemporary Koreans, the meaning of the nation and its symbol, the national flag, is deeply rooted in lived experience and in shared memories of an 'experienced history'. Individual experiences are initially stored just as autobiographical memory and thus exist as 'memory without frames'. In telling stories, reflection and discussions, the individual remembrance is paired with collective images. The collective framework helps to interpret and give meaning to the individual memory. In this way, individual recollection undergoes realignment as a collective memory. Collective frameworks are also transmitted from one generation to the next. Children are enabled to compare, conjugate, and interpret their own memories within the historical framework, which Halbwachs (1998: 66) calls 'a living bond among generations', that is, 'the living history being perpetuated and renewed through time'.

The national flag in memories of the past

Collective memories of the nation's past usually include the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, heralding the colonial age; the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945, leading to independence; 25 June 1950 and the break-out of the Korean War, followed by the years of poverty through the 1950s and 1960s; the peak of anti-communism in the 1980s through to the end of the Cold War; and the end of the long-term dictatorship. A newspaper article in the daily *Kukmin Ilbo* (19 June

2002) described the collective emotional responses to these periods as deep-seated rage against colonial rule, deep emotions towards independence, indignation, and tragic resolution to be ready to die for liberation. Consequently, the national flag thus served in remembering the past as 'the national flag of rage', 'the national flag of emotion', 'the national flag of indignation', and 'the national flag of tragic resolution':

> The giant *taegeukgi*, unfolded by the Red Devils in the Korean team's game, was floated around with delight by the supporters groups. Seen from a distance, it seemed to be walking by itself. A *taegeukgi*, bursting with pride! Whenever you talk about *taegeukgi*, the memory of Yu Guan-Soon springs to mind. During the independence movement, eighteen-year-old girl Yu, as a leader of the independence movement, stood up to the Japanese military police without fear of their guns. The regretful *taegeukgi*, embodied by Son Gi-Jung, Berlin Olympics marathon winner, who could not puff his chest out proudly under Japanese rule. The *taegeukgi* of frustration, when the *Dong-A llbo* newspaper printed an edition with the Japanese flag drawn on Son's uniform around his chest erased, and was suppressed and ordered to stop publishing. Maybe that is why I cannot look at the *taegeukgi* without shedding tears. Seeing *taegeukgi* fluttering in support of the team, I cannot help trembling, feeling emotion well up inside me and crying with sadness.
>
> (*Kukmin Ilbo*, 19 June 2002)

The writer of these lines did not actually experience the episodes referred to in her essay. Yet memories are reconstructed and reproduced through history as abstract knowledge replete with historical events. That is, even if the past is not experienced directly, images or representations of the past turn into socially 'institutionalised memories' and 'school education instruments'. The violent oppression of the independence movement in March 1919 is commemorated by ceremonies at the annual anniversary day of March 1st, in postwar school textbooks, the Song of March 1st and commemorative stamps with a portrait of the folk heroine Yu, which passed into daily use. In this way, 'the institutionalisation of memory' through the anniversary day, memorial items such as stamps and the education system lead an individual, even if they have not experienced the colonial period, to accept history as real, or as-if real.

Anti-communist feelings have developed in South Korea since the Korean War. With the Korean Peninsula still divided, South Korea's older generations still harbour strong feelings against communism and the colour that symbolises it – red. Anti-communist feelings prevented them initially from even wearing red and joining the national team supporters, who had called themselves the Red Devils since 1997. However, collective frameworks are seldom free of ambivalence.

In contrast to those traditionally dominant representations, young people under 30 cheered delightfully and unabashedly, without showing a sense of rage, a desperate wish for emancipation or awe. Yang Yun-Seon, a 22-year-old female college student, bought a national flag right after the national team advanced to

the quarterfinals. She cut it up and made it into a *taegeukgi* shirt that she wore at the next public viewing occasion. 'Our way of thinking is now greatly changed from that of older people. Wearing *taegeukgi* like this, we may be able to feel closer to the nation', she said (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 2 July 2002).

This practice seems to be a tremendous cultural shock to people over 30 who were all taught to salute the national flag and stop walking when the national anthem was played each day at the closing time of public offices. However, the older generations were reported to have applauded the unusual representation styles:

> Today, the *taegeukgi* of national calamity, indignation, determination, and tragic resolution is decorating and flapping over young people's hands, chests, and heads. Flooded with frenzy, delight, pride, and self-esteem, it is fluttering as the flag of hope. Under Japanese imperial rule, eighteen-year-old Yu Guan-Soon waved the *taegeukgi* for the independence movement, and was killed. Today, young people are waving the same *taegeukgi* with delight and pride. We are waving the triumphant *taegeukgi* with cheers at the square that once exploded in zeal for democratisation.
>
> (*Kukmin Ilbo*, 19 June 2002)

The national-flag fashion and young people

The particular styles and actions of Korean street supporters as well as their underlying reasons and dynamics can be assessed from four different angles. National-flag fashion provided meaning for participants as they could enjoy the simultaneous experience of individual expression and collective representation; because they took on the streets as stages for a big flag-themed fashion show; because the flag fashion played a role in linking the virtual with the real world; and because fashion represents to young supporters a ritual of self in which they got ready for the games.

The zest to dress up in the national flag was driven by the principles of imitation and differentiation. The objects of imitation were not just within Korea as the national fan dress codes referred also to the national-flag fashion styles of Europeans, South Americans and US youngsters. Cho Eun-Ju, aged 35, said: 'I thought the American flag was very cool, while the *taegeukgi* seemed to be tacky somehow. But now I've come to think for the first time that the *taegeukgi* is cool and beautiful' (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 2 July 2002). For younger Koreans, imitation is not necessarily associated with in negative terms. Having grown up in the advanced information and consumer society of the 1990s, they are used to having easy access to up-to-date information about fashion. They 'detach' themselves from local communities and nation, and, unlike their elders, move out into the global arena. They are willing to imitate in order to express their personality and, in turn, are driven to design individual uses for their own national flag. Taking much pleasure out of reconstructing the national flag and the discovery of new meanings, they gain fun and pleasure out of national-flag fashion.

Second, the streets served as stages for the big fashion show with the theme 'national-flag fashion for cheering the Korean team' in front of hundreds of thousands spectators. Street supporters played three roles – designer, model, and spectator (consumer) – all at once. Choi Eun-Mi, a 21-year-old woman, who made a tank top out of the flag, said she 'didn't dare wear accessories like earrings and necklaces to highlight *taegeukgi*' (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 2 July 2002). Turning it into a piece of cloth for creative design, the flag was disembedded. Reconstructed on their bodies, the flag was 're-embedded', that is, given meaning again, particularly as the supporters' bodies became the national flag and represented new symbols.

Third, national-flag fashion played a role in linking the virtual and the real world, as well as individual and community. Many of the Red Devils' activities occurred online, including recruiting. Members discussed online the national-flag fashion, prospects for the next game, where and how they would cheer, and so on. In addition, they set up plenty of small online groups to exchange their opinions, which expanded and maintained as cyber-networks. Those over 30 were anxious about the young people they labelled the 'closed-door generation'. Seeing only the time that the younger generations spent isolated in front of computers in their bedrooms or internet cafes, the older generations evaluated online activities negatively. Yet when a game approached, Red Devil members came out and gathered at the places for cheering. These offline gatherings were rare encounters where the meaning of group membership through face-to-face meetings could be experienced as well as expressed. The national-flag fashion and bodies painted in red signalled clear messages to unknown others who in turn interpreted the messages of others.

Herbert Blumer argues that coordinative actions and collective practices are products of the process in which each participant on the spot directs and interprets not only oneself but each other (Blumer 1995: 20–1). The role of the body as an object of direction and interpretation in the performance of symbolic interaction is highly suggestive. Through each other's body symbols, participants enhanced their recognition of fellow supporters, and came to share the consciousness of being part of a spontaneous community. Consensus may still be lacking in sociology over whether or not such groups can be defined as a community, though particularly this common sense of being part of the group is characteristic for communities (Mita *et al.* 1982: 212). However, by cheering and being moved emotionally together, they developed a sense of solidarity. Major features of these spontaneous cheering communities included that they (1) greatly enjoyed coordinated cheering and chanting, (2) kept order in the cheering spots, and (3) were considerate of each other, foreign supporters of opposing teams and the police.

Fourth, the national-flag fashion represented a ritual of self in which supporters prepared for the games. I filmed young people painting their faces and bodies with the design of the flag at the square in front of Daegu stadium on June 10th (Korea vs. USA) and on June 14th at the Kwang Hwa Mun intersection. To dress in the national colours was no problem, as many people were selling the national flags or serving as part-time painters. Additionally, various organisations including

HIV education groups and evangelical Christians offered national-flag painting for free while distributing their booklets.

When asked why they dressed up in the national-flag fashion, many answered with phrases like: 'I hope the Korean national team will win. So I want to express this hope'; 'All team members are pushing themselves to the limit, so I like to support them'; 'I am doing this because, firstly I want the Korean team to win, and secondly, nobody but those in their twenties can do things like this, and I am twenty-nine now'; and 'We cannot do this usually, and I believe our all-out cheering will help Korea to win'.

Spending hours in advance at the designated place, dressing up and getting into cheering mood was certainly a ritual of self in preparing themselves for the match and their role as supporters. Precisely because of this ritual behaviour, their actions differed markedly from being an exclusive nationalism. Their display of originality, social obedience and respect for opponents played a leading role in changing the image of this generation.

The people who led this re-formation by public viewing were those mainly between the ages of 10 and 29 – those who did not participate in the pro-democracy demonstrations in the 1980s. After the 2002 FIFA World Cup ended, the symbolic status of these young people became high in Korea. It was perceived as the birth of 'the proud young generation' – the 'W' or 'R' generation – referring to the World Cup generation or the Red Devils generation, respectively. Major characteristics of these people were thought to be 'self-motivation', 'dynamic energy' and 'open-mindedness'. They acted voluntarily, organised a community, and engaged themselves in it with much enthusiasm, and in doing so, have rediscovered their national flag and the 'red complex' of their national identity. The media argued that the birth of the 'proud young generation' also coincided with the birth of a 'far-sighted, older generation'; people over 30 who had been liberated from frustrating contemporary history. Instead of indifferently labelling youth as the 'computer generation', the 'closed-room generation' or the 'generation of irresponsibility', they came to see the young 'W generation' in a more positive light.

Conclusion

Street supporting provided a different type of pleasure than supporting in the stadium during the 2002 World Cup in South Korea. Street fans were unlikely to maintain the normal physical distance between other fans, since the restricted public spaces for street supporting attracted millions of people. As the Korean team continued to win, the density of supporters per viewing space soared. However, for fans watching in the stadium, the physical distance remained consistent throughout the tournament due to the predetermined seating arrangements. The distance between individuals is physically as well as socially and culturally determined in sports stadiums. This was not the case for street supporters because they were obliged to accept an abnormally close proximity to other people.

Under such circumstances, one's personal territory was regularly intruded upon. In this sense, street spectators had no choice but to expose themselves to the surveillance of others, which compelled them to act as loyal supporters. Abandoning the normal and then awakening a new body culture was highly cherished by the eager supporters who gathered on the streets.

The body cultures of street supporters and those in the stadiums were different not only in their physical distance, but also in their performance. Supporters in the stadium regarded themselves as 'the twelfth player' and believed that their support could affect the result of the game. Therefore, they tried to boost the morale of their team and jeer the opposing team. On the other hand, street fans acknowledged that they could not directly influence the game. Instead, they sought to maximise their enjoyment and excitement. A quasi-stadium atmosphere was produced in the public space through the effort of those street supporters, in which they attempted to reach their own climax away from the stadium.

The performance of street support during the World Cup caused the older generations to rethink their collective memories. Koreans in their late thirties today are called 'the 386 generation' because they are in their thirties (3), were enrolled in universities in the 1980s (8), and were born in the 1960s (6). They were the rallying force behind the pro-democracy demonstrations of the 1980s. However, they are inclined to see the past sceptically, as they are afraid that the development of politics and society might not have been as great as they had hoped for. They even feel guilty, and consider that their 'struggle to death' in attempting to change society has not paid off. Collective representations of the 386 generation include patriotism, indignation, and reform, on the one hand, and frustration, reflection, and pessimism on the other.

In marked contrast to their own memories of dignity, awe, rage, and tragedy were the representations and practices of delight, pride, and hope they observed among the younger generation. Having relied exclusively on their established framework, the 386 generation considered any newer framework to belong to their successors. Invited by their own descendants and completely unknown youngsters, they joined the supporting crowds. They learned to overcome their own restraints and experienced the pleasure of watching and cheering. Their emotional involvement with national-flag fashion showed that they had adopted this collective framework as their own. The transformation of their 'reflective body space' in which past memories were evoked in the present and reflected at the intersection of the past and the present (Whang 2002: 138–50), enabled them to connect the national flag with feelings of intimacy, pride, and hope for the first time. Due to the change in this collective framework, they were capable of realising the new framework in their reflective body space at will, and could recall, analyse, interpret, and make new sense of their past. This constitutes a significant turning point: the reproduction of past memories has been interrupted and the contents of reconstruction transformed.

The 386 generation redefined and reinterpreted their contribution to, and how their demonstrations are connected to, the current development and progress of Korean society. With the success of the World Cup and the national team, face

to face with the visiting world, they came to feel pride in their contribution to the democratisation of society. They were not only encouraged to reconstruct memories in a different form, but also liberated from the oppression of their memories. Kim Jae-Gyun, 35, who joined the World Cup street cheering mass at the City Hall square, said: 'In 1987, what united all people at this place had been a sense of urgency to fight. But this time was different. We could afford to enjoy ourselves while thinking of others. Even when the crowd numbered hundreds of thousands, everything was orderly. I came to think that I played a part in our progress to the present, and I feel pride and responsibility' (*Chosun Ilbo*, 5 July 2002).

Thus it can be argued that it was the older generation that benefited most from the changes in Korean society induced by the 2002 World Cup. The collective framework for memories of the past was transformed by the social integration of intergenerational differences during the precious moments of Korea's success on the pitch and embodied by the rediscovery of the national flag and the adaptation of the colour red. As a lasting impact, the World Cup may have provided an impetus for a new reading of Korea's past, and helped to bridge intergenerational cleavages. On this reading, the birth of the 'proud young generations' coincides with the birth of the 'far-sighted, old generations' who have widened their perspectives and have been liberated from the demons of their past.

Note

1 Parts of the argument were presented at the Conference 'Culture, politics and spectacle in the Olympics and the football World Cup: the construction and representation of the global sports event', Pembroke College, Cambridge, 12 July 2003 and will be included in the conference proceedings *National Identity and Global Events: Culture, Politics and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*, edited by Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young, New York: State University of New York Press, 2005.

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11 The banality of football

'Race', nativity, and how Japanese football critics failed to digest the planetary spectacle

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Introduction

Since the Football World Cup Finals in the summer of 2002 there have been two, apparently mutually opposite discourses produced in the media, intellectual milieu, households, classrooms, and on the streets in Japan. Some – who we shall call 'instrumentalists' – insist that the World Cup was, at the end of the day, all about the embodiment of nationalism and the narrative of nation building. This discourse invokes the talisman of critical thinking. This views sports mega-events as part of a series of nationalist exhibitions, firmly associated with the mass mobilisation of the population and displays of exclusive chauvinism. There are many types of ghostly cliché of this kind, which describe international football as a proxy war, nationalist enhancement, the embodiment of authoritarian fascism, capitalist exploitation of the body, and a civilised form of the release of uncivilised savagery. In this camp the exclusive entitlement and belonging to a particular race/nation couplet becomes the almost exclusive issue. This discourse assumes that the World Cup promotes the instrumentality of nationalist ideology. Football, whether it is to do with on-the-pitch play or off-the-pitch concerns, can be colonised by the instrumentalists' formulation of mass culture.

A second camp claims almost the opposite: that the 2002 World Cup marked the emergence of a distinctively new social movement, generated solidarity amongst young people (especially in Japan and Korea) and turned on a greater cultural sensitivity. This position argues that although the event itself might have been made possible by nationalism and global capital, from it there has emerged the possibility for new identities that can transform the meaning of the World Cup. The event might create an unruly space that cannot simply be absorbed within the narrative of 'nations'. My own view is closer to this second position. Yet I am also aware of its potentially dangerous liaison with what could possibly be called 'football purism'. The most simplistic view of this kind returns to an apolitical stance, which insists that it is the nature of football as the 'world's game' that unites people with different cultures, religions and political beliefs. However, I would argue that football could not be a site of the perfect expression of humanist free will and bodily achievement, if such things have ever existed.

Neither simple instrumentalists nor purists can comprehend the complexity of the 2002 World Cup unless they become aware of the extra-national condition

in which their own argument may be contextualised. In the contemporary world football scene there co-exist two mutually intersecting and irresistible currents. On the one hand, the composition of international teams has become increasingly cosmopolitanised because of the multi-culturalisation of nation-states. Since the triumph of the French '*black-blanc-beur*' squad in the 1998 World Cup, the players' ethnic and racial diversity has been applauded on many occasions as a future blueprint for a new type of nationalism, sense of nationhood and belonging to it. On the other hand, the exploitation of the players' bodies and the transformation of supporters into consumers have been powerfully hastened by the growth of global sports capital in the shape of such companies as Nike and Adidas. The rise of cosmopolitanism and corporate multi-culturalism require us to re-evaluate the significance of race and nation in our thinking about football.

Becoming Japanese

However critically intended it may be, devoting too much attention to the nationalised coding of stereotypes fails to grasp novel aspects of the 2002 football mega-event. The Korea–Japan World Cup Finals presented a challenge to create a new sensitivity, a new language and new ways of presenting knowledge in order to document an event the like of which had never been experienced before. Because of the postcolonial history between Korea and Japan, their different history of football and their different positioning in the world map of the development of football, both countries conceived of the event quite differently in terms of magnitude and scale (Horne and Bleakley 2002; Lee 2002; McCormack 2002). This understanding of the context of the event activated a debate about nationalism and mass mobilisation, which, in my opinion, somehow surpassed the significance of football itself. I am not suggesting that football can be understood as an apolitical, socially neutral, form of leisure activity. Taking part in such a mega-event as the World Cup through being a supporter ignites a complex phenomenon – the political culture of football. However, discourses concerning the two nations' rivalry, which tend to differentiate them and determine their differences, can conceal the politics of other social differences such as race and race thinking, which were also powerfully negotiated during the period of the World Cup. In this chapter therefore I propose to examine the way that football media discourses about particular racialised social categories operated during 2002 in Japan. I argue that the nativity of racialised differences was uncritically employed, within the increasingly cosmopolitanised environment of world football by Japanese football discourses. I also unveil the strong race thinking that not only assumes an essential 'Japaneseness' and 'Japanese body' but also sustains a highly effective mode of racialising the body in football discourses in general. The subconscious allure of the East/West divide in the football universe will also thus be challenged by this inquiry into nativity and the archetypes of race, nation and masculinity.

It is not only the prestigious European football clubs in the once powerful empires that attract a variety of races and nationalities in their team formation.

The situation in which different racial and ethnic backgrounds are syncretised is also seen at the international level. The much-discussed French squad in 1998 aside, the Japanese team reveals a similar current of cosmopolitanisation in the mobility of football players (Maguire and Pearton 2000; Takahashi and Horne, this volume, Chapter 5). After playing against Japan in the First Round Group at the 1998 World Cup in France, Jamaican player Theodore Whitmore commented during his post-match press interview:

> And that man Lopez, I don't think he looks Japanese at all. Anyway, if he were on much earlier, they would have equalised. He was so composed in the penalty area, unlike the other baby-faced one.
>
> (*Number Plus*, August 1998: 87)

Brazilian born Wagner Lopez obtained Japanese nationality only shortly before the 1998 World Cup Finals qualification rounds began. Lopez was undoubtedly successfully 'naturalised' for the clear purpose of strengthening the squad. For Whitmore, Lopez did not look 'Japanese at all'. His skin colour was white, not yellow. His first, given, name might indicate his German connection. Due to his height and what American race relations theorists refer to as 'Caucasian looks', Lopez's physical appearance did not seem to correspond with the image and knowledge which Whitmore associated with *being* a 'Japanese' person.

In November 2001, another Brazilian, Alex, gained his Japanese nationality, becoming 'Santos' in the process. It was the birth of the first 'black' Japanese footballer. Had Whitmore been on the pitch together with Santos, it is hard to tell whether he would have acknowledged him as Japanese, black Japanese or as one of the black players like the Jamaicans whose racialised legacy was created through the history of slavery in the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993)! Although Nelson Yoshimura, George Yonashiro and Ramos Rui were also naturalised and selected as internationals for Japan before Lopez and Alex, none of them experienced a World Cup tournament. In fact the total environment of world football has been massively transformed in the past two decades. Once the majority of international players were born in the country for which they played and spent their lives playing in that country's professional league. Wearing the shirt of the country was supposed to represent the 'root' of the nation. This 'nation' was nearly racialised through skin colour. However, as the recent trend suggests, the significance of *being* a member of a nation is now replaced by the possibility of *becoming* a member.

As this trend increasingly advances, the quality of the category of 'nation' is fundamentally altered. This category has long empowered pseudo-universally the differentiation and taxonomy of human beings through such dichotomous principles as inclusion/exclusion, superiority/inferiority of cultures, and social belonging/exclusion. It seems more likely that from now on a country will be represented by people of multiple races and cultures that co-exist and recognise each other through their 'routes' rather than their 'roots' (Clifford 1997; Gilroy 1996). Whilst the forces that sustain the routes and create the channels of

occupational mobility for players are big clubs with substantial financial power and the multinational corporations (such as Nike and Adidas) that are primarily interested in the promotion of their corporate image, it is now conceivable to imagine a possible co-existence of plurality – at least for 90 minutes. Or maybe, more pessimistically, is it now only possible that social co-existence can occur for 90 minutes in the public sphere of football?

Of course a more immediate and necessary reason for the 'naturalisation' of players is justified in the name of pragmatism. A team that does not have a first-class player in a particular position makes an effort to find someone to fit it. Those 'Brazilians', Ramos, Lopez and Santos, are the best examples of such 'pragmatic inclusion' in Japan. Sports photojournalist Utsunomiya Tetsuichi appreciated the flexible response to necessity of nationality in Japan. Commenting on Santos becoming 'Japanese', he declared that 'for an insular nation, we are indifferent, in a better way, to the idea of nationality' (Utsunomiya 2000: 173). I find it difficult to accept his evaluation of the Japanese situation. Whether it is a 'better way' or not, his view provides little understanding of how the nationalising strategy of 'pragmatic inclusion' works to conceal the more difficult realities of social and cultural exclusion in Japan. The affirmative recognition of pseudo-cosmopolitanism in football teams may create apolitical and utopian thinking about football as a neutral cultural sphere. Although pragmatic inclusion gave Santos a precious opportunity to enjoy the cultural and social possibilities of international football, a paradoxical outcome was that it in turn marked the threshold limit for many ethnic minority communities dwelling in Japan to be given the chance of full social participation. Another blind spot in simply appreciating pragmatic inclusion, such as Utsunomiya did, has to do with the meaning of the 'pragmatic'. It is too simplistic to think that the necessity of naturalisation of a player with foreign nationality arises from the fact that the team cannot find a first-class player for a particular position, striker, winger or whatever, among the existing pool of talent. More crucial for the purpose of this essay is that the description of the embodied masculinity and football intelligence of a player-to-be-naturalised may be represented in racialised as well as nationalised discourses. The next section thus looks at the way that 'race', combined with nation, intervenes in the decision of 'who should play where'.

The racial politics of positioning

Prior to the 2002 World Cup, the way that Emmanuel Olisadebe's play in a friendly match between Poland and Japan was described provides us with an interesting case of the ways in which 'race' and nation are interconnected in the field of football discourses in Japan. One of the final preparation games before the 2002 Finals, the match was broadcast in Japan by TV Asahi in the early morning of 27 March 2002. The Polish attack looked unimaginative, except for a few occasional counter-attacks. It seemed vital for Polish players to feed the ball to Olisadebe as the forefront striker. His movement itself seemed particularly active when he needed to come down to the middle of the park to collect the ball and then make

himself available on both flanks because of tight marking by Japanese players in midfield. However, the decisive breakthrough moment was not likely to come.

Nigerian-born Olisadebe became the first 'black' Polish footballer in the summer of 2000. The commentator for TV Asahi described him as 'quick-footed', 'speedy' and the 'cardinal point of attack' of the Polish side. Indeed, he looked much quicker than any other Polish player did. Watching on TV the author found himself looking for Olisadebe's presence whenever the ball was fed to the front line. His dribbling made me expect and anticipate he would pass the sometimes shaky and fragile 'flat-three' defence line of Japan. However, as far as I remember, Olisadebe rarely succeeded in breaking through. Once he got the ball on the halfway line and turned and rushed into the heart of Japanese defence, but his desperate attempt failed to penetrate. However, I have to admit that I found myself looking at him by projecting a certain knowledge of his bodily presence whenever he was involved in the play. The work of projection is important here since the knowledge about Olisadebe's athleticism is conceived repeatedly when the commentators announced that he was the Polish 'cardinal point of attack'. The previously acquainted knowledge and the present visual picture were made to correspond. That is, awareness of Olisadebe's blackness seemed to confirm that black athletes were quicker, more physically flexible and more skilful than other 'races'.

Along with Lopez and Santos in Japan, the career of Olisadebe, it seems to me, is a useful case for thinking about what is in transition and what is concealed in contemporary world football. First, as I pointed out earlier, the composition of a national team is becoming cosmopolitanised. It has gradually been endorsed that not only the membership of a team, but also the team 'colour' in terms of tactics, strategy and playing style, is no longer necessarily rooted in a particular country or geographical area. Second, 'race' is re-assessed not by the extent to which a nation is monolithically racialised, but through the changing mode of evaluation of the concept 'race' as a socially, culturally and politically constructed category. It is not that the category of nation-state is going to disappear but 'race' now occupies an important place in determining who should play where. Nation circumscribes the configuration of players, which is partly determined according to 'race'. In this age of political correctness, racism in all sports is quickly denounced but *race thinking* can still survive in a different form.

'Race', nation, entitlement, identity, belonging, inclusion and exclusion – these complex issues are all raised by the way that a certain player acquires a certain nationality. Olisadebe's 'quick feet' as the 'cardinal point of attack' shared some aspects with what Santos has been expected to do on the left flank of the pitch for Japan. The discursive narrative about the 'physical ability' of those two black players was made to operate according to an absolute biological logic. Their 'pragmatic inclusion' in a national side has been made possible by the characterisation of biologised differences that sustain the multiculturalism of an international football squad. Positively or negatively, the interrelation between the racialised biological differences of black athletes and their quality as athletes has been debated across the social and natural sciences. A report of an experiment

carried out in Denmark concluded that because of their 'speed genes' black Kenyan runners had a lower heart rate and kept top speed longer than white Danish runners (*The Guardian*, 5 October 2000). 'Racial differences' have apparently been scientifically proven (for the debate about this in the sociology of sport see Coakley 2001, Chapter 9; Entine 2000; and contributions to Carrington and Macdonald 2001). Even Arsene Wenger, the manager of Arsenal, explained the success of the French national team's attacking ability in relation to racial strength:

> I think black sportsmen have a certain advantage, and in football it shows itself in an explosive speed. You can't contradict that when you look at Anelka, Henry and Wiltord. And that bit is genetic – the rest is culture and education. But the genetic bit can't be added. Not yet, anyway.
>
> (*The Guardian*, 22 June 2000)

The Guardian sportswriter Richard Williams, from whose article this quotation was taken, suggested that England needed to learn from France as they won the 1998 World Cup knowing how to use 'the special value of players drawn from France's black minorities' (*The Guardian*, 22 June 2000). He suggested the need to nurture and educate children from black communities for the purpose of using them in the right place and to benefit from their 'explosive speed' in English football. This shows the racial logic that underpins 'pragmatic inclusion', and that assumes a correct place for athletes with 'explosive speed'.

It is easy for casual intellectualism to accuse this kind of discourse of being a form of biological determinism in tune with racial essentialism. My point is not, however, that Wenger and Williams are entrapped by the allure of scientific racism. We should not reach such a hasty conclusion. For the promotion and encouragement of ethnic minorities in sport may produce social, political, cultural and ethical impacts on the mythical principles of blood and belonging to a nation. This impact may open up many opportunities for members of non-white populations to participate in the public sphere of the spectacle that is professional football. In consequence, the negatively pathologised idea of 'blackness' could be transformed into a more positive, productive, marker of sporting masculinity.

Nonetheless, we cannot dismiss the danger of black exploitation in the sports industry. The more black exploitation is pursued, the more the black body is exposed to fetishism. As a result of promoting non-white players' and fans' participation, overt racism might have been wiped out on the surface. However, race thinking operates still powerfully in football narratives as the principle for positioning. The next section discusses how the politics of positioning is inclined to race thinking in a particular geopolitical mapping of the football environment.

Brazil, individual skill (*kojin-gi*) and football stereotypes

The imagery of Brazil in the Japanese football media (and psyche) is something special. The legacy of spectacular skill and playing rhythm has been constructed through the mythologisation of successive Brazilian squads and the personification

of some particular individuals such as Pele, Zico, Rivaldo and Ronaldo. Also in addition to the history of Japanese migration to and from Brazil, the exchange of human resources between the Brazilian and Japanese football industry makes it more likely for Japanese fans to attach their sentiment to Brazilian football. When Miura Kazuyoshi and Mizushima Musashi came back from Brazil to Japan, they were expected to teach Japanese players the severity of being a professional and having a hungry mentality, which they were supposed to have learnt in such a poverty stricken country as Brazil. Not only the aforementioned 'naturalised' Brazilian players and these Japanese players, but also the current national team manager Zico and other players and coaching staff have enriched the Brazil–Japan connection (see Takahashi and Horne this volume, Chapter 5).

In the summer of 2002 it was Ronaldinho who caught the eyes of Brazil-philic Japanese fans and football writers. In particular, *that* game against England in Shizuoka made Ronaldinho the Brazilian darling among the Brazil-philias. Although the media cerebrated his infamous free-kick which was the second and winning goal, his dribble and pass to Rivaldo who scored the equaliser just before half-time was much more important in terms of the way that the imaginary 'Brazilian' is realised as a decisive figure. It is worth recalling how this equaliser was created because it was in this process that the most frequently appearing idiom describing Brazilian football was firmly crystallised, that is the notion of *kojin-gi* ('individual skill').

Before his dribble became increasingly unstoppable, the ball Ronaldinho received on the left side of England's half was delivered after a physical tackle by two Brazilian defenders. When Scholes failed to reach the ball in time, Ronaldinho's beautiful flowing dribble began. The point is the tackle by which the ball was won by the Brazilians. It was Beckham who lost the ball but it was also he who reached the ball faster than anybody else. However, Beckham jumped over the ball and the tackle to avoid physical contact, perhaps because he did not want to expose his injured left-heel to the strong impact. Here there were three moments involving the Brazilian players: Ronaldinho's free kick, his dribble and that physical contest on both flanks. Among these three moments, the beautiful dribble can be regarded as typically Brazilian and the free kick as the consequence of playful, imaginative and unexpected, if not intended, football ability. This is how specifically *Brazilian* football is recognised in Japan. The tackle was hardly mentioned in reports since it did not fit the 'unexpectedly imaginative' or any other part of the otherwise magnificently modulating rhythm of the Brazilian 'samba' style of football.

The football art that is understood as Brazilian is actually described according to a pre-determined vocabulary, including terms such as speed, technique, strength, sharpness and the rhythm of the samba. Even something not exactly matching those idioms such as Ronaldinho's free kick may attract the sub-category of Brazilness as 'unexpectedly tricky'. There the cosmology of Brazilian football was reaffirmed. What was ironic was that the captain of England – whose playing style is often characterised as 'physical' – jumped to avoid a hard tackle from Brazilians whose playing style is renowned for 'individual skill'. The spectacle in which a

series of movements of the body were performed and displayed can be interpreted through the binary principles of Latin American vs. European, skill and technique vs. organisation, and soft vs. firm. The final match of the 2002 tournament between Brazil and Germany also featured this stereotyped dichotomy. Two continents from opposite sides of the Atlantic were set side by side and translated into two mutually opposing camps of football idioms. To this rather traditional, trivial, dichotomy the tournament in 2002 added another axis of differentiation that was deeply racialised. 'Africa' emerged as the third continent and profoundly colonised by blackness despite the fact that both Tunisia and South Africa did not exclusively consist of black players.

The 'geopolitical unconsciousness' in football discourses

In addition to the rise of African countries, the fact that many countries sent multiracial squads to Korea and Japan makes it impossible for a simple taxonomy of regional characterisation of playing styles to be unconditionally accepted any longer. As was discussed earlier, 'race' and 'position' are interconnected on the pitch according to what it is required for a black player or an originally foreign-born player to do for the success of their teams. This matter of fact itself is in my opinion beyond a good/bad value judgement. However, if the place of black footballers is territorialised by a certain predetermined positionality, such as the realm of nature, the work of race thinking cannot be completely ignored.

When the dichotomy of 'organisational Europe' and 'individually gifted Latin America' is supplemented by another axis of differentiation, which distinguishes the physical ability of the black body from the work ethic and commitment of its white counterpart, the nineteenth-century model of the nation-state system comes to an end. The myth of homogeneity of a nation ceases to be active as a unit of contemporary geopolitics. Yet it does not mean the end of the significance of the nation-state in football idioms. Multiracial and multicultural features of a nation as the vocabulary of nineteenth-century construction are transformed into an allegory, the overarching referent of heterogeneous factors of an imagined community. The fact that the representation of a nation in international football can no longer be constituted by the fantasy of blood and belonging is acknowledged, accepted and even appreciated. Yet the art of football cannot be narrated without consumption of the vocabularies of the nation-state. This is a feature of the cartography of what Frederic Jameson (1992) calls the 'geopolitical unconsciousness'. Knowing the changing face of the nation-state system but unable to mourn the end of the nineteenth-century category, the contemporary 'geopolitical unconsciousness' normalises a series of football practices – such as ball touching, dribbling, passing, positioning and playing style – so that the name of a nation can be enunciated whenever a particular football art is referred to. The likelihood is that a particular skill, rhythm, pace and bodily movement are re-affirmed as a style belonging to a specific nation when they are explained in relation to their geographical attribution. It is as if the name of a nation is indispensable as far as discourses about football practices are concerned. By this

mechanism of 'naming', football practices are made to correspond to a particular geographical site in a particular natural environment. For instance, *that* dribble of Ronaldhino's was typically Brazilian, as it was an embodiment of Brazilian rhythm and modulation.

Football critique, of which this chapter is an example, is not written by those who are supposed to professionally contribute to the media. By the same token, professional writers and academics do not dominate geopolitical judgements about football practices. In the stadium, on television screens in living rooms, in pubs and bars, in taxis and on the streets, football practices can be narrated through wholly ordinary, banal, communication. Through the experience of football, at sites of playing and watching football and its repetitive rituals, identity and belonging become resources that are negotiated in relation to inclusion and exclusion. No matter how trivial these behavioural and verbal exchanges may be, the banality of football refines the boundaries of 'race' and nation (Back 2002). This banality cannot escape the geopolitical unconsciousness. Perhaps African players are a good example of the discourse in which the relationality between race and nation operates as an allegory of modern geopolitics.

The 2002 tournament's official programme reflected this. Among the prominent African players, Nigeria's Jay Jay Okocha was introduced as a 'visionary game maker', Nwankwo Kanu as having 'tricky technique', Bartholomew Ogbeche as 'surprisingly speedy', Cameroon's Joseph-Desire Job as having a 'unique ball touch and sense of space', Salomon Olembe as having 'unlimited stamina' and Senegal's El Hadji Douf as having 'protean ball touch'. In comparison to organised European football, which was circumscribed by a pre-conceived assumption of white masculinity, the dominant football discourses predicted African players to have an irregular, unruly and uncontrollable nature (see Darby 2001).

The magic of physical ability (*shintai nōryoku*) or the end of football criticism

The idea of *shintai nōryoku* frequently appeared in ordinary conversation in Japan. This appeared to locate black players and African black players especially in the realm of 'nature'. This too-often pronounced idiom in the media maintained the dichotomy of 'unruly nature' and 'organised culture', which is out-dated, even in the field of conventional anthropology. But the notion of 'physical ability', a literal translation of *shintai nōryoku*, may have helped to reactivate this dichotomous thinking. The correspondence between bodily movement, 'race' and geography does not merely simplify the layers of rich meaning of a specific football practice but also shows that the practice is itself thoroughly colonised by the idea of 'race' and race thinking. It is a means of giving a powerful sequence to the fundamentally discontinuous identity of race and nation. Once a football fan says that Africans would achieve well because of their high *shintai nōryoku*, all the skill, technique, speed and power African players display are understood as uniquely 'African', and characteristically 'black'. However, no one knows exactly what this *shintai nōryoku* actually means!

In his essay 'What is high "*shintai nōryoku*"?' Yamamoto Atsuhisa (2002) discusses the confusion surrounding this idea. Noticing that Oliver Kahn of Germany was applauded as the embodiment of the 'German mentality' while African players were described as having a high *shintai nōryoku*, Yamamoto pointed out that the boundary between the mental and the physical paralleled that between white and black, and European and African. Although the sporting ability of African players was apparently appreciated, Yamamoto argues, this idiom repeatedly inscribed the 'primitive, savage and uncivilised body' onto the black players. It is the discursive power of *shintai nōryoku* which forces those who watch the game to project such an image as the idiom implies onto the object being watched. If all the description of play were forcibly divided into only two categories of *soshiki* ('organised') or *shintai nōryoku* ('physical ability') would it not be a declaration of the death of football critique?

At the same time, there is evidence of more polyvalent meanings of *shintai nōryoku*. The way that the idea of *shintai nōryoku* was attached to African players rather than to black players in general was evident in the official World Cup programme. In the French team, Patrick Vieira, Claude Makelele, Mikael Silvestre and Marcel Desailly were all described as high *shintai nōryoku* while there 'co-exists dynamism and sensibility' in Zinedine Zidane. Fabien Barthez's 'acrobatic saving' was not associated with '*shintai nōryoku*'. There was no *shintai nōryoku* in England's section despite the fact that nine black players were called up. For Brazil, the word was attached to only two players, Gilbert Silva and Roque Junior both of whom were defensive midfielders. An interesting case was Robert Ayala of Argentina. Ayala was the centre-half and the only player who had *shintai nōryoku* mentioned in his description. He was introduced as the 'captain, with a correct sense of judgement and *shintai nōryoku*'. This clearly shows that *shintai nōryoku* assumed a binary distinction between mind and body. So, there was no singular, fixed, meaning of *shintai nōryoku*. Although it was employed unevenly and dispersed across the continents and regions, it was undeniable that *shintai nōryoku* fitted well into an absence of vocabulary. That which cannot be fully explained and understood is confined to the terrain of *shintai nōryoku*. In short, when racial stereotypes are reproduced, the possibility of a novel language in football critique disappears.

During the round of 16 match between Japan and Turkey, the NHK commentator exposed his inability to specify the playing style of Turkey. His solution was to refer to the geographical ambiguity of Turkey situated between Europe and Asia. Their playing style was described as 'a combination of European and Middle Eastern type physical strength'. In short, this commentator found that a tactical mind and rough physicality co-existed in the Turkish team. Neither concepts of *shintai nōryoku* nor 'organised' were regularly frequented. The loss of an appropriate expression led to the binding together of conventionally understood stereotyped representations.

While stereotypes functioned well during the tournament to fix the race/nation couplet of participating countries and inscribe their characteristics in the given geopolitical topography of world football, there was a remarkable disjuncture when

it came to the undoubtedly stereotyped imagery of 'Asian' football ability. China, Japan and Korea all happened to have western coaches who were renowned for their ability to get the most from limited resources. Apparently this was the only common feature in the three countries. Needless to say, 'Asia' could not completely escape the racialised taxonomy with geopolitical resonance. However, in terms of playing style, 'Asia' was short of a distinctively characteristic description. Consequently, the pre-conceived idioms were taken from the ones that described either European or Latin American playing styles. Japan was traditionally valued for 'skill and organisation', which may sound nicely residual, amalgamating Latin American and European terms, but scarcely cerebrated for 'physical strength' and a 'hungry mentality' or simply 'a will to win at any cost'. Korea, on the other hand, was appreciated for their 'mental and physical strength', whereas 'tactical naivety' has become almost equivalent to 'Korean-ness' in footballing idioms. As for China, the 'sleeping lion' turned out to simply remain asleep.

Jeon Gyuchan and Yoon Taejin (2002: 161–70) collected several wide-ranging examples of racial and national stereotypes in the Korean media during the 2002 World Cup Finals. A Korean player was represented as the personification of the 'tenacity of purpose'. The old-Communist bloc teams were described as playing with 'inhumane discipline'. Whereas a hard tackle by a Korean player was appreciated for its 'spiritual strength', foreign players' physical contact was described as 'ungentlemanly'. When a Korean player lost the ball to a black player, it was attributed to the 'distinctive physical ability' of black players. If a Korean player took the ball from a black player, it was because of his 'ceaseless effort'. Jeon and Yoon suggested that such descriptions fabricated the ethno-nationalistic representation of Korea. After a series of controversial results against Portugal, Italy and Spain and the angry reaction from those countries, both the Korean public and media blamed FIFA's 'Eurocentric orientalism'.

The mental–physical dichotomy was strikingly clear in the contrast between Korean players and others. In other words, only mental elements were attributed to Korean players. In contrast, it seems difficult to separate the mental and the physical with regard to the way Japan was described. The words 'skill and organisation' have long been deployed, apparently because of the disadvantage of Japanese players' physical strength particularly in terms of height, weight and muscular potency. Japan may have eventually become a stylish ball-controlling side, at least in midfield, without penetrating power up front and a solid defensive stability at the back.

This was also the image of Japanese football, which has been shared by the western media. It was mainly due to the physique of the male Japanese body. Football writers have long insisted that Japan play according to the principle of organisation because they are not as technically or individually gifted as Latin Americans and not as physically gifted as white Europeans. Apparently *shintai nōryoku* has become something that Japanese can less fully enjoy than black African players. The way that the *shintai nōryoku* was perceived appears much more complex than a simple comparison of athleticism between races. Arimoto Takeshi observes that *shintai nōryoku* may dictate what Japanese players cannot do as the traumatic

reality. Arimoto (2003: 38) introduced an interview with a local youth team coach who predicted that 'in short, that's something Japanese cannot do. Simply jumping higher or running faster'. This traumatic reality in turn may become a negative referential point of how Japan should play; Japan should therefore play organised football. Arimoto argues that this mantra is created through the negation of the free release of individual characteristics.

Then came Santos's naturalisation. Arimoto argues that Santos was expected to supplement Japanese players who were regarded as lacking speed and unique technique. The question was whether his originally pragmatic inclusion was contingent or became permanent. Arimoto's observation was less optimistic. When Santos was reported to be moving to Charlton Athletic in the English Premier League, cartoonist Yaku Mitsuru revealed the impossibility of perfect social inclusion. The caption from his cartoon, featuring Santos and football fans, read:

> Santos: 'I've been wanting to play abroad one day.'
> 30 million Japanese people: 'Weren't you already doing that here in Japan???'
> (cited in Arimoto 2003: 44)

Santos was a member of the Japan team as far as he could contribute to the squad with his speedy dribbling ability. His entitlement was always on the edge of inclusion and exclusion. This pattern of pragmatic inclusion did not drastically modify the racial endorsement of being Japanese. The contingency of inclusion remained, being tested through jokes and laughter. Against this tide, Ramos once sang *kimigayo* (the official Japanese national anthem) much louder than his fellow players did. He was regarded as more Japanese than a 'native', Japanese man. When Lopez's father passed away just before the 1998 World Cup Finals the media portrayed this private incident as a very 'Japanese' story of family love. The force of assimilation invited these players to perform 'Japaneseness' more typically than even Japanese are expected to do. Whereas even Inamoto Junichi's dyed hair and Toda Kazuyuki's red Mohican look might have been understood as overcoming the monolithic, prudential imagery of Japaneseness, it may be the Japanese own imaginary ideal, that is, the corporeal imagery of the self, rather than the European stereotype of Japanese male physicality, that needs to change.

Apart from Olisadebe, Germany saw Gerald Asamoah become a German, Russia gave Brazilian Robson her nationality, Sammy Kuffour and Gerry Chase nearly became German and Russian respectively (but eventually did not choose adaptation). In addition to the multiracial squads of France and England many other European countries now increasingly allow black and foreign-origin players to be included in their sides. Yet arguably race thinking in the football world in Europe is as staunch as in the Japanese media. One illustration was the BBC's TV coverage of the African Cup of Nations in January 2002. While Garth Crooks was the presenter throughout the tournament, I cannot recall how many times we were forced to see the athletic backwards somersaults of Ogbeche of Nigeria, or Patrick Mboma's 25-yard shot. The spectacle of black masculine bodies never betrayed the anticipating gaze of race thinking. When Monserrat was defeated

4–0 by Bhutan in the 'Other Final', between the two teams placed at the bottom of FIFA's world football rankings, the uncontested myth of the superiority of black physicality could have been (at least partially) questioned.

Alternative readings of football

I have discussed whether racialised bodies, athleticism, nationhood and place inevitably inter-connect in discourses of football. The Japanese media take this inter-connection too uncritically to recognise that there is no necessary correspondence between these elements. Although there is no use in simply comparing European race thinking and Japanese race thinking in football, the latter seems to lack the necessary imagination needed to catch up with the ever globalising and multiculturalising football cosmos. I have not come across a single Japanese football writer who has argued that labelling Africans as naïve, naturally athletic and unpredictable, proves our ignorance and racial preoccupations. These are simply accepted as conventional references. Instead, the predominantly male football writers in Japan, as well as in Korea, seem to work hard to establish the authenticity of their own discursive sphere by demanding serious, proper and professional discourse. However, the necessity of a single authenticity naturally yields the exclusive mode of what and how to speak about football and who can do so. In the end, the distinction between 'knowing fans' and 'not-knowing *mi-ha* (superficial fans)' is firmly drawn. The former, mainly male, tend to despise the position of the latter for not understanding enough about how to read football.

In contrast Kim Hyunmi (2002) has drawn attention to the feminisation of the World Cup and the emergence of female fandom in Korea. Kim understood the representations of the event as a demonstration of the gender-blindness of most football writing. A predominantly heterosexual macho-ism still sustains the principle of what and how to write about the game. Kim argues that young female football fans made use of their own position – which was set up by the dominant masculine gaze as *mi-ha* and placed as a sub-category of the more serious, authentic fandom. They invested their sexualised desire in such players as Ahn Jung Hwan, Kim Nam Il, David Beckham and Michael Owen, all of whom were key players for their team and could be easily tabloidised for their good-looks. Hence female fans consumed at their will the object of their emotional investment regardless of the nationality of their objects. They became the producing subjects of the popular cultural pleasure while enjoying the apparently forcefully sub-categorised position by consuming what they actually produced. By occupying simultaneously the two positions of both producers and consumers of the affective economy, female fandom opened up the closed space of male homo-social solidarity. Interestingly, however, these female fans' desire was almost exclusively projected onto Korean players and white players. 'Race' once again operated as an obstacle against other social categories' emergence in this alternative public sphere. The individual consumption of mass cultural phenomenon, which can be practised beyond the boundary of nationality and race, nonetheless transformed the way in which the mega-event was narrated.

Conclusion

After the 2002 World Cup, the Japan Football Association appointed Zico as the national team manager. Zico, who had never previously experienced taking command at international level, publicly stated that Japan would play 'Brazilian style', meaning to put more weight on the accumulation of individual skills rather than the principle of collective organisation. Having looked at the absence of firing power up front, attacking football was eagerly anticipated. However, facing such a large-scale extra-national movement of players, supporters, information and the football culture itself, I wonder if it is still productive to describe the playing style of a national team as either 'Brazilian' or 'European' and to employ such racially and nationally preconceived idioms? When Ono Shinji, Inamoto Junichi and Nakata Hidetoshi brought in 'beautiful football' from their respective experiences in Europe, I feared that the awfully unimaginative Japanese football discourses would celebrate, for instance, the fine combination of European 'organisational football' with the 'rhythmical attacking' style of Brazil. This poor description would only contribute to cutting the Japanese body into two pieces: one that is European, the other Brazilian. Neither 'Japan' nor 'Asia' seems to be entitled to develop its own football style. The geopolitical model of the Atlantic world seems unconditionally fated to be transplanted to the eastern edge of the Eurasian Continent. This is not to appropriate the Atlantic geopolitics, but the sign of indolent football writing in Japan, which tends to imprison the changing currents of contemporary football within the pool of pre-existing vocabularies.

However, all the critical views of Zico and Brazil-philia aside, one thing is clear: Zico and other Brazilian influences on Japanese football culture did not come to the East. They went from the East to the West, Brazil to Japan. From Africa, Latin America and Asia, the flow of players and money seems to take a one-way route to western European countries. The structure of development is excessively uneven. Nonetheless, football discourses do not have to follow this apparently undeniable matter of fact. To put it simply, although his original journey might have started eastbound, what Arsene Wenger brought into English football could not have made such a revolutionary impact had he not first experienced life, culture and football in Japan. The matrix of the West/East divide should not be taken for granted as an empirical geographical fact. It is a discursive power that continuously reproduces the inter-relationships between centre and periphery, and subject and object. It can be useful as an analytical device by which the western European centredness of world football may be disclosed. Not only the power relations in the football industry as a whole but also discourses and gazes on this world sport, including critical writings, need to be understood as in transition. It has yet to be seen how Korea and Japan will utilise the experience of co-hosting the World Cup. They may yet become a third space in the configuration of football hegemony.

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12 Football, nationalism and celebrity culture

Reflections on the impact of different discourses on Japanese identity since the 2002 World Cup

Shimizu Satoshi

Introduction

A year after the 2002 World Cup Korea/Japan, football still featured prominently in television and the print media – even though it was European football. Keeping pace with global trends in the football world, the Japanese mass media has come to focus its attention on the UEFA Champions League, the European football market and national leagues, rather than on Japan's own national league (the J.League). At the same time, it has become increasingly evident that ever-rising numbers of football clubs in European countries have realised Asia's potential as an incipient, huge football market and started to extend their marketing activities to the Far East.

To commemorate the first anniversary of the World Cup, for example, various clubs from Italy and the Netherlands came to Japan and played matches against J.League teams. On 4 June 2003, Parma AC, with Japanese player Nakata Hidetoshi, played against Cerezo Osaka in Osaka, watched by 45,755 spectators. On the same day, Feyenoord Rotterdam, with Japanese player Ono Shinji, played the Urawa Reds (Ono's former team) in Saitama in front of 52,247 spectators, and AC Chievo Verona played Vegalta Sendai in Sendai before 14,224 spectators. On 5 August, Real Madrid CF (by now David Beckham's team) played a match against FC Tokyo at the National Stadium in Tokyo before 54,268 spectators. The next day, Reggina Calcio, with Japanese player Nakamura Shunsuke, played Nakamura's former team Yokohama F. Marinos at the International Sports Arena in Yokohama in front of 54,335 spectators.

The Japanese mass media circulated several 'triumphal return' stories about Nakata, Ono and Nakamura. From these reports, however, it seems that European clubs who are having difficulty in raising funds do not merely rely on their Japanese employees' ability on the pitch but are also expecting to capitalise on their 'Japaneseness'. In general, football club managers have become aware of the decisive power of economic disparity for victory off the pitch or defeat on it. Hiring high-profile players that can be easily marketed or open up foreign markets has become increasingly prominent among risk-containing strategies. Feyenoord Rotterdam, for example, hired Ono Shinji and managed to close a deal with

NTT DoCoMo. In addition, the Netherlands club runs a fan shop at World Sports Plaza, a shopping centre in Tokyo's most fashionable consumer district Shibuya. Suzuki Takayuki was hired by Racing Genk of whom the shirt sponsor is Japan-based Nitto Denko. The likes of HSV Hamburg (Takahara Naohiro), Fulham FC (Inamoto Junichi) and UC Sampdoria (Yanagisawa Atsushi) were said to expect support from Japanese companies in relation to the transfer of these players (*Asahi Shinbun*, 29 July 2003). As players from the emerging football triangle of Japan, South Korea and China become commonplace in European leagues, the question is whether Asian players represent the largest source of untapped football talent on earth or whether they are merely gimmicks to sell merchandise back home.

At the time of writing (September 2003) the most valuable football merchandise in the commercial world is 'Beckham'. Although David Beckham's performance in the World Cup was poorer than anticipated in some of the pre-event hype, the England team captain attracted great public attention in Japan (Moran 2002: 92; Perryman 2002: 17–39; Kuper 2003: 159–61). The fact that he revisited Japan twice after the World Cup is far from being insignificant. He came first in June 2003 with his wife, Victoria, a former member of the Spice Girls, for a 'staggeringly lucrative commercial break' promoting endorsements for TBC (beauty salons), Meiji Seika (confectionery), Castrol (oil) and Vodafone (mobile phones). During this five-day trip the Beckhams reportedly earned more than David's entire first-season salary with Real Madrid (Watts 2003: 3). The second time he came as part of a pre-season Asian tour with Real Madrid CF (3–6 August 2003). During the club's tour all four games (including the one against FC Tokyo) were broadcast to 23 countries, with a potential reach of 300 million households, and generated US$9 million – over a quarter of Beckham's transfer fee (Taylor 2003: 7).

Beckham's market value certainly was boosted by his appearance at the World Cup. Football's central event is in fact a trade fair of players, where people from different fields evaluate players' value from various viewpoints and conduct business negotiations. At the same time, football serves as a medium, and the World Cup draws people's attention to geopolitics (Jameson 1992: 3–4), enabling them to form collective imaginaries of the various nations and their people. Since Japan participated in the World Cup for the first time in 1998, the interest in world football has increased to the extent that football is now regarded as merchandise. But did the 2002 World Cup Korea/Japan provide a momentum that has made 'football as merchandise' more popular than ever before, particularly in Asia?

On the one hand, certainly Japanese people are directing their gaze, more than ever, whilst enjoying consuming the 'outside world' (mostly Europe), to the fields of fashion, music and movies. In football, the most evident example of 'outbound orientation' perhaps was 'doing Englishness' during the 2002 World Cup (Perryman 2002: 31). As was widely reported in the international press and TV, many Japanese people cheered England enthusiastically during the 2002 World Cup, though there were also a lot of people who cheered Argentina, Brazil, Italy, Mexico and Germany and wore replica uniforms of those countries. On the other

hand, before, during and since that sports mega-event the Japanese public has been bombarded with various discourses that construct distinctive concepts of 'the nation' and 'the people' alike through comments relating to football playing styles and match results. Various connotations coining the 'inbound orientation' – including widely used phrases such as *wareware no kuni* ('our country') and *wareware Nihonjin* ('we Japanese') – have surfaced in media reports and been projected on discourses of football, politics and national identity (Shimizu 2002b, 2002c; on the relationship between football, the press and national identities in a European context see Crolley and Hand 2002).

Following the ideas of Foucault (1966, 1969, 1975), Said (1978), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) and Anderson (1991) about the social construction of imagined communities through representations, many researchers have argued that football discourses have helped to create relatively novel collective imageries (Bromberger *et al*. 1993; Bromberger, Hayot and Mariottini 1993; Robson 2000; Ogasawara 2002a, 2002b). Ogasawara (2002c) and Arimoto (2003), among others, have shown the political significance of football discourses for conceptions of 'self' and 'other' in Japan, where popular consciousness of 'we' as opposed to 'others' and 'the outside', such as South Korea, became stronger.

Discourses in contemporary media about the 2002 World Cup consisted of easy-to-understand dichotomies and boundaries. Discourses such as 'hooligans', 'England's Beckham', 'the physical prowess of Africans' and 'organised football' contained relationships between those who rule and those who are ruled in football terms based on relative merits. When it comes to showing 'amazing physical ability', black players and African teams have usually been the focus of attention in Japan. The expression 'amazing physical ability', which guilelessly praises the athleticism of black players, also connotates the notion of the 'primitive, wild, and uncivilised body'. Yamamoto (2002) argues that Japanese fans watching football with that connotation in mind have often reduced the skills of the black players to simply this physical ability. The power of the framing expression leads the Japanese spectator to direct their gaze to Europe in order to civilise themselves. This gaze also comprises the affinity of orientalism (Said 1978), as it neglects the present and past standing of Japan against Asian and African countries (Morris-Suzuki 2002).

From assessments in terms of white/black, Europe/Africa and civilisation/barbarity, a simple dichotomous schema was set up for male/female, husband/wife, Europe/Asia, Asia/Japan and Japan / South Korea, which at the same time indicated the essentials of identity for a nation and its people. As the marketing strategies of capitalism flow across nation-state boundaries, the media work sharpens these reflective frameworks. In the midst of this, people try to find identity positions. At the same time counter-discourses shape the collective imagery of 'our country' and 'we Japanese' that helps strengthen these same boundaries.

This chapter focuses on three key discourses articulated during the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan and their meanings in an effort to identify their political significance within the context of world sport, commercialisation and national identity. In this chapter, I argue that issues concerned with one's self and others,

along with Japanese notions of 'our country' and 'we Japanese', exist at the base of the effort to promote the commercialisation of football and its consumption. Imaginary visions represented by 'Beckham fever', 'doing Englishness' and 'hooligans' were discourses that made the Japanese strongly aware of 'we' in contrast to 'them'. As to the boundary between self and others, the existing boundary lines were made clearer and bolder, while no new divisions were added. Accordingly, I firstly provide an analysis of the commercialisation of football through celebrity culture and the 2002 World Cup impact on the Japanese collective imaginary. I suggest that ordinary football fan's thinking and lived experience have been shaped, but not wholly determined, by these discourses. I will also show that amid the festivities, there were some groups of Japanese people who resisted the nationalist discursive grip on football and rediscovered the greater joy of following and living with their local football team.

'Doing Englishness' 1: hooliganism

The Japanese media intermittently referred to the subject of 'hooligans' for at least nine months before the opening games of the 2002 World Cup. They were described to the general public as physically large Englishmen, with great patriotism, who commonly got into fights with other 'hooligans' from Germany or Argentina, for example, wherever they might chance to meet (*Asahi Shinbun*, 11 November 2001, evening edition). This article presented pictures of 'hooligans' fighting during Euro'2000. They were presented as groups of white working-class males with beer bellies, short hair and tattoos that liked to participate in mob violence. Japanese television broadcasts repeatedly reported scenes of the military and police training for hooligan control at stadiums in Japan and South Korea, the scenes being shown fuelling the sense of the need for precautions against hooligans (see for example *Asahi Shimbun*, 23 January, 2 February and 20 February 2002).

The reason for 'hooligans' being depicted in such a monolithic fashion was because the Japanese media and police held the opinion that, 'this violent masculine style' was largely 'generated by specific structural features of lower working-class communities' (Dunning 1986: 279). This somewhat dated discourse of the Leicester School of research into football fandom (Williams *et al*. 1984; Dunning *et al*. 1986, 1988) appeared frequently in media reports and police seminars in Japan. However, recent academic work has convincingly revealed that contemporary supporter cultures, whilst remaining marked by class, gender and race divisions, are created by more diverse subcultures in consumer society than a standardised 'lower working-class masculine terrace culture' (Redhead 1991; Armstrong 1998; Ogasawara 1998; Giulianotti 1999; Robson 2000; Back *et al*. 2001; Shimizu 2002a). Most importantly, the Leicester School view neglects the structural changes that the English (and wider) football world has been undergoing within a complex fusion of political and economical ideologies (King 1998).

Interestingly, the emphasising and thus fuelling of this outdated image of 'hooligans' allowed the Japanese police to openly introduce strict and sometimes

extreme security acts under the pretext of 'hooligan control' at airports, public venues and amusement quarters in metropolitan Tokyo. At the same time, authorities not only extended the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (*Shutsunyūkoku Kanri oyobi Nanmin Nintei Hō*) to enable the deportation of 'hooligans' (*Asahi Shinbun*, 13 September 2001; amendments were enacted in November 2001), but also considered exercising control over 'violent foreign NGOs' (*Asahi Shinbun*, 14 September 2001). The latter action would have made it possible to prohibit the entry of certain organisations into Japan depending on how the history or background of an organisation was interpreted. Yet, as we now know, at no time did hooligans appear or riots break out during the 2002 World Cup. Even so, the England team and its supporters became the centre of public attention both on and off the pitch (Moran 2002; Perryman 2002; Sugden 2002; Kuper 2003).

'Doing Englishness' 2: Beckham fever

In Japanese compulsory education, English is an obligatory subject in junior high and high school, as the ability to communicate with foreigners is considered of great importance. Many people admire the lifestyles of the British Royal Family and nobility, and the traditions of public schools, colleges and universities, comparing them favourably with American culture. They tend to consider the Royals and football to be what represents England, notwithstanding the differences between imagination and reality. Thanks to the international media and marketing industries, a great deal of information is available in Japan about players and coaches of Manchester United, Arsenal, Liverpool and other leading English club sides. Moreover, some naïve Japanese even hope to encounter the symbolised behaviour of 'hooligans' (often unaware of the various tragedies that occurred at stadiums in England in the 1980s). Sightseeing tours to London and other places in England, which always enjoyed popularity with the Japanese, are at present sold in combination with watching games in the Premier League or the UEFA Champions League. The sincere respect for 'things English' might be one reason for the popularity of 'doing Englishness'. However, when Poulton (2002: 110) remarked that the Japanese 'saw English fans at their best – full of fun and a passion for football', what did she have in mind about the Japanese? What did the Japanese 'see' when they watched the England team play?

First of all, they saw David Beckham. Many people throughout the world are fascinated with the sincere playing style he promotes and the lifestyle he represents: a balanced mixture of family life and glamour. A Japanese version of his photo collection book *Beckham* (Beckham 2000), subtitled '*Subete wa Utsukushiku Katsu tame ni*' (Always Winning with Grace), immediately became a huge best-seller. More than 170,000 copies (in nine reprints) were sold before England's exit from the World Cup in June 2002. Weekly Japanese magazines featured his clothes, fashion sense and lifestyle – including hairstyle, tattoos and even fingernails since childhood – both during and since the World Cup. Women's magazines mainly highlighted his affection for Victoria and his children, as well as his lifestyle (*Josei Seven*, 40/23: 53–9; also no. 24 and 28; *Josei Jishin*, 45/29 and 31). The *Josei*

Seven magazines also featured other famous football players such as Michael Owen, Zinedine Zidane, Christophe Dugarry, Raul Gonzalez, Rivaldo, Alessandro Del Piero, Francesco Totti, Paolo Maldini, Luis Figo and Ronaldo. These articles all introduced male and female sports celebrity lifestyles and family life (see also *FRAU*, 12/16: 53–9).

The high turnover and media diffusion indicate that Beckham's influence was strong not only in the English football world, but in Japanese popular culture as well. Who could have ever imagined before the World Cup that so many young men would want to copy Beckham's hairstyle, the so-called 'soft Mohican'? Ellis Cashmore has argued that in the contemporary world 'celebrities are, by definition, famous; but, in the twenty-first century, they also have a kind of exemplary authority, an influence that they do not usually use to facilitate social change or promote good causes, but to sell commodities' (Cashmore 2002: 79). With respect to Beckham he noted that:

> … every hairstyle, tattoo and body pierce of Beckham immediately excites countless imitations … People have become commodities, and we can buy them just like any other commodity. What's more, we use them in similar ways: not just use them, but consume, relish and delight in them.
>
> (Cashmore 2002: 184)

When David and Victoria Beckham visited Japan in June 2003, they were greeted at Narita Airport by an unprecedented number of 180 members of the press and about 500 fans (according to Narita Airport Corporation). Then, for five days from arrival to departure, all moves of 'Beckham-sama' were reported in detail by newspapers and magazines, and various news programmes and variety shows broadcast on TV. The transfer of Beckham from Manchester United to Real Madrid CF was concluded on the eve of his departure for Japan. Newspapers reported as front-page news that his transfer bonus could amount to 35 million euros, comparing it with those of Zinedine Zidane and Luis Figo. They also reported that the two contracts with TBC and Meiji Seika could be worth more than 500 million yen over a two-year period (*Asahi Shinbun*, 18 June 2003, evening edition; *Asahi Shinbun* 19 June 2003).

At the same time, TV companies sensationally broadcast programmes in which importance was attached to body culture rather than to such news about finance. Such broadcasts included depictions of the Beckhams' gestures and clothes at press interviews and parties. At one occasion, Beckham was appointed as the one-day president of a company. He was enthusiastically welcomed by female employees, made several (short) speeches and kissed children, women and men. Moreover, TV and magazines for women minutely reported that Victoria bought some watches and jewels at high-class stores handling famous brands while David did his shopping at a concept shop of Adidas. Topics about their fashion tastes relating to watches and accessories and his tattoos were as frequently reported as they had been one year earlier (*Josei Seven*, 41/26: photogravure, *Josei Jishin*, 46/26). Only one report clearly reminded the media audience that Beckham was a

football player. This report dealt with a 15-minute visit to an elementary school where Beckham exchanged several passes with four boys in white PE-class uniforms and caps in front of all the other boys and girls of the school.

The Asian tour of 'Beckham-sama' and Victoria to Tokyo, Bangkok, Malaysia and Vietnam whipped up a 'Beckham typhoon' that, in a sense, provided a suitable commemoration for the first anniversary of the 2002 World Cup. This tour and Beckham's next visit to Japan in August with Real Madrid CF – another Asian tour: to China, Tokyo, Hong Kong and Bangkok this time – produced equally satisfactory results in terms of advertising 'celebrity football' products.

The members of Real Madrid CF arrived at Narita Airport on the evening of 3 August and were welcomed by about 1,500 fans (according to the Airport Corporation). That night they practised at the Tokyo Dome, a roofed ballpark that belongs to the Yomiuri Giants, the most popular and longest playing professional baseball team in Japan. It was filled with 45,000 paying spectators – 25,000 first floor seats at JPY3,000 per ticket and 20,000 third floor seats at JPY1,500 each produced gate money of JPY105 million in total. After the opening ceremony, including souvenir photographs with children who participated in a Kids' Football Clinic, the players of Real Madrid CF started warm-up running and then played a mini-game that lasted only 48 minutes. A local television station (Tokyo Metropolitan TV) offered a live broadcast of this event for an hour with commentary by the coach of FC Tokyo, the following-day's opposing team. It was reported that the broadcast fee for the match would be 3 million yen (*Nikkan Supōtsu*, 4 August 2003). Despite these sums, it appears that the agent, Asia Sport Development (ASD), was only just able to find the funds to invite the regular players of Real Madrid CF. These included the proceeds from the friendly match watched by 54,268 spectators at the National Stadium. Whilst the most expensive seats were 10, 000 yen each, some illegal ticket-touts were arrested for attempting to sell JPY8,000 tickets for JPY60,000 (*Yūkan Fuji*, 28 July 2003). Hence symptoms of 'Beckham fever' remained in Japan a full 18 months after it first developed during the 2002 World Cup.

Events of this kind are contemporary signs of the commercialisation of football. How 'British football and its stars have become an integral part of the landscape of the media entertainment industry' (Boyle and Haynes 2000: 103), has been lengthily described by Cashmore's analysis of the links between the media, TV broadcasting corporations, branding, business, masculinity, football clubs and consumer culture (Cashmore 2002). However, racial oppositions exist alongside gender considerations in underpinning the Japanese, and wider Asian, consumption of 'Western' celebrity culture. In the eyes of Japanese men and women who follow the lifestyles of the rich and famous sportsmen like Beckham, there also exists an underlying fascination with the lives of 'whites' and 'Europeans'. As Sekine Tateo of CM General Research Institute said about Beckham:

> His appearance fee is perhaps the highest in history in Japan. He is a white man with blonde hair and good physical features, who lives in the world where power rules. For Japanese women, Beckham is an embodiment of the

> 'Prince Charming' mythology. He is the greatest CM talent to have so far appeared at the beginning of the 21st century.
>
> (*Asahi Shinbun*, 18 June 2003, evening edition)

'Beckham' the signifier, offers an optimum tool for marketing strategies, going beyond the boundaries of nation, race, and even gender, on the basis of his physical capital: Caucasian male, golden hair, a pleasant smile, stylish appearance. In the symbolic body of 'Beckham', various oppositions, such as those between white/coloured, Europe/Asia, male/female and husband/wife, are embedded, so that many different people can find 'Beckhams' to identify themselves with.

'Our country' and 'we Japanese'

Never before in post-World War II times have notions such as 'our country' and 'we Japanese' been discussed as much as during the 2002 World Cup, albeit in different fields of discourse. Linking the body with the nation, the well-known writer Sawaki Kōtarō, provided his version in the *Asahi Shinbun* (19 July 2002). In an article entitled 'Composed Japan, Impassioned South Korea', he referred to the contrast between the composure of the Japanese team and the impassioned drive of the South Korean team witnessed on the pitch. He later indicated that the same could be applied to the teams' supporters and their national characters. A week later he concluded:

> *Crying at Heart – The Strength of 'Impassioned' South Korean Player* After making a critical mistake during a match, the South Korea team plays on impassioned while its members' souls cry out in pain. There was a symbolic agreement, proven by the fact that many hundreds of thousands of supporters gathered in the nation's capital to cheer the team on despite the rain. The energy contained therein was the very source of the team's remarkable plays, particularly in the second half of a match. In other words, the team's 'impassioned drive' was something that helped them sustain their nerve and tenacious playing style, one of their national heritages. That type of player no longer exists among Japanese players, the players who turn grievance in their souls to strength … I guess that the observation means that, in many cases, the Japanese cannot play on while crying at heart.
>
> (*Asahi Shinbun*, 26 July 2002)

The article did not discuss the national character of the Japanese people per se, although the article clearly contains the assumption that the national characteristics of a nation have something in common with the way the country's football team plays on the pitch. Kaneko Tatsuhito, a famous football sportswriter, supported this argument after the Japanese team's loss to Turkey, whilst the South Korean team moved on to the semi-final. He also identified the source of the strength in the commonality between the national characteristics of a country and that country's playing style when looking at South Korea and its national team:

> South Korea fought as South Korea, and won. The Japanese team won, too … The South Korean team was South Korea itself. I am not sure, however, if it is possible to say the same about the Japanese team and Japan.
>
> (Kaneko 2002a: 50; see also Kaneko 2002b: 147–9)

However, what is playing style? Before the World Cup began, a Russian coach described the playing style of the Japanese team as 'agile and … well-organised football' (*Asahi Shinbun*, 20 April 2002). Frenchman Philippe Troussier, who coached the Japanese team during the 2002 World Cup, instructed his players to avoid physical contact with opponents and to make quick passes to maintain an organised offence and defence. Technically, this was described by strategic concepts such as 'pressing football' and the 'flat three'. 'Pressing football' and 'organised football' are common-sense expressions in the world of football. Yet often sport-related phrases come to stand in for depictions of a collective, such as the Japanese (or South Korean) people as a whole. 'Japan has organisational power and South Korea has physical power', for example, are distinctions that have frequently been used to describe the two nations. What needs to be questioned are the bases on which these expressions are used. Self-identity and the boundary lines surrounding it, are established in such a way as to place 'others' in direct opposition. The creation of identity involves a process of boundary marking – belonging and not belonging. In international football terms, this means that if one tries to identify with one national side it is usually the case that the (mostly negative) characteristics of other sides are in turn articulated, or other issues that express or represent sentimental stimuli. In any case, these are mostly borrowed from fields not primarily related to sports.

A good example of this was provided by Ishihara Shintarō, governor of Tokyo since 1999, during the 2002 World Cup. After the match between Japan and Belgium that ended in a 2–2 draw, he composed a commentary entitled 'Don't come home without a victory':

> If I were to say, 'We have to beat Russia in order to claim the four islands at the centre of a long-running territorial dispute between Japan and Russia', a lot of people would say, 'Why are you trying to associate a football match with that?' But the reality found in diplomacy shows that, even regarding non-political issues, officials involved will utilise such activities to take a measure of the other party's stance. At stake is national dignity in the game in many different contexts. I believe the same can be said about the Olympic Games. Don't come home without a victory.
>
> (*Supōtsu Hōchi*, 6 June 2002)

The controversy raised by Ishihara's nationalistic remark was not thoroughly discussed at that time, and it remained largely uncommented upon. Whether or not this is attributable to the fact that the remark was made about football, and therefore it was seen as trivial, or because the falcon Ishihara is renowned for his outspoken nationalist attitudes, is as yet not clear. Yet the manifestation of

nationalism at the World Cup that Ishihara's comments relate to was a foretaste of the heightened tensions between Japan, South Korea and North Korea about a month and half after the end of the World Cup.

On 17 September 2002, Japan's Prime Minister Koizumi Junichirō paid a rare visit to North Korea. At a conference with Kim Jong Il, the North Korea leader officially admitted the fact that North Korea had repeatedly abducted Japanese citizens (five victims of these abductions returned to Japan on 15 October 2002 after an absence of 24 years). Following the meeting, Japan and South Korea began to act in concert more closely than ever, and all the while President Bush kept labelling North Korea as part of the 'axis of evil' and against American interests. Thus, the assumption of North Korea as their common 'other' is the background against which the two nations of Japan and South Korea began to act. This can be seen from recent remarks by Koizumi and South Korea's President Nom Hyong that the nations came closer to each other (*Asahi Shinbun*, 26 February, 7 June 2003).

Thereafter, the issues of the abduction of Japanese citizens and increased nuclear development by North Korea, America's attack upon Iraq, the dispatch of Japanese troops to Iraq, and the enactment of a law concerning national emergencies have all been taken into deliberation. The ambivalence of the other is also reflected by double standards within the educational institutions. While accepting graduates from schools in America and Britain for entrance into universities, the Japanese university system is maintaining barriers that work against graduates from Korean schools in Japan. Furthermore, China and other Asian countries have been criticising Prime Minister Koizumi for worshipping at the Yasukuni Shrine and apparently forgetting Japan's colonisation of many Southeast Asian countries in the first half of the twentieth century (McCormack 2002). These intricacies make the rest of Asia, and possibly many other parts of the world, wary of Japan. This can be said not only about present-day Japan, but also about Japan in the past; in which there were no serious discussions about what was expected to become of the nation-state after the Second World War. Amidst the increasingly tense relationships between North Korea, Japan and other nations, various questions about the representations and the appearances of other nations and their people emerged. Under such conditions, and with the co-hosted World Cup as momentum, representations of 'our country' and 'we Japanese' increasingly emerged in public discourse.

Despite the apparent priority given to the commercialisation of football and the consuming of related merchandise (in something of a contrast to South Korea) some politicians in Japan have seen it as an opportunity to stimulate nationalism. However, not all of the people are in agreement with these politicians. Since the World Cup, they have tried to establish their own personal dichotomies out of the oppositions, white/coloured, Europe/Asia, male/female, and husband/wife, and thereby to find their own respective positions by which they can identify themselves. Some of those who have done this quite explicitly are found among supporters of the Urawa Reds.

Accumulated 'we Urawa' – life histories and lived experiences

As I have explained elsewhere (Shimizu 2002a), the Urawa Reds boast the biggest supporter numbers of all the J.League clubs. Urawa's supporters are known for their ardent devotion to the club that only ranked 10th out of 16 teams in 2001 (11th in 2002) but generated an average attendance of 26,720 (26,296 in 2002) which tops the league average by 10,000. One of the Urawa Reds season ticket-holders, a man born in Urawa City in 1964 and formerly belonging to the famed 'On the Withered Lawn' supporters group (see Shimizu 2002a), commented on his experiences of the 2002 World Cup as follows:

> I wanted to be at a place where I could share the joy of witnessing David Beckham's comeback. I went to see the first World Cup game played at Saitama Stadium (England vs. Sweden, 2 June 2002). I wrote on a signboard, 'Any Tickets?' I found a guy who was kind enough to sell a ticket at the regular price after I waited for an hour or so. It was almost like England's home stadium. English fans were everywhere along the back-stand, and they raised their cheering voices as the music started to play. I enjoyed their company and joined in the cheering performance. I knew that I could get great repercussions when I clapped my hands under the upper deck, because the stadium is home to the Urawa Reds. As I heard *The Great Escape* from the back of the goal, I started to clap in the back-stand, which was followed by people around me, rising to a roaring sound. It was great fun to cheer for England at my home stadium.
>
> (Interview, 15 December 2002)

This man was also known for holding and sometimes wearing the Japanese national flag to cheer for the national team in the preliminary matches for the Olympic Games in June 1999 (Shimizu 2002a). Singing the national anthem and raising the national flag were part of the performance for such occasions filled with 'all-or-nothing' tension. He said that his acts were meant to convey the message to the players, 'You represent our nation. You keep that in mind' (Interview, 15 December 2002). Thus when he watched Japan play in Saitama against Belgium, his feelings were marked differently from the preliminaries:

> I had a somewhat laid-back feeling because it was not an all-or-nothing game, but a 'fair-to-middling' game. To be precise, the greatest thrill and burning sensation for me was at the game held in Johore Bahru 1997, in the final round leading up to the World Cup in France. Ono Shinji and Okano Masayuki from the Urawa Reds were in the national team. That was really 'all-or-nothing'.
>
> (Interview, 15 December 2002)

This Urawa Reds supporter clearly distinguishes between cases where players from his team are selected for the national XI or not. This behaviour shows that

he can simultaneously determine places to identify himself under various conditions. That he is not an exceptional case indicates the following comment from Ōno Seitarō, a local radio personality who hosts an FM radio programme from 6:30 to 9:00 a.m. every morning. He regularly talks about the club, players, supporters and even administrative issues surrounding the Urawa Reds. Mr Ōno, who meets and listens to many people from Urawa every day, stated the following:

> Suppose the Japanese national team had played Ireland in the 2002 World Cup. I would say, as many as 30% of the Urawa supporters might be on the side of Ireland. The reason is that there are no Urawa Reds players in the national team. During the World Cup, supporters were wearing replica uniforms of different teams and Urawa supporters cheered for both England and the Argentina teams. Even a Japanese national team member won't attract the attention of Urawa people unless he is with Urawa Reds or is somehow associated with the team. Some people might say, 'We should watch the Japanese national team.' But I guess they account for a very small fraction. For all of us, the Urawa Reds are the only thing that matters. It is almost our identity, I suppose. It is our life. I feel that way, and it comes home to my heart. If the Urawa Reds were to disappear for any reason, I don't think I would get any calls for advice about the Reds. I don't think people here would support any other team. It would be the end of the story.
>
> (Interview, 22 November 2002)

The people of Urawa, having formulated their own unique supporter culture since the establishment of the J.League and existing in the midst of its representation, chose not to involve themselves in opportunities for cheering on the Japanese national team simply because there were no Urawa Reds player in the team. Instead, they enjoyed themselves in a relaxed manner, taking in the World Cup as a festival that gave them the chance to watch world-famous stars and their performances. They enjoyed discourses and representations that emerged during the World Cup craze. As the meaning of their lives is created out of a cultural bricolage, and a polyhedron-like existence shapes their identities, they knew how to enjoy life with and without the Urawa Reds. Based on their experiences and memories, they continued to be patient witnesses awaiting the results of the club in the league continuing after the World Cup.

The point I want to make here is not that the people of Urawa find their real identity in the town where they live or in their devotion to the local team, let alone in the representation presented by the Japanese national team and the sense of 'our country' or 'we Japanese' provided by it. Rather, these people find enjoyment in being part of the national representation while *simultaneously* maintaining the pride they hold for the Urawa Reds. This means that through football support they are being given the opportunity to enjoy having a variety of identities. These people are seizing the opportunity to feel the physical pleasure that enables them to break away from their everyday lives, unaffected by the nationalist representations implied by the discourses and oppositional lines drawn around them.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have addressed three key discourses that underpin the commercialisation of football triggered by the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan as well as the collective imaginary of 'our country' and 'we Japanese' created by the same. Taking into account various oppositions of nation, race and gender in relation to football players, their playing styles and physical abilities, and creating a collective imaginary based on the duality of 'one's self' and 'others', people in Japan enjoyed finding their respective positions with which to identify themselves.

Some commentators have indicated the possibility that such representation may lead to nationalism. Yet I believe it is more important to realise that classic, simple, stereotyping by class, gender and race is still capable of re-emerging easily. In this context it may become necessary to 'blow the whistle' so that football is not exploited by nationalists or government. It may also be necessary to be warned against the danger of slipping into stereotypes based on class, gender or race, like the concepts of 'our country' or 'we Japanese', which emerge amid growing nationalism. These matters should be analysed by properly interpreting various representations and closely examining the lived experiences of the people who react to them.

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Part IV
Football in East Asia beyond the nation-state

13 Her place in the 'House of Football'

Globalisation, cultural sexism and women's football in East Asian societies

Wolfram Manzenreiter

Introduction

'On the Day the World Plays Football', FIFA celebrated its centennial anniversary in 2004. While the event was scheduled to highlight the younger generation's part in the impressive achievements of the 'people's game', the slogan itself emphasised the worldwide appeal of a 'people's game'. With a membership of 204 national associations at the end of 2003, this border-crossing attribution to the sport of football seems to have become more accurate than the conventional phrase of the people's game that wantonly conceals the neglect of half the people of the world. Despite girls' and women's undeniable advances in football since the 1980s, football continues to be primarily a man's world. In most parts of the globe, gender discrimination is the most evident rupture in the ideology of the 'people's game'. The gendered nature of football was even largely obscured in Sugden and Tomlinson's critical and otherwise profound analysis of governance in world football (1998). Yet as feminist interventions have shown, the consumption and experience of football provides one of the last reserves of patriarchal society in late modernity, notwithstanding broader economic, political, legal and social developments in society. Gender inequality in football is particularly noticeable in those societies where football emerged as the preferred leisure activity of the male working and middle classes.

The marginalisation of women is not unique to football of course, but a relic of historically acquired inequalities of the sexes in sport in general. Critical inquiries into the world of sport have disclosed that sport has always been a 'sexual battlefield' in which familiar stereotypes of men and women are communicated and reinforced (Boyle and Haynes 2000: 127). Sport emerged as a conservative domain for the representation of gender since male domination in sport was established in the 19th century. Biological scientism and the social organisation of modernity, in particular the segregation of gender roles, provided the ideological nutrient for the legitimation of gender discrimination in sport. While the spread of liberal democratic ideology in the latter half of the 20th century triggered tremendous changes in patterns of leisure and consumption, and in relations between the sexes, cultural and economic constraints have continued to act upon women's representation and participation in sport. It is equally true that whilst

the advance of consumer society has opened new opportunities for women's participation in sport, competition with men's sport has severely threatened its financial base, its access to limited, yet likewise claimed, resources, and its media coverage. In the West, economic market principles may have overtaken sexist ideology and discrimination against women in sport, but in so doing the power relations between the sexes have been disguised and the male prerogative preserved.

Even though football was introduced to the Far East sometime in the late 19th century, it took many decades for a substantial supporter base to be established. Countries in this region saw the professionalisation, hence the commercialisation, of the game only recently, if at all. It is not completely unreasonable to assume that free from market pressures, and without the historical ballast of traditional sporting rivalries, territorial claims, turf wars and violent crowd behaviour, the cultural implant of football might have acquired a unique set of symbolic meanings for women in East Asia of its own. However, as the following sections will discuss in detail, for a number of reasons women's football has remained in the shadow of the men's game in East Asia as elsewhere.

Research on women's football has been documented in a solid body of pioneering literature mainly written by female scholars, such as Burton Nelson (1996), Fasting (1997), Pfister *et al.* (1998), Scraton *et al.* (1999), Woodhouse and Williams (1999), Hargreaves (2000), or Diketmöller (2002). More recent work is featured in Hong and Mangan (2003) who compiled a collection of essays focusing on women's football worldwide. This chapter now offers for the first time a comparative analysis of the women's game in the East Asian periphery of world football. As such it goes beyond the surface of the historiography of football and gender relations in the social setting of the state. The chapter will first consider women's subordinate position in the world of football in quantitative terms, comparing participation rates of the sexes and various nations in regional and global perspective. Subsequently, following a brief sketch of the development of women's football in China, Japan and Korea, I will identify and compare the major impediments that constrain opportunities for women's football in the three East Asian societies. My argument is based on two general assumptions. First, following Bourdieu (1992, 1995) I will argue that the socially structured competition for economic and cultural capital can be played out on the sports field as much as in any other socially embedded situation. Second, evidence from the analysis of women's football in East Asia will support the well-established argument that sport can be read as a projection screen for the symbolic display of the wider gender order, which itself is a function of power relations that are interwoven into the social fabric of public and private life in any political context. What makes sport so distinctive in this regard is its physical appeal and the role of the body that constitutes 'the fundamental principle of division of the social and symbolic world' (Bourdieu 1995: 93). In women's football, conflicting perceptions of gender roles and appropriate behaviour become highly visible, and the outcomes of these conflicts can be used to inform an explanation of the relative spread of the sport in the region.

The quantitative face of women's football in East Asia

If there is a correlation between the market size of men's sport and the intensity of the struggle women's sport faces, women's football inevitably is confronted with a considerable uphill battle in certain 'soccer nations'. Taking into account the lack of competition with men's football, the US 'soccer exceptionalism' hypothesis (Markovits and Hellermann 2001) thus helps to explain the comparatively huge popularity of women's football in the USA where two out of three officially registered players are female. In nearly all other countries, however, the proportion of women players is much lower, if it is recorded at all. FIFA's Big Count on the global state of football in 2000 listed particularly low percentage rates for the member states of the continental football federations in both Africa and Asia.

China, which has a football population of 7.24 million, counted just 490 registered female players, 3,851 girls and 40,000 non-registered female players. It was also the only country that reported professional female players (256, versus 1,492 men). In Japan, where the semi-professional L-League (the 'Japan Ladies' Soccer League') was launched some years before the men's full professional J.League, the Big Count revealed about 20,000 women out of a total of 3.3 million players and 1,120 male professionals, that were all registered with the Japan Football Association. Slightly less than half was comprised of female youth players. In South Korea, half a million players were actively involved in the game, including 410 professionals and 5,000 female players, of which 4,000 were not registered with the Korean Football Association. If these figures, which were based on data provided by the national football associations, are assessed in relation to population statistics, the under-representation of East Asian women in football becomes even clearer. The low participation rate can best be demonstrated by using a per capita index model that correlates the athletic production of a nation with the population base of the country.

The model used is derived from John Rooney's per capita index introduced in his ground-breaking study *A Geography of American Sport* (1972) and since then reapplied for numerous purposes (see for example the sport geographic survey of regional distribution patterns of Kenyan world-class runners by Bale and Sang 1996). The application of the general formula $I = (N/P) \times (A/1)$, where N is the number of players, P the total population of the country, and A the number of people per athlete in the overall field, presents national differences measured against the overall output figure calculated as 1.0. To produce results for male and female players, P becomes the population share of the respective sex (see Table 13.1). Thus in terms of continental output, in 2000 Europe produced approximately 2.5 times more football players than the world norm, whereas Asia spawned slightly less than half of the norm.

In global perspective, the only East Asian country that outperforms the world norm is Japan with an index of 1.47. In contrast, all the 'Chinas' (including the People's Republic, Hong Kong, Macao, Chinese Taipei, and Singapore), Mongolia and the two Koreas are under-achievers in the generation of football players.

Table 13.1 National variations of football player output in East Asia and other selected areas

	Total	*Male*	*Female*
World	**1.00**	**1.00**	**1.00**
Asia	0.46	0.50	0.03
China	0.28	0.30	0.02
Japan	1.30	1.47	0.08
South Korea	0.55	0.60	0.06
North Korea	0.25	0.27	0.00*
Hong Kong	0.18	0.20	0.03
Macao	0.70	0.82	0.01
Singapore	0.71	0.78	0.04
Taipei	0.19	0.20	0.03
Mongolia	0.23	0.25	0.01
Europe	2.46	2.71	1.13
England	3.28	3.64	0.58
Germany	3.77	3.74	4.98
Brazil	2.03	2.28	0.11
USA	3.09	2.12	12.31

Sources: Own calculations derived from the following: data on players according to FIFA's Big Count (2000); population size according to Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2002 Revision and World Urbanization Prospects: The 2001 Revision, http://esa.un.org/unpp (accessed 1 November 2003); population data for England according to National Census 2001.

Note: * No figures for female players from North Korea are available.

Measured against the continental average, Japan is joined by South Korea, Macao and Singapore, of which the latter two seem to profit from the colonial past and the small population size, as the four countries in East Asia that exceed the continental average; all others are well below it.

The output of football players, however, is highly gendered, as total output tables and the indices reveal. In absolute numbers, FIFA counted ten times more male players among its member associations than female players. Thus countries all over the world tend to produce much higher numbers of male athletes, as the medium variant of the sex distribution ratio is otherwise just 101.3 males per 100 females (and not 10 males per 1 female). In relative numbers, China counts as many football players as Brazil, but its overall per capita index is significantly lower due to China's very large national population. In terms of female players, China's per capita index scores five times lower than Brazil's, even though more Chinese women are recorded as actively playing football. As already stated, an exceptionally high output is generated by the USA, where the per capita index for female players is more than five times higher than the index for men. The first Women's World Cup winners, Norway, also record a double-digit output of 11.21. Other examples, where the output of female athletes is significantly higher than

the production of male footballers, include Canada (7.68/1.60), Norway's Scandinavian neighbours Sweden (6.55/2.91) and Denmark (6.64/3.31), and the 2003 Women's World Cup winners Germany (4.98/3.74). In Asia, where women's football traditionally scores higher on the international stage than the men's game, all countries produced many fewer female players than male footballers. The poor condition of women's football is a common feature in all countries that have indices of less than 0.10. Compared with the all-Asian per capita index of 0.03, the position of women's football in Japan and Korea looks fairly healthy.

Intra-continental variations become more pronounced when the single-country data are computed against the continental norm (i.e. all Asia = 1.0, see Table 13.2). In these cases, the output numbers of female football players appear to be more buoyant for at least two of the three football powerhouses of the East Asian region. Japan is still the continental leader in the field of women's football with an index of 3.12, followed by South Korea with 2.22, Singapore (1.52), Chinese Taipei (1.19) and Hong Kong (1.07). The 1999 world championship runners-up PR China scores only 0.72. Unfortunately, no numbers for the current Asian champion North Korea are available. The per capita index level also indicates that most of East Asia, with the exception of China, Macao and Mongolia, outperform the remainder of Asia, including the Middle East and other Islamic societies in South East Asia. Somewhat surprisingly, in most East Asian countries the per capita index of female footballers is higher than the per capita index of male football players. In Singapore, both indices are on the same level, whereas Macao and Mongolia are the only countries with a significantly higher per capita index of male footballers.

I would suggest that a simple market explanation of men's and women's football alone – as rival suppliers of the same commodity competing against each other for income from the turnstiles, corporate sponsorship and broadcast revenues – is

Table 13.2 National variations of football player output in East Asia and Singapore

	Total	*Male*	*Female*
Asia	**1.00**	**1.00**	**1.00**
China	0.61	0.60	0.72
Japan	2.80	2.92	3.12
South Korea	1.19	1.20	2.22
North Korea	0.53	0.54	0.00*
Hong Kong	0.38	0.39	1.07
Macao	1.51	1.63	0.43
Singapore	1.53	1.55	1.52
Taipei	0.40	0.40	1.19
Mongolia	0.49	0.50	0.24

Sources: Own calculations derived from the same data sources as Table 13.1. Population size for Chinese Taipei according to the July 2000 estimate of the Yahoo! References, World Fact Book.

Note: * No figures for female players from North Korea are available.

not particularly helpful in explaining these differences in women's participation in football. Such a model would include success on the pitch as a crucial variable and determinant of economic viability. Yet a comparison of female and male national team rankings reveals the flaws in such an assumption: with the exception of South Korea, whose male national team had an exceptional 2002 World Cup, all female national teams are placed higher in the ranks. Five teams from East Asia are placed 25th or better, with two even among the top ten (see Table 13.3). For the male teams, the highest position is held by South Korea (22), followed by Japan at number 25 and PR China already well down at number 78. North Korea's men are ranked 119th, but the female national team of the Democratic Republic of Korea is placed 7th, and China's women's team is at number 5.

Although women are extremely under-represented in the national football systems in East Asia, their national selections have managed to leave impressive marks on the international stage. The disproportion of ranking and participation rates suggests that women's football may threaten to disrupt culturally bound ideas of self, gender and nation in places where the collective imagination stereotypically identifies football as a male domain and where images of national success and power are thus related to the achievement of the men's national team. Precisely for that reason, in the West women's inroad into sport has generally been facilitated in fields that have emphasised an aestheticised version of feminine physicality – such as gymnastics, figure skating, or synchronised swimming – over overt 'masculinity sports rituals' associated with strength, exhaustion, and violent physical contact (Iida 2002: 73). Looking at participation rates in East Asian societies, similar patterns of gendered sports emerge with high participation rates in 'female sports' and low rates in 'male sports'. However, how do these societies conceptualise female and male, particularly with reference to sport, and what kind of body practices are 'naturally' associated with their images of the sexes? To understand women's football in East Asian societies thus requires a two-fold

Table 13.3 World ranking of men's and women's national teams in 2003

Team	*Women*	*Men*
China PR	5	78
Korea DPR	7	119
Japan	14	25
Chinese Taipei	22	160
Korea Republic	25	22
Hong Kong	65	136
Singapore	86	102
Mongolia	–*	181
Macao	–*	185

Source: Rankings derived from FIFA statistics (www.fifa.org).

Note: * Mongolia and Macao are not listed among the 113 teams in FIFA Women's Football Rankings.

strategy of, on the one hand, looking at the cultural meaning of being a woman and the respective gender norms and roles in these societies. On the other hand, it is necessary to reflect upon the functions and expectations attached to sport in general in these societies. Before doing this, however, I will briefly sketch the familiar history of marginalisation that characterises the development of women's football in the East (Asia) as well as in the West (Europe).

Three histories, but one story

The formal education system has played a leading role in the institutionalisation process of sport in those countries that did not witness the emergence of sport as a semi-autonomous realm within popular culture or by civil society. Football in China, Japan and Korea was first a middle-class pursuit, taken up by educators and teachers as either a recreational or an educational tool. Middle or higher schools, colleges and universities provided the main channels for introducing and disseminating the new practice. Yet until the middle of the 20th century, access to higher education was fairly restrictive in terms of class and gender. Even after the promotion or establishment of gender equality in schooling, female students remained largely excluded from football until the last decades of the 20th century, due to strict ideas about proper forms of body practices and sports for male and female students. In the school sport curricula as well as in the popular imagination, football for a long time was perceived as a 'male sport' for male competitors performed for the enjoyment of male fans.

The rise of women's football started later, and it was slow if steady. Recent increases were partly sparked by the women's success on the international pitch that stood in sharp contrast to the failures of the male national teams. Japan's women won the silver medal in the Asian Games held in Beijing in 1990, and have taken part in all world championships since the inaugural event of 1991. In comparison, the men's eleven only made it to the World Cup Finals tournament for the first time in 1998, despite a much longer history and richer resources. The Chinese men have qualified only once – for the 2002 World Cup Korea/Japan – which, arguably, was not the first world football championship finals to be hosted on Asian soil. Some would regard the first Football World Cup to take place in Asia as being in 1991 when China hosted the Women's World Cup. The Chinese women have also participated in every World Cup, finishing second in 1999 and considered a leading contender for the title crown in 2003. Also in 2003, South Korea participated at the finals. South Korea was exceptional insofar as the male team has managed to appear at the last World Cup finals five times in a row, whereas the women's team were considered to be relative minnows among the Asian giants. North Korea has qualified twice, in 1999 and 2003, but the male team has not appeared at the global level since its one-time participation at the 1966 World Cup in England where they defeated Italy in progressing to the quarterfinals. Because of the overall strong performance of Asian women at the international level, FIFA had originally planned to stage the fourth World Cup in 2003 in China again. In the aftermath of the first SARS epidemic, however,

the tournament was relocated to the USA. As a consolation gesture, China has again been promised the right to host the next World Cup tournament in 2007.

Below the international level, although clearly in support of performance at that level, different structures of sports administration, sports promotion and professionalisation have emerged in China, Japan and Korea. Female players were allowed to register with the Japan Football Association from 1979 when the Women's Football Championship was staged for the first time. In the same year, China's first female football team was established in Xi'an, and competed with teams from Yunnan, Liaoning, Yanbian, Beijing, Tianjin, Datong, Guangzhou, Shanghai and Changchun at the First National Women's Football Invitation Competition in 1981 held in Beijing. The 'Queen's Cup', Korea's first annual football event for women, was launched in 1993, three years after Korean sports authorities had assembled its first national football team out of hockey players, track athletes and Taekwondo fighters to participate at the Asian Games in Beijing (Koh 2002). The following subsections provide brief sketches of developments in each of these 'soccer nations'.

South Korea

> *The South Korean women's team has clearly benefited from studying their men's team's training methods, which focus on endurance and aerobic training. Korea Republic's determined playing style and physical qualities are in no way inferior to North Korea's* – China's head coach Ma Liangxing, speaking after Korea Republic's 2–2 draw with their rivals from the North.
>
> (www.fifaworldcup.com, South Korea profile)

In regional perspective, the development of women's football in South Korea has lagged behind developments in the other two countries. College and university students were the first teams that competed against each other in the Queen's Cup, launched in 1993. Better equipped with skilled footballers than in 1990, Korea even obtained fourth place at the 1995 Asian Cup in Malaysia (this success was repeated in 2001). The 1999 Women's World Cup sparked interest in the game not only in the host country USA, but also worldwide. The Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which is in charge of sports administration, added women's football to the programme of the Annual National Sports Event (1999), and sponsored the foundation of new teams and tournaments for girls' high school teams, university teams and company teams. Despite these initiatives, by the end of 2003 there were still only three semi-professional women's teams, including the Sungmin Wonders and INI Steel, which have been owned and run by corporations. Thus the semi-pro women's teams compete with student teams in national tournaments or the domestic Korea Women's Football League. In 2001, the Women's Football Association was established as an independent organisation in association with the KFA. After more than a decade the weak infrastructure seems to be the main problem for women's football in Korea. The KFA homepage records only 1,552 female players in no more than 75 teams that cover the entire

spectrum between elementary school (465/22), middle school (504/24), high school (339/17), university (179/7) and company teams (65/3). North Korea, by comparison, is said to have about 20 college and citizen's football teams, together with more than 50 senior high school teams. According to South Korea's National Intelligence Service, players with extraordinary skills and physical abilities in the North are singled out from other sports and allocated to football teams of schools, cities, provinces, the military or administrative units. Players representing the state are trained with the state's general athletic group. This designation of football as a strategic sport has paid off with North Korea winning the Asian Women's Championship three times in a row since 2001. Japan were beaten by North Korea in the semifinals and by South Korea in the third/fourth place match of the Asian Women's Championship in 2003 which secured the South Korean team a place at the World Cup held later in the year in the USA.

Japan

> *They seem to be following in the footsteps of their men's team and focusing on teamwork, mentality and strategy. And, at least in Asia, Japan are a leading team in these things* – China's coach Ma Liangxing of the Japanese.
>
> (www.fifaworldcup.com, Japan profile)

Japan was the first country in the East Asian region with a women's football league. The league, made up of company and university teams, started out with two regional divisions (western and eastern Japan) in the mid-1970s. The 1980s witnessed a significant increase in popularity, partly due to the proliferation of nine regional leagues and national championships and partly due to the successes of the women's national team. The number of registered teams and players expanded from 52 teams and 919 female players in 1979 to 1,179 teams and 23,764 players in 1997. In the midst of this expansion, the Japanese Women's Soccer League comprising six teams started up in 1989 with the financial support of several large companies. Players as well as managers were 'corporate amateurs', Japan's characteristic type of semi-professionals on the payroll of a club's parent company. By 1994, when it was renamed the L-League, four new company-based teams joined the league. Over the ten years from 1986 to 1995, the number of registered female football players grew from 7,403 to 22,237. During the recessive 'lost decade' of the 1990s, however, many companies were forced to reconsider spending on corporate welfare and marketing – traditionally the two rationales for supporting corporate sport. Despite the cut-backs in subsidies for sport-related and other social expenses, the L-League has managed to expand further to 13 teams in 2003. The teams are divided into Eastern (7 teams) and Western (6 teams) divisions, and the top two teams from each of the divisions compete in a round-robin play-off competition for the L-League championship title. Teams may have lost as much as several million yen a year but tax write-offs help to cover their losses and these seem to be regarded as acceptable. As the first of its kind worldwide, the L-League managed to draw foreign players to Japan just as the J.League did. It

also exported its own football talents, for example Sawa Homare, to the WUSA, America's women's soccer league.

As meticulously planned training routines lasting for five or six hours every day take place most of the year, the L-League certainly has been central to the success of the Japanese women's teams at an international level. The women's team made it to all the World Cups, qualified for the Olympic Games in Atlanta (1996), finished the Asian Games of 1990 and 1995 in second place and came third in 1998. Japan has also managed to reach the semifinals of the last nine Asian Women's Championships, finishing as runners-up four times and three times in third place. But the L-League has been no commercial success. Depending on the quality of the teams playing, it attracts no more than 1,000 spectators to a match. Averages are even lower, with approximately 400 spectators per game, which are usually free of charge.

Looking at Japan's junior and senior high schools where football has come to be the most popular sport of the students, only 20 girls' teams were counted in 1997, compared with a total of 7,000 boys clubs. Female students have often mainly been granted the role of 'managers' whose duties primarily consist of serving food and drinks to the players, washing the kit, cleaning up and keeping the scores (Nogawa and Maeda 1999: 227). This gender separation of roles is quite common among other school sports clubs in Japan and plays an 'important role in reproducing and naturalising a masculinist gender ideology which places men in public places of performance and women in private, behind-the-scenes support roles' (Blackwood 2003: 22).

China

> *'Of course I hope the women's team win,' said football fan Yu Wen, 24, standing outside the Workers' Stadium in Beijing after watching the Chinese men's team lose 1–0 to South Korea. 'But it's not the same as the men winning, is it?' he said. 'I mean, they're girls.'*
>
> (Page 2000)

Due to the Cold War polarisation of the post-war world system, China was absent from most international sports competitions until the late 1970s. Since then, sport has been officially heralded as a key instrument for promoting national pride and identity. Sport-related investments by the Chinese state showed a 200 per cent increase over the 1980s. The results stunned the world in the 1990s, particularly the success of China's female athletes. In the field of football, the international strength of Chinese women became apparent as early as the 1980s. The first of seven Asian Women's Championships was won by China in 1986, the most recent in 1999. In the same year, China finished second at the Women's World Cup, as it had done at the Atlanta Olympics in 1996. Three champion titles at the Asian Games and a number of second and third places in international competitions round up the profile of the 'iron roses', as they have been baptised in the Chinese media (Hong 2002).

Women were allowed to take up football in China at the end of the 1970s. With the establishment of a national championship tournament in 1982, the number of teams rose steadily to 27 in 1983 and 35 in 1984. In the following years women's football was added to the official list of competitive sports by the Chinese Sports Ministry and as a formal event to the Annual National Sports Event (Dong and Mangan 2001). Riordan and Dong (1999: 165–9), among others, have noted that from the 1980s onwards sport has been engaged in to improve international recognition as well as national unity. These aims were nowhere more easily achieved than in the field of women's sport. Yet football was rather neglected until it was added to the catalogue of Olympic Sports in 1994.

Education and scouting of talented players occur within the general framework of China's centralised sports administration, which was originally modelled on the Soviet Union's bureaucratic system of governing sport (Rizak 1989; Whitby 1999). Gifted players are taken from free-time sport schools to central sport schools, which operate at the provincial level. Athletes live and train together and receive school education at the same or any other school. Less-promising players revert to normal high schools at the age of 16 or enrol as students of physical education, while those with high athletic potential proceed to the provincial team. At the provincial and the national level, players are treated as full-time professionals receiving free board and lodging, medical care and a monthly salary according to age, experience and performance. This systematic approach requires a huge investment but is not always the most productive way of securing athletic success. While China's top internationals Liu Ailing and Sun Wen, FIFA football player of the century in a FIFA internet vote, were picked up during childhood, their team mate Gao Hong started playing football at the age of 18 after being ordered to by a company superior (Robbins 1999).

The lack of national or regional football programmes for state schools, which in general do not educate girls in football, as well as the scarcity of football resources for female youth, are major problems hampering the progress of women's football. China has only about ten officially recognised girls' football schools which do not receive public funding but have to rely on private sponsorship and parental contributions (for example of RMB 4,500, or approximately €500, per year at the Shengyang football school). Thus more than 1,000 boys, but only 30 girls, are enrolled at the football school in Qinghuangdao, the biggest of its kind (Hong 2003: 8).

Provincial teams have benefited greatly from the Chinese Sports Ministry's encouragement of private and corporate sponsorship, which started in the late 1980s. Yet without sponsorship many regional clubs would not have survived, and even the national team probably would not have been able to produce such outstanding results. With the launch of the Women's Primary League in 1998 (renamed the Women's Super League a year later), which itself was sponsored by a mobile phone corporation, and the establishment of the Chinese Women's Football Foundation in 1999, privatisation changed the face of women's football again. The former Shanghai Women's Football Club was re-established as Shanghai STV in December 1998 under the financial umbrella of the Shanghai Media

Group. This Chinese powerhouse which has won the national championships for nine consecutive years since 1994, received a fully fledged training infrastructure, consisting of five standard-sized football pitches, an indoor football stadium and accommodation for 150 visitors. Together with the club sides Beijing Chenjian and Guangdong Haiyin, Shanghai STV belongs to the 'big three' of China's Super League which is organised by the CFA and managed by the local football associations of Beijing, Shanghai, Hebei, Guangdong, Shandong, Henan, Sichuan and Dalian. The big three command the richest resources and attract the best players from the provinces. More than 20 players from Shanghai STV, for example, have been selected for the national team over the past decade, making a huge contribution to the significant results achieved at the international level.

The gap between the big three and the remaining clubs, Henan Women's Football Team, Bayi Jianlibao (People's Liberation Army Women Football Team), Hebei Xin'ao, Sichuan Jiannanchun, Shandong Qilu Shihua, Dalian Kaifei, Qingxin Base Camp Women's Football Team, and the Tianjin Women's Football Team that employed two US players in 2002/3, is rising. The divide poses one of the major problems for the Super League. Matches between the big three can attract crowds of 10,000 to more than 20,000 spectators, but supporter turnout in the provinces is much lower, sometimes numbering just a few hundred, even though entrance is free. As with the men's game in South Korea, international fame is difficult to swap for national regard.

Forces of marginalisation

Feminist sociological interventions into sport have shown the mechanisms and dynamics by which gender discrimination in sport is socially constructed in various ways. Women's comparatively minor status in sport is also clearly expressed by the players' wage differences, as women usually receive smaller salaries, if at all. Women are close to invisible in leading positions in the sports bureaucracy. In Japan and Korea, women's football is administered by a committee or working group set up inside the umbrella football association. Yet the majority of board seats are held by male sports bureaucrats, who are also likely to dominate the women's board. As women also suffer from under-representation among coaches and staff personnel (Lee and Yeo 2001: 544), it is usually male-defined standards that dominate the women's game. The American anthropologist Elise Edwards (2000), who coached the Takarazuka Bunny's in Japan, among other women's football teams, noted that women's involvement in Japanese football was constrained by an inherently comparative logic, and the firm belief 'that the world of competitive sport is naturally and irreversibly first and foremost the domain of male and natural masculinity'. This inherent gender logic of modern sport is one of three autonomous, yet closely interwoven layers at the heart of gender discrimination in sport; gender norms and values that shape the popular vision of men's and women's position in society, and the functions officially assigned to sport by dominant forces in society are the other two.

The competitive credo of modern sport is most visibly expressed by its inherent

quest for records and the glorification of winners. Men in general benefit much more than women from a cultural reading of sport that values speed and power because men are on average taller, have more muscle mass, larger hearts and lung capacities. These and other physiological factors enable male (top) athletes to be more powerful, to run faster, jump higher and throw further than their female counterparts. Yet the biological gap explains only some performance differences but not the whole picture. Solely emphasising the physiological issue is first, reductive, and second, a one-sided approach that directs attention away from other causes.

The assessment of sport as genuinely discriminating against women because of differences in physical capabilities is too short-sighted to explain the entire situation. For example, if we agree that football is a male domain and as a sport reinforces notions of the masculine, why then do women get involved at all? Why are participation rates in some countries so much higher than in others? Why are some segments more prone than others to be attracted by the sport? It seems that this argument neither pays attention to international or intra-national differences in sports participation, nor does it respect the rich variety of concepts and ways of living of women (and men) which are not as heterogeneous as a simple conceptual dichotomy of male and female implies. Hence the borderline between the sexes is re-emphasising an oversimplified, as such superfluous dichotomy, particularly as differences within a sex are much greater than between the sexes. The stunning success of Chinese women at international sport events since the late 1980s can be explained by the relative lack of competitive disadvantage, as the difference to Western top athletes is not as pronounced as in the case of the male athletes. Such an argumentative strategy can also be used to put defeats or crises into comparative perspective: when the Japanese women's national team lost their last group match against Canada at the 2003 World Cup, a report featured by the *Asahi Shinbun* related the defeat primarily to the 10 centimetre difference in average height and other physical features of the players.

The reductionist biological approach is usually closely allied to specific moral discourses. The muscular body of a football player and a certain degree of aggressiveness, for example, are considered desirable for men but less so for women. The acquisition of such qualities usually enforces male solidarity, yet women who equally celebrate competitiveness, stamina, strength and aggression endanger the core of male identity. With regard to football, essentialised categories of 'male' and 'female' and appropriate gender behaviour seem to hamper women's progress in East Asia as everywhere. Susan Brownell (1995: 230) has argued that in China, where class more than gender has enforced standards of moral desirability, women who played football did not face the threat of being accused of being 'butch' or 'lesbian'. Nonetheless such gender stereotyping is quite common in large parts of Europe, where the male/female dichotomy in sports is most openly expressed in the national game (Duke and Crolley 1996; Fasting 1997; Caudwell 1999), and it also affects women's football in Korea (Koh 2003: 5) and in Japan (Nogawa and Maeda 1999: 227). Brownell also observed how traditional culture persisted to influence popular perceptions of the body even within the egalitarian Maoist

body culture of China in the 1970s and 1980s. Sportswomen were very concerned about their bodies, calculating that whilst a successful sports career enhanced the chances of securing a socially desirable marriage, a too sun-tanned skin might give them the appearance of the rural working class and thus limit their attractiveness in the mating market (Brownell 1995: 237).

In actual fact, most top Chinese athletes have a rural family background (Riordan and Dong 1999). Peasant women are popularly imagined to endure more hardship than urban women, and women in general more than men. Having been used to coping with all-day work in village life and various forms of hardship, these young village women may regard their sports activity as a future investment in social mobility (Brownell 1995: 228). For example, famous female footballers and coaches have been promoted to the ranks of officials or appointed to the National People's Congress (such as Sun Wen in 1999) or to other political organisations (Hong 2002). Yet as women's particular position in the sport system is not so much based on the notion of gender equality but on the state's interest in gaining a heightened international profile and acknowledgement by way of successful sporting heroines, it seems that in practice women in the men's game experience severe difficulties, particularly if they cannot make it to the top. For ordinary girls and women, involvement in non-ladylike activities such as football negatively affects the way they are perceived in general and as potential brides in particular. This attitude is reinforced on a practical level by China's one-child policy.

In recent years, the rapid transformations of society in post-Maoist China has seen the mass media and the sport and body-styling industry delivering a new market of goods and services needed for new consumption styles. While state subsidies have remained indispensable and fundamental for sport, the inrush of private and foreign capital has fuelled a rapidly growing market which was identified by the state as a significant part of the engine of the national economy in 1999 (Chun and Ming 2001: 851). During these turbulent years, urban Chinese society has hastened to consolidate gender norms that concur with Western essentialised images of maleness and femaleness in China. The changing and conflicting images inevitably have led to new debates about femininity and gender roles in society.

Doing gender

The physicality embodied in sport renders it a prominent site for the experience and reinforcement of traditional gender roles and relations between the sexes (Horne *et al.* 1999: 111). Gender socialisation is considered as a lifelong process with the family, the school and the media as prime sites of transmitting and reaffirming traditional gender roles. Families are the focal group in which young children develop a sense of self; they also strongly influence preferences of taste and style that a person develops. China's superstar Sun Wen reported how important the active support of her football-loving father was for her unusual career, while school directors and coaches of girls' teams nowadays bemoan the

lack of support from parents. Schools, which are also the most important channel for scouting and nurturing sport talents, are promoting the officially sanctified versions of femininity and masculinity; and the mass media enhance the differences and play a leading role in reproducing gender divisions, particularly in their sport sections.

Albeit for different historical and ideological reasons, all East Asian societies cling to more or less prominent relics of patriarchy. Many accounts of gender and the relationship of the sexes in contemporary East Asia tend to attribute gender inequality to the preponderance of Confucian values. For example, Korean sport sociologists have argued that a deep-rooted Confucianism prevents women from joining sport clubs (Lee and Yang 2001: 529; Lee and Yeo 2001: 546). The feminist sociologist Koh Eunha (2003: 5) explicitly relates women's discrimination in football to the conservative Sung Ri Hak school of Confucianism that formed the foundation for social values in pre-modern Korea. Sport historian Fan Hong from PR China describes society's negative stance against women's involvement in the men's game as a reflection of a 'particularly Confucian form of sexism' (Hong 2002). Country-specific versions of Confucianism differed and differ considerably, yet the overall picture includes the notion of predominance of man over woman, separate daily domains of men and women, and clear-cut gendered standards for bodily action and behaviour.

Jennifer Hargreaves (1994: 288) claims that histories of women's sports have shown that patriarchal relations on their own do not explain women's subordination. While undeniably there is some truth in relating women's discrimination to Confucian traditions, relying in a reductionist way on the cultural argument is, more than anything else, ahistorical and socially blind. As a conceptualisation of a general principle that resists the pressure of the social environment to change, the argument ignores the way power relations between men and women, and between the individual, state and society, are constructed. Neither does it explain intra-regional differences nor the way traditions themselves are edified, and it obscures the well-founded observation that industrialisation has always been embedded within gendered processes of social transformation.

Yet it is true that cultural orientations and habitualised practices, as well as legal codifications, support the maintenance of a gendered order in which men are placed in super-ordinate positions to women and women are regarded as weak, passive, subordinate and dependent. The underlying principle is the reduction of women to their primary roles in family reproduction and home keeping, which by coincidence is also rooted in Confucian tradition. Hence we find the notion that women's place is inside the house, men's place outside, likewise in post-Maoist China, post-authoritarian capitalist Korea and democratic-capitalist Japan. In Japan, the household registration system that once incorporated masculine dominance continues to work at the cultural level of commonly shared perceptions and informal orientations against the legally enforced notion of gender equality (Sugimoto 1997: 136–42). Gender asymmetry is equally widespread in South Korea where the law also bestows upon men the status of legally recognised heads of household units and military service confers true citizen status (Moon 2002).

In both China and Korea, which are well known for the practice of sex-selective abortion and the unnatural under-representation of daughters, parents often not only prefer sons to daughters but also actively pursue the bioengineering of the sexual composition of their family (cf. Croll 2000).

Most evident is the perpetuation of social patriarchy in the world of labour. In the gendered labour market, unpaid labour usually is female and most (well) paid labour is male. If women are actively participating in the wage labour market, they are assigned low-paid and unsecured jobs. Economic crises tend to enforce this bifurcation, particularly if the state response consists of neoliberal economic policy (Shin 2001). Public discourses of hard work and personal sacrifice in the service of national development, which accompanied modernities in China, Japan and Korea, overshadowed and tainted the modern notion of the subject, thereby advancing a modernised version of gendered role segregation. In China, where the Confucian mind had once defined women as inferior to men, communist intervention challenged their devaluation and subordination, yet without overcoming gender divisions. Women's inroads into agrarian labour, the military and the shopfloor have impacted upon the traditional roles assigned to women but have not changed the gender hierarchy, particularly as free entrepreneurship after 1978 caused the reconceptualisation of the gendered spaces of public and private life. Where capitalism was accepted and even promoted, the economisation of social relations affected women's position again in a negative way (Jacka 1997: 4–5).

Marxist feminists claim that the inherent competitive nature of modern sport is closely interwoven with patriarchy and the nature of modern capitalism. They assess sexism in sports as an element of bourgeois ideology underpinning the sexual division of labour, which is essential to capitalism (Hargreaves 1994: 26–7, 35). Men's authority in Japan, South Korea, and elsewhere in first world countries, has been largely legitimised by their ability to provide for their families through paid employment outside of the home. National labour regulations perpetuate traditional gender roles that place men into the public and women into the home by systematically disadvantaging women, particularly as their employment is seen as temporary and subsidiary (Konno 1996; Jacka 1997). The male-breadwinner ideology that reached its peak in Japan in the 1970s overshadowed the first step of women's mass involvement in sport. The *mamasan bar–bēru* movement that lured tens of thousands of housewives into volleyball at this time clearly put the individual pleasure of the happy housewife into the greater service of the family (Lebra *et al.* 1976: 258), and by extension, the nation. Only after the good wife and wise mother had duly fulfilled her duties was she conceded the right to spare-time activities.

The popularity of volleyball was triggered by the surprising success of the national women's team at the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. Yet in general volleyball as a non-contact sport has been perceived to be more suitable for women than football. Currently, 70,000 high school students are enrolled in 4,300 volleyball teams associated with the All Japan High School Sport Association. The association does not list football as a female sport, although there are some dozen

high school teams which are affiliated with the Japan Football Association. Since popularity rose in the 1990s, tournaments for high school and university teams are regularly carried out at regional and national level. At middle school level, football ranks at the lower bottom of popular sport activities with 1,628 female players (versus 191,939 volleyball players) among 1,17 million girls that participate in extracurricular sports (numbers according to data provided by the associations). Writing about college football, which currently features about 70 teams, Kobayashi Miyuki (2001) notes that female players always had to rely on private initiatives as schools were hardly a place of significance for the development of women's football. This is partly explained by the prevalent sexism in the employment system of PE teachers where the ratio of female and male sport instructors has not changed over the past 20 years (Itani 2003), but also by the fading interest of the ageing players.

Respondents to a survey among female college students and female collegiate athletes in Korea said that other non-contact sports such as swimming or badminton had a positive influence on the individual acquisition of female qualities, whereas football was considered to harm the players' femininity. In particular, athletes themselves emphasised the negative impact of women's involvement in male sports (Koh 2002). A study of gender identity formation among female hockey players (Lim and Lee 2001) showed identity conflicts resulting from the diverging expectations the female players had to meet as athletes and as women. As society's ideal of femininity deprives women of essential qualities needed to succeed in team sports, frustration and the decision to quit the sport usually follow. Little wonder that a national survey of sport participation revealed women's limited interest in actively participating in football (Koh 2002). Whereas Koh sees gender discrimination in contemporary Korean sport as clearly based on the heritage of pre-modern gender relations and the latent patriarchy of Korean society, Edwards (2000) locates the origin of the discourse on sportswomen's mental, emotional, and physical inferiority in Japan within an antiquated deterministic assertion of sexual difference and a related focus on women's reproductive capabilities. In many respects the female body seems to have been reduced to its uterus – in scientific literature, training manuals for coaches and in such training routines that require players to record their menstrual cycle. While this discourse has lost some of its authority over the past two or three decades, female athletes' choices continue to be framed by a comparative (with the male norm) scientific approach that reflects male hegemony as the broader cultural ideology.

The male gaze: women's sport in the media

Due to the media industries and the sophistication of media technologies, sport has turned into a global communicator. The media–sport nexus is a symbiotic relationship in which both parties rely on and profit from the alliance. The ability to reach out to audiences of billions around the globe makes sport one of the most valuable content fillers and format of the mass media industry, particularly television. At the same time, the media enable sports, sport events and sport stars

that appeal to such huge audiences to generate high sponsorship income and broadcasting revenues. Because of their deep involvement in the production, transmission and interpretation of sport, the media play a crucial role in the construction of its social meaning, and as such in the mediated representation of female and male identities and gender relations. Whannel recently wrote that the growth of media sport has given sport stars a high degree of cultural visibility, rendering them available as the points of condensation for a range of discourses, particularly those relating to masculinity and morality (Whannel 2002: 213). Women's relative minor status in sport is reflected by quantitative and qualitative issues, resulting in biased reporting of women's sport and gender-biased language use, which, as in *Zen Nihon Sakkā Senshuken* (football championship) as opposed to *Zen Nihon Joshi Sakkā Senshuken* (*women's* football championship), is a universally recognised phenomenon.

In Japan, as in general (Hargreaves 1986: 151), men figure much more than women as media–sport professionals, sport writers and academics in all sport-related fields. Among the 46 Japanese newspaper journalists that covered the Sydney Olympics 2000, Iida (2002: 81–3) identified only three women, who contributed a mere 4.1 per cent of 635 articles and not a single photo to the print media display of the Olympics. While the coverage of women's and men's sport in three national dailies was quite evenly balanced in quantitative terms, it differed considerably in qualitative terms, i.e. the kind of sport featured and contextualisation strategies. Women were more often reported about either in disciplines that had gained social acceptance long ago, such as track and field or swimming, or in 'typically' feminine sports, such as synchronised swimming and beach volleyball (Iida 2002: 79). The women's beach ball team did not advance very far, yet its photo shots were, together with the synchro swimmer teams, most often displayed on the sport pages. Hence the observable gains women made in the media representation was not always good news, if the increase was primarily based on the permissive (or compelled) disclosure of the female body to the male gaze. As Alina Bernstein (2002) has commented, the sexualisation of female athletes trivialises their achievements and in fact robs them of athletic legitimacy, thus preserving hegemonic masculinity.

Research on the role of the sport media in the reproduction of gender stereotypes has found the coverage to be often framed within stereotypes which emphasise social expectations toward the athlete as a women rather than athletic skill (cf. Iida 2003). TV commercials are also interesting because they have to master the challenging task of creating and presenting a convincing image of a fitting universe or life world into a story of no more than 20 or 30 seconds length. According to Hirakawa's analysis of sport-related TV commercials (2002), women were clearly under-represented in Japan (comprising 14.4 per cent of images) and staged in comparatively passive or overdetermined roles that were easily connected with the dominant normative destination of female existence: as wife and mother. While male athletes were typically shown in action, in actual competition, or in the limelight of fans and admirers, women hardly appeared as active performers, and if they were, then in domesticated contexts, such as running the dog, or

playing with children. Masculinity was valourised by the celebration of the sport hero in very condensed heroic situations, whereas the sport heroines were deprived of all of their heroic features. Again, this narrative technique is far from being exclusive as Whannel has observed on sport heroes in relation to heroines and to the female. As he also noted that 'sport characteristically provides a space for the eradication, marginalisation and symbolic annihilation of the feminine' (Whannel 2002: 45), it seems that the success of the female athlete causes alert or a sense of crisis in the world of masculine domination. Consequently, in order to appease the masculine athletes, sport heroines have to be demystified and redefined as 'normal' girls and archetypal women. Iida also found that female athletes were often called by pet names and endearing terms stressing their cuteness and 'lovely' dependence on men. As male athletes are referred to in a much more detached and honourable way, the verbal annexation of the female athlete is a linguistic practice that reinforces gender-based status differences.

The female gaze: her place in the grandstands

Many researchers perceive gendered media representation as part of a vicious circle relegating women to the fringe of active sport participation. Kim and Kim (2001) argued that the Korean media sport system is sexist and discriminating, because it neglects the female athlete. Negligence means a drop in public awareness, spectator turn out, sponsorship income, new blood in the sport and media representation. Access is granted to women without dispute only at the sidelines, on the stands, in front of the TV screen or the sports paper pages. In recent years, motivated by the desire to produce greater fan support and increase revenues, football teams around the world have started to target women as a new component of their potential fan base. With the imperative of extending the reach for customers wherever they can be found, marketing specialists attempted to invert the traditional relationship between the female body and the male gaze. Whereas football has traditionally been performed by men for a male spectatorship, the feminisation of the audience challenged established concepts of maleness in the stadiums, and probably more among male spectators than athletes.

Opening new areas of consumption for new consumer groups was one of the most cogent explanations for the sudden success of the J.League in the mid-1990s. As spectator surveys during the first rounds of the J.League and to a certain extent also during the 2002 World Cup clearly have shown, the concept worked out well throughout the region. Huge numbers of young women flocked into the stadiums and filled the stands to see their heroes. Rather than supporting a team, they were attracted by single players, but this did not prevent them from enthusiastically buying the accompanying merchandise (Schütte with Ciarlante 1998: 229). The visual attraction of the J.Leaguers as a new breed of sport athletes set apart from the normative standard of baseball players, and much more the recent 'Beckham-boom' in East Asia (cf. Shimizu in this volume, Chapter 12) also underline the particular phenomenon of turning the male players into a commodity for a young and wealthy female audience. Magazines that address a

large and exclusively female readership featured cover spreads and articles on Japanese and international football stars during the 1990s and at the time of the 2002 World Cup.

A similar phenomenon occurred in Korea where the Red Devils supporter organisation of the national team boasted a large female membership. The women's share in the sea of red that filled Seoul's streets during the World Cup was eye-catching. Apart from the 'staged spontaneity' in the national interest and mass effects, their motivations were less ignited by the love of the beautiful game than by the adoration of cute and handsome players. Most notable were Ahn Jung-hwan, who enjoyed celebrity status in South Korea even before the World Cup, or local talents like Lee Dong-gook of Pohang and Ko Jong-su of Suwon, who created legions of screaming female devotees. Teams that retained the popular players like Busan, Pohang, Anyang, and most of all, Chunnam, enjoyed a huge growth in attendances after the World Cup, whereas the 2001 K-League champion Seongnam, which ironically could not produce a single World Cup member, did not experience any large increases (Lee 2002; Lihm 2002).

For the first time in Asian history, it seems that a generation of women has emerged which is in the position to act upon the definition of dominant concepts of masculinity and to impose role models on their male contemporaries. While women are widely excluded from the opportunity to exercise the power of definition as producers, they can do so as consumers. In other words, football may have had a lasting impact on society at least in the realm of consumption, lifestyles and popular culture. But does this imply that women's liberation in sports is bound more to the market than to culture or the political system?

Conclusion: culture or market principles?

FIFA president Sepp Blatter who once predicted that 'the future of football is feminine', changed his mind in October 2003. Speaking at the world launch of the Asian Football Confederation's 'Vision Asia', Blatter praised the worldwide highest economic potential of the biggest single continental land mass with the most young people and ended his speech by proclaiming 'the future of football is Asia'. Although women's football is one of ten central points in the Asian Football Confederation's blueprint for the future, this conjuncture did not lead to the forecast that the future of football is with East Asia's women. As with the catchy slogans of the 'house of FIFA' or the 'football family', FIFA's current presidency prefers a domicile symbolism that hardly evokes the empowerment of women.

Women's football in East Asia has made some advances, yet in no way that might either be comparable to the men's game or in line with the principle of gender equality. The apparent contradiction, arising from the low status of women's football and the success on the international pitch, is partially explained by the per capita index that shows a relatively high involvement in comparison with the Asian average. As many more countries are left in which football is much more exclusively male, these achievements do not suggest that a progressive gender policy is pursued in East Asia. While the participation at international sport

events and membership of international sport organisations have been able to give some impetus to change in the single member countries, male sport continues to flourish as the unquestioned standard of sport.

Bourdieu (1992: 193–4) has argued that in order to understand a single sport, its position within the entire field of sports has to be assessed. This programme demands consideration of both the positions of the sporting subjects in the social field on the one hand, and the sport's specific demands from the body, on the other hand. When women's football is dealt with exclusively, a third perspective of gender must be incorporated into the two axes of analysis. For the first axis of analysis, football is much more than any other sport the game in which the nation-state displays itself to an international audience. Yet this is primarily true for the men's game, while the women's teams are compelled to make ends meet without balanced media representation and adequate support from the national and international football organisations. As Jennifer Hargreaves (1994: 279) observed, 'the longer men practically and ideologically have appropriated an activity, the more difficult it is for women to get inside'. While the male appropriation of football is not so deeply rooted in history and collective memories as in Europe, it nevertheless seems that also on East Asian fields it is not a woman's place to represent the nation.

As for the second axis of the body in society, the discussion has shown that the female body in these three countries is far from being liberated. Bound into cultural discourses about the 'reproductive capabilities' and 'domestic destiny' of the 'fair sex', women are confronted with social responsibilities overshadowing the private realm of personal pleasure and physical sensation. Particularly in China and Korea, the female body in the present appears to belong already to the future husband's family. The qualities football demands from the female body create conflicts that are difficult to bridge. The physical capital incorporated through the practice of football is difficult to translate into economic capital. To a certain degree, status gains provide a suitable exchange value, at least for top athletes in China, but not as much in Korea or Japan, or for ordinary amateur players. Thus it is just in the case of China where women's top football has benefited greatly from state involvement. Yet in a more market-led economic environment China will very likely meet the fate of both Korea and Japan that suffer from a lack of public support and the unfair competition with the men's game. This cursory exploration of women's football in China, Japan and Korea supports the general observation on the relative position of women's sport in the globalising economy. It is not the absolute success which matters but a sport's relative power to mobilise mass media attention in comparison with the men's game (Diketmöller 2002: 217–19).

It cannot be denied that markets may positively impact on cultures or states; the histories in this chapter suggest that capitalism and democracy, on the one hand, and the commercialisation and spectacularisation of football, on the other hand, have brought about the contradictory effects of 'civilising' and 'suppressive' power. As the case studies have shown, women's position in East Asian football cannot be suitably explained by reference to traditional cultural values, the economy or the political system alone but necessitates a contextualised study of

gender power relations. Female subordination is performed in everyday life, codified at political and administrative levels, exploited in economic relations and symbolically reproduced in popular cultural forms. Globalisation impacts have put masculine hegemony under scrutiny again: the East Asian economic crises, the loss of job security, men's dissatisfaction with corporate employment and the modest increase in career opportunities for women have challenged the gendered division of labour. Even the military service has lost much of its 'virile' quality, since women have been granted the right to join the army in times of political stability. As the examples of Korea and Japan have shown, the willingness to take sides with neoliberalism has weakened familial patriarchy while social patriarchy has gained ground. Thus it seems women's football is locked in a double-binding situation: the more the hierarchy of gender relations is questioned, the greater the significance of sports as the last symbolic stronghold of masculine superiority.

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14 An international comparison of the motivations and experiences of volunteers at the 2002 World Cup

Nogawa Haruo

Introduction

Writing in advance of the Football World Cup held in France between 10 June and 12 July 1998, Co-President of the French Organising Committee Michel Platini declared that 'No organising committee, whether it be for the World Cup or the Olympic Games, can do without the help of volunteers. They are absolutely essential' (quoted in *France 98: 16th FIFA-World Cup Press Kit*, 1998: 43). Following the tradition established at many previous major international sports events (such as the 1994 World Cup in the USA, the Olympics in Atlanta in 1996 and the Winter Olympics in Nagano in 1998) – which we will refer to hereafter in this chapter as sports mega-events – France 98 involved 12,000 volunteers. It was the largest volunteer programme ever undertaken in the country and required considerable planning, training and management (*France 98: 16th FIFA-World Cup Press Kit*, 1998: 141).

The logistics and planning involved with the first Asian and first co-hosted World Cup Finals four years later were even more daunting. In the end, a combined total of almost 32,700 official volunteers helped run the 2002 World Cup. These volunteers came from all fields of society, driven by a common desire to contribute to the operation of one of the greatest sporting events in the world. The co-hosting of the World Cup provided a reason for more than one married couple to join the ranks of volunteers. Newly-wed Byun Kyu-chang and his Japanese wife Tanabe Kaori worked side by side at the main press center (KOWOC 2003: 64). Son Masatora (Chung-In) and his wife Pak Yuriko worked for the International Media Center in Yokohama. Both had been in Japan since 1968. Masatora was born in Korea, the son of the 1936 Olympic gold medallist Son Gi-Jung (referred to in Japanese as Son Kitei), and had come to Japan to attend graduate school. He had held anti-Japanese sentiments for a number of years but he felt that it was a great opportunity to reconcile with the Japanese during the tournament (JAWOC 2002b: 110). Miyazaki Takeshi, a 50-year-old director of a small trading company, had been laid-off from a prestigious company one year before, and his football friends from high school days suggested he should act as a volunteer during the World Cup. He felt that it was a once in a lifetime opportunity to utilise his English language abilities. During the World Cup he was in charge of escorting

the Saudi Arabian team in the Yokohama International stadium. As his dream came true, he even felt lucky to have been fired from the large firm because otherwise he would not have been able to take part (JAWOC 2002b: 111).

These short portraits provide an insight into the variety of volunteers, their motivations and expectations. With respect to volunteers in East Asia, Yamashita and Saka (2002) provide a recent assessment of the wider social and political significance of voluntary groups involved with football in Japan. This chapter provides more general information about sport volunteers in Korea and Japan beyond the level of individual experience. In this respect it joins a small, but growing, body of literature that reflects a recent revival of research interest in this largely ignored, but 'essential', aspect of sport, leisure and society more generally (see Graham and Foley 2001; Putnam 2001: 116–33; Nichols 2003).

Organised volunteers in the 2002 World Cup

Whilst the role of volunteers in general (Davis Smith 1998) and their contribution to the provision of sport and leisure opportunities, and the value of the voluntary sector of sport in particular has attracted some attention (Gratton and Taylor 2000: 125–41), few studies have looked in detail at the motives, roles and expectations of volunteers assisting in the running of sports mega-events. One exception is Ralston *et al.* (2003); they studied an event that began a few weeks after the 2002 World Cup had ended – the XVII Commonwealth Games held in Manchester between 25 July and 4 August. The 2002 Commonwealth Games was the largest multi-sport event ever to be staged in the UK. The Games attracted competitors from 72 nations, 5,250 athletes, more than one million spectators and an estimated television audience of 1 billion. 10,500 volunteers had to be recruited for the event – the largest volunteer group ever assembled in the UK outside of wartime. Ralston *et al.* (2003: 45) posed the questions: 'Who were these volunteers?' and 'What did they expect the experience of being a Commonwealth Games volunteer would be like?' In addition to a self-completion questionnaire distributed to 1,200 volunteers in May 2002, Ralston *et al.* used focus groups and an innovative method of diary study by which each of the 72 respondents involved was able to record their feelings by telephone during the event.

As already noted, Korea and Japan utilised volunteers during the Olympic Games held in 1988 and 1998 respectively. So it was nothing special or new for East Asian people to participate in the World Cup as volunteers. The two co-host nations followed similar procedures as the French in 1998 and aimed to engage about 30,000 volunteers in total for the 2002 FIFA World Cup. Many people conceived of 2002 as a 'once-in-a-lifetime' occasion and there was considerable interest in becoming involved as official volunteers for the event in both nations. Like Ralston *et al.*, the surge of interest by people wanting to become volunteers prompted us to ask such questions as: Who were the volunteers? What were their motivations? And how did their experiences in 2002 impact upon their future orientation towards volunteering in general?

This chapter reports on initial findings from a research project conducted in both Japan and Korea before, during and after the 2002 World Cup. It is structured in three parts. In the first, the cultural background and expectations of 2002 World Cup volunteers in Japan and Korea are outlined. The second part introduces a more detailed consideration of their motives and reflections on their experiences on the basis of empirical survey data. In the third and final part we suggest that research into volunteering in sport in contemporary East Asian societies can shed interesting light on the wider notion of volunteerism in such societies.

The cultural background to volunteerism in East Asian societies

It could be argued that in terms of attitudes and degree of commitment, short-term volunteering in a sporting mega-event hardly deserves inclusion in the category of 'volunteer'. At the 1998 Nagano Winter Olympic Games, where more than 44,000 volunteers from all over Japan helped to operate the Games (Yamaguchi *et al.* 2000: 3), it became apparent that sport volunteerism had turned into a kind of social fashion. A considerable number of volunteers appeared to possess a 'show-off' attitude. We might, after Thorstein Veblen (1899), call this a kind of 'conspicuous volunteering'. This trend may be related to the festive atmosphere of sport mega-events, on the one hand, and the lesser degree of serious commitment and time involvement of volunteers for these events, on the other hand.

For the last two decades a nostalgic quest for authenticity in the past and Japan's regions, the so-called *furusato boom*, has triggered the growth of an event-focused culture and the rediscovery of the fascination of local and regional festivals. Rising participation rates among the younger generations of Japanese have also been underpinned by the idea that: 'if you get involved with a festival, be a participant, not a spectator!' Volunteer participation at such events usually are short-term commitments without deep moral obligations. *Cho bora*, doing a little volunteer activity, is the term used by the Japanese media, critics and even volunteers to describe this kind of involvement. Another reason for *cho bora* may have its roots in the growing desire of people for mass media exposure and hence to become 'instant celebrities'. Such ambitions have been found in many different societies and cultures in the age of information technology.

The Korean–Japanese dialogue has been going on for longer than anyone can remember. This bilateral relation encompasses the world's second largest economy and the most heavily armed boundary on the planet (Lewis 2002: 148). There has been a series of international conflicts and accusations in almost every department between the two nations for most of the last century. The 2002 World Cup was the first opportunity for the two host countries to collaborate to achieve a common goal (if not actually on the pitch!). As soon as FIFA announced this unprecedented decision in Zurich in May 1996, many Koreans and Japanese were extremely disappointed with it and were uncertain as to whether the two nations would ever be able to work together to accomplish the same objectives. However,

the mission appears to have been accomplished very well, despite some minor problems concerning ticket distribution, empty seats and the hooligan-like behaviour of a few Japanese fans. Although actual collaboration between Japanese and Koreans hardly occurred at the stadiums during the tournament, relations across the Sea of Japan have generally improved since the co-hosting announcement was made. In a sense, this sporting mega-event has brought about a third ecumenical period in Korea–Japan relations.

Both host nations relied heavily on the support and dedication of some tens of thousands of official volunteers 'without whose help a tournament of this magnitude would not have been possible' (FIFA 2002: 4). FIFA expressed its sincere thanks

> to the thousands of people whose untiring efforts made this tournament such an unqualified success. Often working a full 24-hour day, they turned this into the World Cup of smiles, and we will all forever treasure such special, warm memories of the festival of football on Asian soil.
>
> (FIFA 2002: 5)

Putting the orientalism implicit in the 'World Cup of smiles' phrase aside (but see Horne and Manzenreiter 2004), volunteerism in the context of this mega-event's organisation may be considered as the product of contradictory notions of both eagerness to help and susceptibility to exploitation. Both notions are deeply embedded in Japan and Korea and only accessible if put in relation to wider value systems and preferred modes of interpersonal relations in a cultural context. Both in traditional Korea and Japan, Confucianism and Buddhism provided the background for the evolution of similar religious belief and value systems. Cooperative spirits, community help and caring for each other were deeply embedded in both cultures. However, rapid social changes in the course of economic growth, urbanisation, urban migration and the erosion of traditional communities have undermined both traditional networks of common interest and conceptions of the self as inextricably rooted in mutual relationships of trust and reliance in Japan as well as in Korea.

The development of modern society in Korea has strengthened materialistic orientations and individualistic values. Yet neither collective values nor the traditional value of moral reverence have disappeared completely. In a parallel, and somewhat contradictory, fashion, as democratic consciousness strengthened, authoritarian values did not weaken (Yi 2002: 87). The authoritarianism of rank and hierarchy has continued to exist in many aspects of Korean society, starting with the superior–inferior order within the family. The Korean sense of authoritarianism is internalised in every aspect of society as hierarchical relations between those who give orders and those who receive orders: between management and labour, between teacher and pupil, between seniors and juniors, and between the older and the younger (Yi 2002). In traditional Korea, collectivist values mitigated the many problems caused by the conflict an individual and their private aspirations encounters within such strictly hierarchical social organisations. Like

Japanese '*kō*-culture' (financial cooperative) and '*yui*-culture' (agricultural cooperative), the concepts of '*kye*-culture' (financial cooperative) and '*ture*-culture' (agricultural cooperative) still underpin traditional collectivist values in Korean society. Thus, '*tong'ari*-culture' (group culture) characterises contemporary South Korean culture. Even in contemporary Korea, a collective orientation and group bonds strongly determine the position of any individual, as virtually each and every Korean belongs to a 'group', and lives are structured within autonomous 'circles' (Yi 2002: 89).

In the light of this explanation of Korean society, the claim of the director of Public Relations in the Korean Organising Committee for the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan (KOWOC) that Koreans have long possessed a very strong volunteer spirit (Sin 2001: 209) deserves reconsideration. Momose (1998: 47) argues that since Koreans are collectivists they do not have a volunteer spirit as self-selecting individuals. Participation in voluntary activities is either evoked by group enforcement, i.e. the necessity of working together as a group, or by authoritarian force, i.e. by orders from a superior or other authority. Momose indicates that the authoritarianism of rank and the preservation of hierarchy are deeply related to the phenomenon of volunteerism and the individual decisions of volunteers. Moreover, Kim *et al*. (2001: 145–6) reported that the participation motives of Korean sport volunteers in general covered a wide range, from altruism or social responsibility to the use of new knowledge and professional acquaintances, wish for social contacts, self-development, reasonable use of leisure time, and accumulation of new experiences. Yamaguchi *et al*. (2000: 3) reported similar tendencies amongst Japanese volunteers in sporting events.

There is quite a strong tradition of helping others without expecting anything in return in modern Japanese society, which is probably due to the influence of Christianity. As Reischauer (1977: 134–5), the former US ambassador, pointed out, the strong emphasis on interdependency of the group has prevailed in Japan since the turn of the 20th century. The concept of interdependency often leads to the traditional relativistic ethics of *on*, meaning the benevolence or favour to others. Under the strong influence of Confucianism and Christianity, people tend to feel obliged to do a favour for troubled people without placing them under any obligation. Watado (1996: 44–5) indicated that a slow but gradual urban volunteer movement started in Japanese communities in the 1970s and the idea of philanthropy was given a lot of attention during the middle of the bubble economy in the 1980s. Even though hierarchical orientation and authoritarian consciousness continued to govern numerous aspects in Japanese society, the power of vertical relations and collective values no longer led people, particularly younger generations, to participate in voluntary work. However, the Great Hanshin Earthquake which destroyed wide areas in Kobe and western Japan in January 1995, proved to be a turning point in the field of volunteerism.

In unprecedented numbers, Japanese from all regions flocked to Kobe and volunteered to help the tens of thousands of victims wherever they could. Those volunteers were very impressed with those victims who also helped others as Kaneko (1992) claimed. Since then, the idea of volunteerism has acquired a new

quality and been incorporated into official governmental reports (Yamashita and Saka 2002: 150–1). It is no overstatement that the Great Hanshin Earthquake was a turning point in the meaning of volunteering in Japan. The view of volunteering has been shifting from a dedicated charitable act for the underprivileged toward a self-actualising social contribution (Tanaka 1995; Yamasaki 1998: 92).

In summary, it may be possible to generalise that Koreans are more likely to become volunteers when they are either evoked by group enforcement or by authoritarian forces such as state organisations, university officials or sports bodies. Their attitudes are mostly influenced by notions such as 'self-sacrifice' and 'social devotion' and not personal gain. The attitudes of Japanese volunteers, on the other hand, whilst also influenced by friends and authoritarian forces, seem to have been changing since the Great Hanshin Earthquake. Helping others without any rewards has become a new virtue in Japanese society. Since the Japanese have always been very susceptible to fads and styles, in accordance with Reischauer (1977: 135), volunteering may have become a new type of fashion among certain Japanese people.

Preparing official volunteers for the 2002 World Cup

The recruitment process

Between April 16 and June 30 2001, both organising committees – the Korean Organising Committee for the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan (or KOWOC) and the Japan Organising Committee for the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan (or JAWOC) – started the recruiting process via mail and internet. The term 'official sport volunteer' described all those who were selected to register as official volunteers for the tournament by the two World Cup organising committees. The rights and duties of official volunteers in Japan and Korea were similar to those involved with France '98. Volunteers had to be over 18 as of 1 April 2002; to be able to participate in all games at the specific location; to attend the required activities at designated places; to participate in all the training sessions set up by a local organising committee; and to be able to communicate in Japanese if their mother language was other than Japanese. In return, each organising committee promised to provide one meal or meal coupon on match days; volunteer equipment and uniforms; and health insurance (covered by the local organising committee) while volunteers were on duty. However, no monetary reward or reimbursement for transportation would be given on any occasion (JAWOC 2003: 96).

KOWOC expected to recruit approximately 16,000 volunteers, while JAWOC aimed at 16,500 volunteers. By May 2001, KOWOC had received almost 11,000 applications whereas JAWOC had only about 2,800 (*Sankei Shinbun*, 15 May 2001). Embarrassed by the low response, JAWOC pressed local football associations to exercise their influence and reach out to their members and all football-related persons. By the end of June 2001, nearly 48,000 people had applied in Korea while a total of 28,729 had sent in their application forms in Japan. Thus it was

much more competitive to become a volunteer in Korea than in Japan. By comparison, when applications closed in France in December 1997, 23,695 people had applied to work as volunteers during France 98.

Applicants went through a screening process including brief interviews. They were selected on the basis of ability and availability, as well as commitment for the position. After detailed screening, a total of 32,696 official volunteers, 16,196 from Korea and 16,500 from Japan, were appointed by their respective organising committee. Of the final 16,196, almost all KOWOC volunteers (95 per cent) were able to speak a second language (KOWOC 2003: 63–5). In contrast, only approximately 70 per cent of JAWOC volunteers were able to speak a second language (JAWOC 2002a: 95–6). Both committees also appointed a number of residents from foreign countries. In addition KOWOC invited second generation Koreans living overseas to help out as the following extract indicates:

> *Pride in being Korean*: Korean-Americans from Hawaii returned home after an unforgettable month at the World Cup in Korea. Volunteer Goh Ga-hyun remarked on how astonished she was to see the orderliness of the supporting crowds. Kim Man-wook said the sound of tens of thousands of supporters singing 'Oh Pilsung Korea' was emotionally stirring, and added that no other choir in the world could sing in one voice as did the Red Devils. Kim Jin-yi said the feeling of unity among Koreans was one she would cherish forever.
>
> (KOWOC 2003: 64)

Table 14.1 gives basic demographic data about the volunteers from the two countries. Female volunteers were the mainstream for KOWOC venues and also in Japan female volunteers outnumbered their male counterparts. Women in

Table 14.1 Basic profile of World Cup 2002 volunteers in Korea and Japan

		KOWOC	*JAWOC*
Total number of applicants		47,680	28,729
Average competition rate		4:1 (9.9:1 in Seoul)	1.7:1 (2.3:1 at the IMC, Yokohama)
Sex distribution	Female	61%	54%
	Male	39%	46%
Age distribution	20s	57%	43%
	30s	13%	23%
	40s	11%	15%
	over 50	11%	17%
	others	8%	2%
Occupation	College student	57%	36%
	Homemaker	12%	–
	Office worker	7%	30%
	Others	24%	44%

Source: Numbers according to JAWOC (2002b) and KOWOC (2003).

general play a much more central role in social activities in Japan, particularly if they are housewives supposed to have ample free time to spare. However, one interesting finding in our survey was the number of women in their twenties and thirties among the novice volunteers in Japan. Most of the Japanese female volunteers were either office workers or college students who had to manage their time to take part in volunteer work. The *Mainichi Shinbun* reported that 'volunteers are busy office workers, not idlers'. Freelance translator Sanekawa Motoko, was surprised to find out that most volunteers working at the International Media Center (IMC) were regular office workers who either got two-week paid vacations from their companies a year in advance or left their offices on time to help with the event. Most of them spoke more than two languages and had professional knowledge with which to support media workers. Although the IMC was far away from the nearest stadium (Yokohama), these volunteers did not mind working away from the live action (*Mainichi Shinbun*, 24 June 2002).

In Korea, just 12 per cent of all volunteers were homemakers. Nearly 60 per cent of KOWOC volunteers were college students who probably got exemption from college classes and exams, as their forerunners had done when they participated as volunteers in the 1986 Seoul Asian Games and 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. In Japan, students were not offered such exemptions. Nonetheless every third JAWOC volunteer (36 per cent) had to skip classes at college or university in order to fulfil the assigned duties. Consequently, volunteers younger than 29 years provided the main age group in both countries. In both countries, the share of volunteers in their twenties and thirties was almost 70 per cent, while the group of 40–59-year-old volunteers was larger in Japan (28 per cent) than in Korea (22 per cent). In terms of age, the World Cup tournament powerfully revealed the potential for volunteers in both countries. Both organising committees decided to use volunteers from the football community to operate the tournament – approximately 10 per cent of the whole volunteer force. In other areas of volunteer work, no preference was expressed by the organising committees. That was why sports volunteers were the smallest in number in both countries. In terms of venue preference, only one out of every ten applicants was selected for the most often requested venue in Seoul, while the Headquarters and International Media Center (IMC) was the most preferred venue in Japan. In comparison, one in every four volunteers at France 98 was female and 50 per cent (6,000) came from the football community, i.e. were sports volunteers. Of the volunteers 40 per cent were students, 41 per cent were of working age, 9 per cent were retired (65 years and over) and the remaining 10 per cent came from different walks of life – such as homemakers and the unemployed (*France 98: 16th FIFA-World Cup Press Kit*, 1998: 142).

Duties and training

From 30 May to 10 June 2001, the FIFA Confederations Cup took place in Korea and Japan and acted as a rehearsal for the 2002 World Cup. Only three stadiums in each country were needed for the 2001 tournament. All the other venues set

up either J.League, K-League or international friendly matches to provide 'in-the-field training' (JAWOC 2003: 96). During the World Cup itself, most of the official volunteers worked in stadiums on match days. The average number of working days for JAWOC volunteers was 7.7 for those assigned to JAWOC Headquarters and the IMC and 4.2 for those assigned to other venues (JAWOC 2003: 96). In addition, many more unofficial volunteers worked outside the stadiums, i.e. at train stations, airports, bus stations and information centres.

Volunteer duties were divided into 12 categories such as match operation, traffic control and transportation, chaperoning, control of spectators and escort of officials, accreditation, administrative work, IT-related work, media services, protocol, and medical services. All the volunteers received the *Official Volunteer Guide Book* (JAWOC 2001) and designated equipment. The visibility of the official volunteers was enhanced by their colour-coordinated uniforms. Both KOWOC and JAWOC ordered these from Adidas, one of the official FIFA World Cup sponsors. All volunteers received a cap, two T-shirts, a sweater, rain jacket, shorts, long trousers, three pairs of socks and a pair of trainers. The uniforms were made of an ultra-light high-performance fabric. Colours varied according to the volunteers' duties. General volunteers wore a purple and white outfit, while stewards in charge of security matters had a navy and yellow uniform. Chief stewards were differentiated by red caps and jackets. Also different colours of bibs were provided to distinguish volunteer's duties. Ultimately, the uniforms became a source of pride for the volunteers, as well as a valuable souvenir of the tournament (KOWOC 2003: 64).

Plate 14.1 JAWOC volunteers getting ready for work

Plate 14.2 Security stewards waiting for the crowds

Plate 14.3 Briefing of international volunteers

The volunteers underwent a series of rigorous training sessions between August and November 2001. The official training programme consisted of three phases: general training sessions, functional group lecture sessions on the basics of each duty, and on-site practical sessions at the stadium site. During the first phase, volunteers were informed about general procedures and the concept of the event. The second phase was divided according to duties assigned; a few group lectures were also given. The third phase dealt with an actual rehearsal in the stadium. Each venue continued this training and workshops until volunteers became familiar with their responsibilities. At each Japanese venue, the average number of training sessions exceeded five. However, a considerable number of volunteers later complained that the sessions were often rather meaningless and a waste of their time. Procedures practised in the training sessions were not used in real-life situations.

Rewards

In both countries, official volunteers received no monetary rewards. Instead, they were sent a letter of appreciation and a commemorative album courtesy of JAWOC or KOWOC. The album consisted of a number of photos of the volunteers in action and a full list of volunteers' names. JAWOC did not cover any transportation expenses, yet KOWOC gave volunteers KRW6,000 a day (approximately €4) and lunch expenses. From our survey we know that one out of five volunteers at some Japanese venues complained about the excessive expenses they had to pay for themselves during the tournament. A significant number of Japanese volunteers also expressed their dissatisfaction with the refreshments provided. The local organising committee required volunteers to arrive between six to eight hours before a match to prepare for their duties and remain there for another two hours after the match to clean up. Yet only one lunch package and one bottle of water was provided for each volunteer during each period of up to 12 hours! Thousands of volunteers had to endure long hours of standing in the relentless heat and humidity of June. Some volunteers at the stadiums in Saitama and Osaka even had to be taken to hospital because of dehydration and heat exhaustion. Volunteers were not permitted to obtain match tickets nor were they allowed to watch the game while on stadium duty.

Apart from the letter and the album, all that the volunteers received was the deep appreciation of spectators and officials. In some cases, the volunteers themselves became the focus of media attention. For example, one gentleman working as a Japanese interpreter became an instant celebrity as the oldest volunteer in Korea. Journalists sought interviews and photographers took pictures of the beaming octogenarian as he posed side by side with fellow volunteers young enough to be his grandchildren (KOWOC 2003: 64). In Japan, 80-year-old Fujita Kenichi, a quarto-lingual interpreter, became an instant celebrity as the oldest volunteer in Japan. This octogenarian mastered Spanish and Chinese at the age of 70 and worked as an interpreter at the Saitama information centre. After having worked together with younger volunteers, he felt younger and younger. According

to the JAWOC volunteer report, he was eager to find another opportunity to volunteer after this tournament (JAWOC 2002b: 111).

Another positive outcome was the recognition of the importance of volunteering. Many of the volunteers said that after their positive experiences at the World Cup they would continue to donate their time to other worthy occasions, not only sporting events but also other social events.

A field survey of Official World Cup volunteers

As Michel Platini noted, one of the crucial factors enabling sports mega-events to operate successfully is the volunteers. The official reports issued by FIFA and the local organising committees on 2002 unanimously praised the efforts of their volunteers, yet the lack of dissenting voices was in marked contrast to the number of problems the author of this study observed on-site and in concomitant surveys. Thus, the next section attempts to explore in more detail the official volunteers in Japan and Korea in terms of their motives for participation, their degree of satisfaction with the experience, and their opinions about volunteering.

Collection of data

Two methods of data collection were employed in the field survey. For the Japanese volunteers, a mail survey of 3,300 volunteers who were randomly selected by the Volunteer Department of JAWOC was conducted. As for Korean volunteers, a total of 500 volunteers from five venues were chosen by KOWOC. Thus, a total of 3,800 sample subjects were selected for the study. Of the 3,800 volunteers, 1,760 subjects participated. A mail survey of Japanese volunteers was conducted with the collaboration of JAWOC from the middle of June to 10 July 2002. A self-administered written questionnaire with a stamped envelope was mailed to 3,300 volunteers in Japan, while KOWOC staff handed out the same questionnaire (translated into Korean) to the volunteers and collected it back from them at five stadiums. The usable data from JAWOC volunteers obtained from the written questionnaire amounted to 1,303 forms (return rate 39.5 per cent). While 457 questionnaires (return rate 90.1 per cent) were collected in Korea, usable data was provided by only 346 (69.2 per cent) of them.

Apart from the questionnaire survey, the researchers visited all the Japanese venues and five Korean counterparts to observe and interview selected volunteers on and off duty in order to collect more in-depth information. The period of data collection began on 28 May and ended on 10 July 2002. Data analysis was done on the basis of previous volunteer experience. According to kind and degree of former volunteering, sample subjects were categorised into four different types, namely novice volunteers, general volunteers, multi-volunteers, and sports volunteers. Descriptive statistics were used for data analysis. The main questions of the study dealt with volunteerism and voluntary activities during the tournament such as motives for becoming a volunteer, satisfaction or dissatisfaction derived from volunteering, the merits of volunteer activity and the likelihood of future participation as a volunteer.

Characteristics of official volunteers

We were interested in finding out about what sort of people were willing to become official volunteers. Three of the four types we identified (general volunteer, multi-volunteer, and sport volunteer) had different previous experiences of volunteering. Novice volunteers had never participated in voluntary activity before, whereas general volunteers had participated in voluntary activities other than sport. Multi-volunteers had participated in a number of voluntary activities in the fields of sport and other areas. Sport volunteers were those who had previously only participated in the field of sport.

On the basis of our questionnaire findings, the largest proportion of volunteers were general volunteers. Roughly one in three volunteers had never participated in any volunteering activities before, and more than 60 per cent had never felt motivated to volunteer at sport events before the World Cup (see Figures 14.1a and 14.1b). In terms of country-specific differences, general volunteers outnumbered all other types in Korea (38 per cent, in Japan 28 per cent), while the leading category in Japan was novice (34 per cent, in Korea 30 per cent). Multi-volunteers provided 27 per cent in each country, and the number of sport (only) volunteers was surprisingly low in Korea (5 per cent) compared with 11 per cent in Japan.

The majority of volunteers, especially those from younger age groups, had a background of active volunteering. From our interviews we learnt that most decided to apply for a World Cup position after they saw an advertisement, which was in marked contrast to the usual way of recruiting volunteers – when they have been asked to join by sport organisations, sport-related acquaintances, or their peers. They used to feel obligated to volunteer when they were asked. The following account provides an illustration of this:

> *A family matter*: It was 46-year-old housewife and football fan Uhm Tae-sook who first brought up the idea of volunteering at the World Cup to their three daughters: Hwang Yoo-ha (21), Young-ha (19) and Seung-ha (19). The family previously had lived in Japan, and had never missed a game featuring the

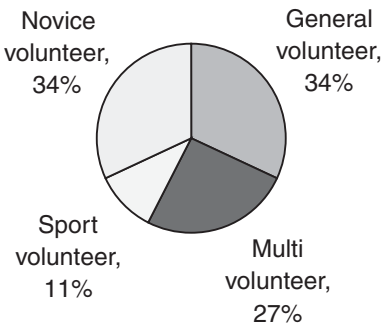

Figure 14.1a JAWOC volunteers

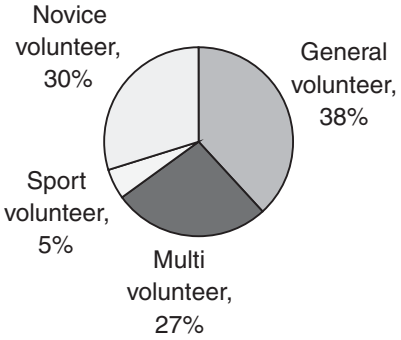

Figure 14.1b KOWOC volunteers

> Korean national team. They were determined to witness at first hand the historic games. The four were no strangers to volunteering, having worked as Japanese interpreters for taxi drivers and foreign tourists, and putting in hours at a shelter for needy children. However, in volunteering for the World Cup, there was the high competition rate of nearly ten to one to consider. Fortunately, all four made it through to the final selection and served at the Seoul World Cup stadium as ticket collectors and seat guides.
>
> (KOWOC 2003: 64)

Motives of volunteers

Table 14.2a reveals the motives of our sample of JAWOC volunteers. Regardless of volunteer type, motives of JAWOC volunteers most often cited were 'interest in the World Cup' and 'contribution to the World Cup' as well as 'help the World Cup to succeed'. It was to be expected that more than 70 per cent of sport volunteers (72.4 per cent) and novice volunteers (71.3 per cent) expressed their prime motive to be interest in the World Cup. These top three motives directly related to the novelty and commodity-status of this event. Apart from these motives, personal motives such as 'apply own knowledge and experiences' and 'obtain new knowledge and experiences' were strong among them. Approximately 70 per cent of JAWOC volunteers were able to speak a second language so they wanted to use their language skills during this tournament.

Traditional volunteer attitudes of 'self-sacrifice' and 'social devotion' were conspicuously absent. Their motives tended towards 'self-development' attitudes rather than 'social devotion' attitudes. On the basis of our observations and informal interviews in the stadiums, 'take-it-easy' and 'happy-go-lucky' attitudes also appeared to have spread widely amongst JAWOC volunteers during the tournament. They did not take the sporting event too seriously and wanted to 'enjoy' the opportunity to be there. This was probably due to the nature of the sporting event and the particularly glamorous World Cup. Most of them simply wanted to soak up the atmosphere and excitement of the World Cup at the stadium, rather than in front of the TV set.

KOWOC volunteers (cf. Table 14.2b), on the other hand, appeared more strongly motivated to make a 'social contribution' compared with their Japanese counterparts. However, both novice volunteers and sport volunteers expressed their highest motive as 'interest in World Cup' – exactly the same as the Japanese volunteers. Although the prime motives of KOWOC volunteers were socially oriented, personal motives such as 'self-development' and 'obtain new knowledge and experiences' were also important for all the volunteers. Even socially conscious Korean volunteers showed increasingly carefree attitudes as their national team kept on advancing. At the same time they revealed a more serious approach to the World Cup in general. Through their answers, the Korean volunteers appeared to express much stronger nationalism and localism than their Japanese counterparts who appeared to be leaning more toward individualism, hedonistic attitudes and momentary pleasure.

Table 14.2a Motives of JAWOC volunteers by volunteer type

	Novice volunteers	*General volunteers*	*Multi-volunteers*	*Sport volunteers*
Interest in World Cup	71.3%	62.7%	64.7%	72.4%
Contribution to World Cup	64.5%	48.9%	55.2%	63.4%
Obtain new knowledge and experiences	47.2%	46.9%	51.9%	44.0%
Help World Cup succeed	45.3%	43.2%	52.8%	52.2%
Self-development	38.8%	36.2%	36.5%	32.1%
Apply own knowledge and experiences	35.7%	48.9%	48.7%	36.6%

Table 14.2b Motives of KOWOC volunteers by volunteer type

	Novice volunteers	*General volunteers*	*Multi-volunteers*	*Sport volunteers*
Interest in World Cup	47.6%	54.1%	43.6%	62.5%
Contribute to society	45.6%	64.7%	60.6%	43.8%
Obtain new knowledge and experiences	43.7%	53.4%	39.4%	37.5%
Help World Cup succeed	56.4%	40.8%	43.6%	25.0%
Self-development	37.9%	45.9%	50.0%	25.0%
Apply own knowledge and experiences	33.0%	31.1%	52.6%	18.8%
Contribution to World Cup	31.9%	35.9%	42.9%	31.3%

These results indicated that gradual changes in the concept and meaning of voluntarism have been taking place among football lovers in Korea and Japan. That is, the concept or paradigm of sport volunteer in Far East Asian countries may need reconsideration. It may be no longer accurate to assume that the main motivation of sport volunteers is the classical attitudes of 'self-sacrifice' and 'social devotion' among Far East Asians. In common with volunteers at other sports mega-events, such volunteers may have quite different motives from other sports volunteers. As Ralston *et al.* (2003) found amongst their sample of Manchester volunteers, 'some had little interest in sport, but a major motivation was the desire to promote the image of their home town' (Nichols 2003: v–vi).

Merits of volunteering

Another part of our survey sought to discover what the official volunteers got out of volunteering. As Tables 14.3a and 14.3b reveal, volunteers in both countries rated very highly gaining a 'better understanding of the World Cup' and 'contributing to the success of the World Cup'. But these answers tend to be commensurate with the official statements and not much more than a sort of diplomatic comment. It goes without saying that nobody mentioned any material

Table 14.3a Merits of World Cup volunteering in Japan by volunteer type

	Novice	*General*	*Multi*	*Sports*	*Total*
Increase in willingness for social participation	34.8	39.0	31.8	28.4	34.5
Self-development	33.2	29.1	30.9	36.6	31.8
Develop new communication network	56.8	58.8	49.3	47.8	54.3
Better understanding of World Cup	53.0	57.6	54.0	53.0	54.6
Generation of own knowledge and experience	21.5	32.9	35.0	33.6	29.6
Bonds with the region	3.0	6.5	4.7	6.7	4.9
Improvement of human relations at school or company	2.3	1.7	2.1	3.7	2.2
Exchange with national teams	2.2	1.1	1.8	1.5	1.4
Contributing to success of World Cup	52.6	43.5	53.4	60.4	51.1
Exploration of own capabilities	6.8	5.1	9.2	6.0	6.9
Others	9.8	13.3	10.1	9.0	10.8

Table 14.3b Merits of World Cup volunteering in Korea by volunteer type

	Novice	*General*	*Multi*	*Sports*	*Total*
Increase in willingness for social participation	48.5	51.9	59.6	43.8	52.6
Self-development	58.3	56.4	59.6	37.5	56.9
Develop new communication network	44.7	54.1	33.0	31.1	44.5
Better understanding of World Cup	57.3	63.9	54.4	68.8	59.5
Generation of own knowledge and experience	44.7	45.1	41.5	31.3	43.4
Bonds with the region	9.7	10.5	9.6	6.3	9.8
Improvement of human relations at school or company	9.7	6.8	7.4	25.0	8.7
Exchange with national teams	4.9	5.3	4.3	6.3	16.5
Contributing to success of World Cup	45.6	44.4	57.4	68.8	49.4
Exploration of own capabilities	15.5	15.0	21.3	18.8	17.1
Others	1.9	0.8	3.2	0.0	1.7

gain as a benefit of the volunteering experience. In fact, regardless of nationalities and type of volunteer, the majority of the volunteers showed very little interest in monetary rewards or financial motivation. Nevertheless, this was because both cultures tend to avoid appearing greedy. Maintaining 'face' before the other members of the group is a very important concern for Japanese as well as Korean people. In fact, one out of five volunteers were somewhat annoyed by monetary matters since there was sometimes an unclear distinction between volunteers and short-term paid employees. Some of the former had to cover quite large additional expenses out of their own pockets.

Sport volunteers in both countries (60.4 per cent in Japan, 68.8 per cent in Korea) rated 'contributing to the success of the World Cup' as their most important aspiration. KOWOC volunteers rated 'self-development' very highly, while their

Japanese counterparts chose 'developing a new communication network'. Another cultural difference appeared to be in social orientation. Nearly half the KOWOC volunteers felt that their willingness to participate in society increased after this World Cup, whereas only about one-third of JAWOC volunteers felt the same way. In terms of social participation, sport volunteers showed the least interest in both countries. Female volunteers with JAWOC in particular said that they valued non-financial rewards far more than tangible rewards, for example, enhancing their communication networks, the use of new knowledge, professional acquaintances, self-growth and self-development through the experience.

The survey also tried to find out if these volunteers felt they were being exploited by the organising committees. Most of them were not too keen to talk about the subject. As a matter of fact, quite a few displayed discomfort as they were not used to bringing up this kind of topic in public. More importantly perhaps, many of them had some personal reason not to show too much concern about being exploited as they felt that it was they who would gain in social esteem and prestige by taking advantage of the opportunity to act as volunteers during the World Cup event.

Causes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction amongst 2002 World Cup volunteers

'How did the organising committee treat official volunteers?' was another of our survey questions. The degree of satisfaction differed from one venue to another, and from type to type among JAWOC volunteers. Volunteers at the three venues of Niigata (83.9 per cent), Shizuoka (84.5 per cent) and Kobe (82.5 per cent), displayed a significantly higher degree of satisfaction with their organising committees, whereas the least satisfaction was expressed by volunteers from Sapporo (37.8 per cent), JAWOC Headquarters and the IMC (27.2 per cent). In contrast to the findings in Japan, KOWOC volunteers revealed exceptionally high satisfaction with their organisation. Of the volunteers at Daegu 98.2 per cent were satisfied with their organising committee. The least satisfied volunteers in Korea were those at Seoul, 87 per cent. In terms of volunteer type, multi-volunteers showed the least satisfaction with their organisation (72.7 per cent) among JAWOC volunteers, whereas general volunteers (88.7 per cent) showed the least satisfaction among Korean volunteers.

Regardless of volunteer type, JAWOC volunteers were most dissatisfied with the lack of clarity of their job assignment and overall responsibilities. Multi-volunteers appeared to be quite disappointed with the organising committee since one out of three felt their assigned duties were unclear. Whilst KOWOC volunteers expressed similar dissatisfaction to their Japanese counterparts, the Japanese organisers appeared to fail most to draw up clear demarcation lines between paid staff duties and volunteer jobs (see Tables 14.4a and 14.4b). KOWOC volunteers, especially general volunteers, were even more frustrated about being given only tedious jobs and felt rather insulted at not being asked to carry out more meaningful tasks. Both JAWOC and KOWOC volunteers also felt that they had experienced

Table 14.4a Causes of volunteer dissatisfaction with JAWOC by volunteer type

	Novice volunteers	*General volunteers*	*Multi-volunteers*	*Sport volunteers*
Own duties were unclear	28.0%	27.7%	34.7%	27.6%
Unreliable job	26.4%	27.1%	24.9%	19.4%
No affirmation of job	24.1%	21.8%	22.6%	17.2%
Blurred distinction between short-term employed and volunteers	20.8%	16.9%	20.2%	22.4%
Had to cover excessive expenses	19.4%	20.3%	23.1%	12.7%

Table 14.4b Causes of volunteer dissatisfaction with KOWOC by volunteer type

	Novice volunteers	*General volunteers*	*Multi-volunteers*	*Sport volunteers*
Unreliable job	39.8%	37.6%	29.8%	37.5%
Only tedious job to do	27.2%	40.6%	31.9%	31.3%
Lack of training	19.4%	14.3%	9.6%	6.3%
Unclear about own duties	16.5%	18.0%	11.7%	12.5%
Blurred distinction between short-term employed and volunteers	10.7%	15.8%	18.2%	0.0%
Too much to do	9.7%	6.0%	6.4%	18.8%

unfairness with respect to financial matters because of the lack of a clear distinction between the volunteers and short-term paid employees. Quite a few volunteers expressed feelings of unfairness about the fact that volunteers and paid staff often did the same job, but one got paid and the other did not. As mentioned earlier, at some Japanese venues up to 20 per cent of volunteers complained about additional personal expenses needed for transportation and meals. KOWOC volunteers did not express dissatisfaction with the organising committees in terms of their expenses, probably because KOWOC gave volunteers KRW6,000 a day (approximately €4) and lunch expenses.

From a management perspective, it is obviously quite difficult to give vital or crucial jobs to volunteers due to either their lack of specialisation or uncertainty about their commitment. Thus, it was inevitable for JAWOC and KOWOC not to count on those volunteers for important jobs. As novice volunteers showed the highest satisfaction, while multi-volunteers were least satisfied with the organising committee, this confirms that novice volunteers might be comparatively easy to please, but also easy to manipulate.

Conclusion

It is impossible to state categorically whether or not the 2002 World Cup volunteers in Japan and Korea felt exploited by their respective organising committees,

JAWOC and KOWOC. Whilst both organising committees continuously claimed that they were short of money prior to and during the event, they both ended up with an economic surplus. The actual size of the surplus differs according to the source consulted. According to the official JAWOC report on the tournament (JAWOC 2003: 53–5) published in December 2002, the total projected surplus for JAWOC was JPY 5.48 billion. According to reports in the sports newspaper *Sankei Shinbun* published on 25 June 2003, however, JAWOC ended with an economic surplus of US$ 110 million and KOWOC with a surplus of US$140 million. The latter figure is consistent with that announced by Lee Yun-Taek, Co-chairman of KOWOC, in December 2002 at the World Sports Forum (Lee 2002) and includes dividend payments made to JAWOC and KOWOC by FIFA as well as football lottery grants in Japan, approximately half of the figure reported in *Sankei Shinbun*.

With such a windfall, the Japan Football Association (JFA) has decided to allocate all surplus funds to the purchase of a newly constructed multi-storey building with a World Cup memorial museum as their new headquarters and the upgrading of football facilities nation-wide in Japan. The Korean Football Association (KFA) has also made an official announcement about the allocation of their surplus. The ten World Cup venues, the KFA, the Korean Amateur Sport Association and various welfare organisations will receive a total of US$70 million. US$54 million will be utilised to upgrade football-related facilities nation-wide and the rest of the money, approximately US$16 million, will be used for the promotion of youth and women's football (*Sankei Shinbun*, 25 June 2003).

For some critics it remains self-evident that the JFA and JAWOC exploited the official volunteers, venues and campsites in the name of the 2002 World Cup. It is impossible for a sports mega-event organising committee to execute such a wide variety of duties without a large number of volunteers. The Football World Cup, the (Summer and Winter) Olympics and many other large-scale international sports events have of necessity to integrate a volunteer system into their economic planning and budgetary calculations. Those who are willing to serve as any type of volunteer should be well aware of the possibility of exploitation.

Voluntary activities in the World Cup were not one-sided acts of temporary charitableness, but an occasion which offered people a chance to fulfil some form of self-realisation by doing good things with others voluntarily. We can look at this in two ways: socially and personally (Kim *et al.* 2001: 143). Being an official volunteer for such a prestigious event temporarily created a new type of social status in Japanese and Korean society. We would suggest that that was one of the main reasons why so many people wanted to become official volunteers. A significant number of volunteers, consciously or subconsciously, took advantage of the opportunity to enhance their social contacts, increase their self-development, make good use of their spare time, and ultimately to be non-paid spectators at the largest sports event either nation had ever hosted. In other words, they could be said to have taken advantage of their organising committees in the name of volunteering! From our field survey, we found that several of the volunteers wanted to accomplish self-realisation through social participation. Thus, in terms

of motives it is perhaps important to acknowledge a shift in the meaning of being a sports volunteer for Japanese and Korean people. For the participant, volunteering has become a self-actualising social contribution, rather than an act of dedicated charity on behalf of the underprivileged.

Whilst 'sports-related volunteering accounts for the largest single area of formal volunteer activity in the UK' (Nichols 2003: v), it has been under-researched. This study of volunteers at the world's largest single sport mega-event has offered a distinctive and comparative insight into their motives, expectations and experiences. It is to be hoped that it will also inspire further research into this aspect of sport-related activity in other East Asian societies.

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15 Globalisation and football in East Asia

Paul Close and David Askew

Introduction

Globalisation is the set of processes, whereby – facilitated by enhanced global flows of such things as industry, investment, individuals and information (Ohmae 1990, 1995) – the world is becoming structurally (economically and politically) more integrated (see Baylis and Smith 2001) and culturally (ideationally) more homogenised (cf. Berger and Huntington 2002). The world is becoming, in other words, a 'borderless' (Ohmae 1990), 'single place' (Robertson 1992; Scholte 2001).

Ideationally, globalisation is the vehicle whereby the 'Western cultural account' (Axford 1995: 2) is being globally diffused, if somewhat unevenly and erratically. Western cultural forms, expressions and items are being adopted, albeit at different speeds, more or less everywhere, including throughout East Asia (see Kim 2000). The growing popularity of football (otherwise known as *soccer*) in East Asia matches what is occurring elsewhere in the world, and provides a highly instructive example of how the Western cultural account is being presented, or purveyed, to and acquired by a significant non-Western-cultural *Other*.

For us, an unqualified orientalised interpretation of developments in East Asia – according to which an active, assertive Occident is the font of a cultural complex which is being successfully foisted upon a passive, supine Orient – is misleading. In our view, football provides a case study which demonstrates that East Asia is actively engaged in a dialogue with the West rather than simply accepting the Western cultural account, or for that matter simply rejecting it. To an extent, East Asia is, first, carefully scrutinising what is coming from the West; second, selectively blending Western culture (or cultures) with its own; and third, projecting – or playing – back the results. The outcome is a not insignificant amendment to the cultural content of globalisation. In this way, indeed, East Asia is proactively contributing to the shift towards a *truly* globalised world: one which in the fullest sense is a *single place*. What is emerging is not necessarily a world with a single culture. Instead, what may be evolving is a world in which persistent diversity amounts to variations on a single cultural theme. Such an outcome may or may not be conducive to greater global order and stability, dependent as this is not (at least just) on cultural homogeneity, but also on underlying, more fundamental material, or structural factors, rooted in the global political economy.

In East Asia, as elsewhere, the Western cultural account is interacting with local cultures. The process is mediation and, outright rejection aside, modification. The results are syntheses of the global and the local; and these results are found and experienced at both the higher and the lower geo-political levels. The spread of football to and through East Asia, the way the game has been not only adopted but also adapted around the region, and the consequences for football as the burgeoning world game, provide a case study for illuminating the general, more inclusive, features of globalisation. The 2002 World Cup conveniently presents an unprecedented, and perhaps not-to-be-repeated, opportunity to observe the mechanics of and machinations behind one of the most powerful forces in the modern world – globalisation – through the prism of one of its most potent cultural manifestations – football. An examination of the *world of football* clarifies how the cultural, political and economic dimensions of globalisation and of social life on the global, nation-state and local planes are intimately intertwined and inter-dependent, even though global capitalism, for instance, may be the main motor driving the rest.

Levels of play

The World Cup can be examined at a number of different geo-political levels. There is the global level, at which FIFA operates; and the regional level, at which the international, intergovernmental or bilateral relations between, for instance, Japan and South Korea come into play. There is the level at which nation-state governments and other apparatus of *governance* primarily exercise their power, control and influence; and there is the level below the nation-state where a growing number of cross-border provinces (such as Kyūshū in Japan and Busan in South Korea) are showing signs of integration in accordance with *globalisational* imperatives. Globalisation operates at and between the various levels, linking them in an intimately interconnected manner. Sporting *mega-events* (Nogawa and Mamiya 2002) such as the World Cup highlight the patterns, processes and trends involved, not least by virtue of the regular displays of intense rivalry at and between the geo-political levels, fuelled by the considerable rewards at stake. Apart from the prestige of winning, there are (occasionally colossal and certainly frequently anticipated) economic benefits and spin-offs to be had. Moreover, there are the political ramifications, an aspect not lost on apparatus of governance at whatever level (one of many examples was the decision of the FIFA vice-president and president of the South Korean Football Association, Chung Mong-joon, to form a new party to campaign for political reform in the December 2002 election and to stand as a candidate for the presidency; see *Aera* 2002b).

Among the themes running through scholarly and other accounts of globalisation is that of the resistance to globalisation to be found at sub-global levels. Much attention has been paid to the issue of the degree of resistance to cultural globalisation – usually equated with the Western cultural account – in an attempt to preserve regional, national and local cultures. An overlapping issue is not so much the conflict between 'the Western' and 'the local' along the cultural

dimension, as the tension between 'globalisation' and 'localisation', whereby the latter entails local adaptations of global (primarily Western) cultural phenomena. Rather than, or in addition to, outright conflict and rejection, another prominent issue is the selective adoption of what Western culture has to offer. The filtering of and subsequent feedback onto the *global level* by more *local level* cultural patterns is captured by the term 'glocalisation'.

As we see it, *glocalisation* is evident in the way football has spread throughout the world as a manifestation of globalisation in general, and in the interaction around this process between the *Western cultural account* and East Asian cultures in particular. The 2002 World Cup demonstrates glocalisation at work in, even more precisely, the North-East Asia region. In this particular region, the conflicts or tensions are not so much between the global, or external, *Other* and the more local, regional *Self*, as between the internal co-hosts: Japan and South Korea. The 2002 World Cup became a highly charged competition between two nation-states, governments and peoples over, in effect, their respect achievements in the race to globalise. The field of play is not only cultural, but also economic or politico-economic. The rivalry between Tokyo and Seoul surrounding the staging of the World Cup therefore reflects not so much achievements in resisting globalisation, as success in embracing the processes involved, including along the cultural dimension.

The spread of football to and through East Asia has certain typical aspects. Notably, while football represents the Western cultural account, it far from reflects current US hegemony. Not only do the origins of football lie outside North America, but the progress of the sport has had relatively little input from a distinctly *American way*. Football is perhaps a rare example of how the engine of globalisation is not to be found in the USA. North America has not been side-stepped altogether, but it is in no sense up front. This is not to say that North America will not have long-term *playback* effects on football as *the* global game. For instance, the American way's impact on football at the global level may be to promote a *re-gendering* of the sport. Perhaps under the influence of the *gender character* of football within the USA (manifested by the strength of women's soccer there, especially when compared with the international competitiveness of the men's team), women's playing participation elsewhere in the world, including East Asia, is becoming more prominent.

This aspect of the globalisation and glocalisation of football brings to mind a further matter – not unrelated to the globalisation versus localisation theme – which needs to be addressed in the study of 'football in East Asia' as well as everywhere else. The question arises as to the degree to which the spread of football around East Asia is a 'bottom-up' or a 'top-down' development – or the degree to which it is (as was football at its genesis) above all a 'popular movement'. There are grounds for thinking that in East Asia football is largely a top-down product, the result of state manipulation and control, or of big business operations, or of both. However, the part played by *the people* cannot be ignored in any adequate assessment.

Issues of globalisation: football in East Asia

The history of the 2002 FIFA World Cup reflects the unfolding transnational and global character of football. The principal players behind the scenes in the most recent staging of the World Cup extravaganza were the nation-states directly and immediately involved, namely Japan and South Korea, and an international non-government, or supranational (see Close and Ohki-Close 1999; Close 2000), organisation, FIFA. At these levels of play, the hosting in East Asia of the biggest event in the footballing calendar is instructive in a number of respects.

First, within the global economy – or, that is, global capitalism – both South Korea and especially Japan have become prominent, *central* players. On the other hand, within the world of football both Korea and Japan are, relatively speaking, peripheral, or are – figuratively speaking – 'developing nations' (Manzenreiter and Horne 2002: 5). The economic *centre-periphery* pattern is reversed in the case of Japan especially. While Japan has been impressively successful in Westernising and modernising along the economic dimension of globalisation, it is finding itself in the position of having to 'catch up' again in the (not wholly distinct) arena of football, something which symbolises Japan's relative under-achievement along the political and cultural dimensions. In other words, both Japan and South Korea are well established in the *first division* on the economic field of play, but are currently languishing in the *second division* in the political and cultural arenas. Football can be treated as an instructive case study of the way in which Japan and South Korea are being pressured to resolve an apparent discrepancy between their economic standing on the world stage and their success as political and cultural competitors. Both countries have reacted to this pressure by trying to improve their track records in various non-economic areas, and football and the World Cup have been highly opportune and symbolic in this respect. One consequence has been a (somewhat valiant and somewhat unseemly) clash of economic titans, scrambling for the ball sometimes against the odds, but always with tremendous enthusiasm and promise. Although the motivation of each country is somewhat distinct, the outcome may well be similar. Both are likely to make their way into the global first division of the sport and, moreover, in doing so are likely to make a distinct impression on the character of football as a global cultural phenomenon.

Second, in the case of football, the prevailing configuration with respect to the economic (or politico-economic) status of Japan relative to and in relation to Korea – with a dominant, or first division, Japan and a trailing Korea – has also been reversed. The superior strength of Korean football, and in particular of the Korean national team, is accompanied at international matches by a deeper degree of popular interest, support and enthusiasm. There is a passionate desire on the part of Koreans to beat Japan in any and all walks of life, and the attachment in Korea to football is undoubtedly encouraged by the fact that the sport has provided one way to do this – and, what is more, not just any way, but at *the world game*. Football offers an opportunity for Korea to take on and vanquish its former colonial master, to do so decisively in the spotlight of the world stage, and at a sport which globally and historically has no rival (Lee 2002).

Third, concurrent with the global and *inter*-national contours of the event, there is the *intra*-national aspect. Here, the focus is on relations that did not surface during either the Tokyo or the Seoul Olympiads – namely those of the central-local variety. The value system of the world has changed to such an extent that local differences have come to be viewed even by central governments in a positive light. The World Cup and, in Japan, the J.League emphasise local cultural expressions and even localised identities. Although a nationalistic endeavour, football at the nation-state level has thus been coupled with local identities and localised forms of patriotism at the sub-nation-state level (for Ōita prefecture in Japan, see Yamashita and Saka 2002: 158–60).

While football, along with sport in general and perhaps the FIFA World Cup and other major sporting events, may be exploited by nation-state governments as convenient political tools, the manner in which these devices are wielded has fundamentally changed. Rather than being used to promote a single (and singular) national identity based on a sense of cultural homogeneity, sport is being mobilised to foster a national identity based on cultural heterogeneity and plurality. The increasing popularity of football has been welcomed by the right-wing in Japan insofar as it legitimises the contested paraphernalia of the Japanese state (such as the national flag and the national anthem). However, conservative advocates of a new, more patriotic, nationalistic youth have a particular, politically (ideologically) loaded understanding, or perception, of the character of this nationalism. The nationalism as celebrated by young Japanese football fans at games where the national team takes on other countries is a different form of nationalism from that extolled by the right-wing. It is based on a pluralistic, heterogeneous and inclusive understanding of the Japanese nation. Horne (2002: 201) stated that football has 'become a symbolic battleground for a "new Japan" in which some of the old arguments about the singing of the national anthem [have] been silenced'. In short, the passion that bubbles over at football matches is not an outpouring of traditional nationalism but instead a novel variety of patriotic fervour.

Fourth, the globalising thrust represented by football has not been met by the same kinds or degrees of antagonism, reluctance and resistance which have greeted other manifestations of globalisation (Westernisation, internationalisation). Thus, the ever-growing popularity of football is an exceptional and outstanding development, perhaps uniquely enmeshing both East Asia and the West and, intra-regionally, the otherwise mutually suspicious Koreans and Japanese in a common cultural venture.

The rhetoric of globalisation

Globalisation can be interpreted and perhaps lamented as a latter-day extension of persistent Western hegemony and imperialism, where the political and economic paradigms of the West hand-in-hand with Americanised Western culture are foisted on the non-Western *Other*. Within this debate on globalisation, the non-Western *Other* can be viewed as a helpless and passive victim of global trends – as exemplified by Edward Said's notion of *Orientalism* and the dichotomy of an active

West and passive Orient (Said 1978). However, the *Other* can be (and in the case of football in East Asia is) an active participant in the set of processes – economic, political, cultural – we know as globalisation.

The growing popularity of football in East Asia can be interpreted as another chapter in the global spread and reach of the Western cultural account. A crucial difference, however, is that football has not encountered the same hostility and resistance as have other strands of globalisation. This is because, in the first instance, of the way the national dialogue in Japan on football is explicitly or implicitly evocative of a growing nostalgia. Japan once had to open its doors to the outside world (during both the Meiji and then again the early post Second World War periods) in order to modernise, and today it must once again import foreign talent and expertise. Just as developing Japan strove to catch up with and overtake its industrialised competitors, today it is keen to emulate the front runners, the leading sporting and footballing countries around the world. In an echo of debates from when Japan was in the stage of industrialising, the economic terminology is being used of 'developed' and 'developing' countries, 'advanced' (*senshin*) and 'backward' (*kōshin*) nation-states, and 'development' in which models are imported, adopted and adapted from abroad (for terminology such as 'advanced' and 'developing' (*shinkō* and *hatten tojō*) nations, see for instance *Aera* 2001). Japan has once again been relegated to the role, status and 'division' of 'developing' nation. At the same time it is re-living the national endeavour to unite and work hard in order to be promoted to the elite, first 'developed' division. The nostalgia of the language has been highly effective in generating support for football in Japan.

The particular element of cultural globalisation, football, is discussed in Japan in a familiar language with familiar stereotypes of a superior *Other* and inferior *Self*. Football is assessed in a manner that resembles and recalls earlier debates about economic Westernisation. The terminology and notions are similar, if not identical. National unification and exertion combined with an open attitude to learning from the front-running 'developed' countries of the world are offered as essential ingredients in any attempt to bridge this gap. Previous experiences of economic globalisation are now far enough back to be viewed sentimentally, and the debates of modernising Japan are being repackaged to sell the latest expression of globalisation. The sentimental reminiscences and language of the past in which a distinction was drawn between an inferior *Self* and a superior *Other* – with echoes of the rhetoric of Orientalism – are being used to provide the foundation and motivation for a new national effort to once again 'catch up' with the leading nations (*Aera* 2001 talks of sports as a 'closed market' in Japan – with obvious echoes of the Tokugawa 'closed country' policy). There is a dynamic element here that is absent in Orientalism: Japan is urged to learn from the first division players *because* it anticipates catching up and even overtaking them.

The ironies are plain to see. In Japan, the local is the global in that the globalisational experience is an inherent part of the 'imagined community', a past shared in common by all. Moreover, the new manifestation of globalisation, football, is gaining popularity in Japan not at the expense of traditional, indigenous forms of sport, but at the expense of an indigenised form of a non-traditional sport – baseball

– that has established roots in Japan as a result of previous efforts to Westernise. In other words, instead of a simplistic notion of local resistance to global movements, football in Japan represents an example where the globalisation of today is competing with the globalisation of yesterday. (Football also competes with baseball in South Korea (see Ahn 2002: 167) and thanks to Japanese marketing know-how and capital sponsorship, nowadays also in mainland China.)

The situation in South Korea is similar, although the nostalgia is for a less distant past. The comparison is with the successful Seoul Olympics, and with the proviso that in Korea the ability to beat Japan is viewed as a prime consideration in evaluating football.

Moreover, the decision to stage the World Cup in Japan and South Korea can be perceived as a strategic move to break into new markets, as an attempt to sell both football itself and football paraphernalia (and Budweiser beer) in East Asia and further afield. It can thus be criticised as a stage in the process of globalisation and as one of the strategies associated with Western hegemony (global governance) by way of cultural imperialism. The decision to host the games in Asia was an eminently political one (Sugden and Tomlinson 2003). Although the quality of the game in East Asia has been improving rapidly – especially in Japan, albeit from a meagre starting position – it is not yet the powerhouse that, for instance, Africa promises to be. On the other hand, East Asia does have the economic wherewithal to build world-class stadiums, and the decision to stage the World Cup in East Asia might be viewed as a highly successful push to consolidate gains made in Japan and elsewhere.

Nevertheless, the two host countries nursed similar but significantly distinguishable perspectives on the 'meaning' of the 2002 World Cup. Neither regarded itself as a helpless, manipulated victim of latter-day Western imperialism, but instead (a) grounded its decision to act as host in tradition, precedence and experience and (b) rationalised its decision in terms of the multiple expected benefits. The 1964 Tokyo Olympics and, a generation later, the 1988 Seoul Olympics heralded the entrance onto the world stage of a newly powerful economic player (as indeed the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games may do). These particular mega-events served as showcases whereby Japan and then South Korea could impress on the world the spectacular advances each had made in modernising and (which is arguably more or less the same thing) *Westernising*.

As if to complement the externally-oriented rewards to be had in terms of world-wide image and prestige with, in turn, the prospect of considerable economic spin-offs, there was a range of potential internally-oriented gains, perhaps for each political elite in particular. The Olympic Games offered a focal and rallying point for pride, support and enthusiasm, in the first instance for the respective home teams, but with spill-over effects in relation to the *national community* and all it stood for. In effect, the events *functioned* to shore up the domestic political constituencies – on which the state, social order and market capitalism depend – first on one side of the Korea Strait and then on the other. These experiences paved the way for Japan, followed, somewhat belatedly, by South Korea to make keen bids for the 2002 World Cup. As McLauchlan (2001: 485–6) notes:

> The bidding committees of Japan and South Korea fiercely lobbied the twenty-one [*sic*] board members of FIFA up until the final vote in Zurich in June 1996, both countries mobilizing senior politicians, diplomats and high profile business executives. Japan began its preparation in early 1989, riding a wave of soccer enthusiasm generated by preparation for the J-League, the country's inaugural professional soccer competition which began in 1993 … Only in January [of 1994] did South Korea set up a formal bidding organization, a full three years after Japan officially launched its own mega-campaign.

South Korea's bid to co-host the 2002 World Cup followed Japan's original bid to host the spectacle alone. Seoul wanted to be in on the action, if not to spoil the party which seemed more and more to be on the cards. There is more than a hint here of the general tenor of South Korea's approach to helping host the World Cup and to its co-host Japan. The history of the 2002 World Cup cannot be separated from the history of imperialism in East Asia, albeit that imperialism has characterised not so much the relationship between the West and the East as the relationship between Japan and Korea (McCormack 2002). For South Korea, there was in the offing a clear opportunity to redress its humiliating past at the hands of Japan and the Japanese. Herein lies the source of the different perspectives which South Korea, on the one hand, and Japan, on the other, brought to bear on *the meaning* of the 2002 World Cup.

Finally, globalisation features to a great extent in football in East Asia in that expertise has been variously imported. This is especially evident in the J.League, where the Japanese with their deep pockets have brought in foreign talent to transform domestic football (Horne 2002: 205–7). However, it applies also to the K-League, in which a number of eminent *zainichi*, or Korean–Japanese, players have taken the field (*Aera* 2002a). Even the national teams have been 'internationalised': Japan, South Korea and China were all in the hands of foreign coaches for the 2002 World Cup. Furthermore, turning to another example of the way in which globalisation has altered the relationship between the World Cup host nations and the outside world, the descendants of pre- and post-War Japanese emigrants to Central and South America who have returned to Japan provide both a pool of people steeped in football culture and a wealth of footballing talent (Manzenreiter and Horne 2002: 19–20; Tsuda 2003: 171).

There are reasonable grounds for speculating – with optimism – on the possibility that the imported contribution made in the lead up to, during and since the 2002 World Cup will feed an enhanced image, and so to the improved treatment, of minority communities and 'aliens' in general in Japan. What we have in mind here is the prospect of a fundamental, if not revolutionary, transformation in the attitudes of the Japanese to those perceived as *outsiders*. Of course, this could not be as a result of football and the World Cup alone. Nevertheless, their influence has helped drive home more than most other aspects of globalisation the changes required of Japan if it is to make its way in the world as a *single place*. What was especially memorable, and perhaps highly significant, during the World Cup was the broadcasting on Japan's national television of

zainichi Koreans celebrating yet another victory by the South Korean team and Brazilian–Japanese celebrating the successes of the Brazilian team. Perhaps the emphasis given by prime-time television to such migrant communities will lead to a rethink of the self-image of the Japanese as an ethnically homogeneous nation. At the same time, the increasing presence of *zainichi* and even the odd Japanese player in domestic Korean football may help create further bridges between the two countries at the grass-roots level. Football, it seems, eminently reflects and symbolises internationalisation and globalisation in both South Korea and Japan (Horne 2002: 204–5).

Japan–Korea relations

While Japan and Korea have employed similar rhetoric in rationalising their embrace of football, the two countries have also displayed sharp differences. The question arises as to whether globalisation via football in general and the World Cup in particular has helped bridge the divide between Japan and South Korea, or whether instead football has merely served to highlight the enormous obstacles in the way of reconciliation and thereby of the kind of regional cohesion and even integration to which some aspire (such as Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia; see Wall 2002, see also Liu and Regnier 2002; Yoshimatsu 2003).

The bilateral relationship is not a happy one. The sources of tension are deep and have proved difficult to dislodge. They are largely historical in character, ranging from a territorial dispute over the Takeshima or Tokdo islets, to the treatment of the large Korean minority in Japan, and to the long-simmering dispute over historical accounts (which includes the issue of apologies and compensation, history textbooks and the 'comfort women'). These sources of tension have combined to produce an 'explosive cocktail of Japan, South Korea, and sport policies' (McLauchlan 2001: 496).

The two countries are neighbours, and share an intimate history. Each has had a considerable influence on the other. They have strong cultural ties, their current economic and political ideologies are similar, and they are closely linked through military allegiances with the USA in the face of common threats, especially that from North Korea. There is a firm basis for highly co-operative and fruitful relations, but the sources of division remain intense. As Foster-Carter (2002) notes:

> Objectively, it would be hard to find two neighbors with more in common … A shared Confucian–Buddhist heritage, acquired by Japan via Korea … Two smallish, hilly, temperate, densely populated, resource-poor, ex-rice cultivators, which industrialized and now live by their wits … Competitors ... with a joint interest in an open trading system … Both rely on nuclear power, import all their oil, and depend on southeast Asian sea lanes … Both are close – if not always smooth – allies of the U.S. … Politically, these are northeast Asia's sole democracies and Asia's only Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) members.

Foster-Carter (2002) asks 'Would South Koreans really rather wallow in self-pity than use this rock-solid foundation to build a new future?' While not wanting to suggest that the origins of the difficulties in this North-East Asian relationship are solely South Korean, it is germane to assess the health of the relationship in the aftermath of the World Cup. The evidence so far suggests that there generally has been a beneficial legacy with, if anything, clear signs of a distinct improvement in Japan–Korean relations (*Asahi Shinbun* 2002b, 2003; and for Japan alone, *Asahi Shinbun* 2002c).

However, despite the successful co-hosting of the World Cup, the visit by the President of South Korea in June 2003 to Japan highlights that some sources of tension in the relationship remain firmly lodged, casting a shadow over the optimistic tones of the speech-making and other formalities. Bilateral relations are characterised by, especially in South Korea, intense suspicion, animosity and a certain amount of outright hostility. In the run up to the World Cup finals, various political footballs were booted back and forth around the field of Japan–Korea relations. There was, for instance, the wrangle over where to hold the concluding match, the outcome being Yokohama in Japan. There was the dispute over the official title of the jointly hosted event. The symbolic result of this tussle was a victory for Korea, perhaps perversely in that the Korea–Japan arrangement of names is the reverse of what would have been expected on an alphabetical ordering – except that, it was noted, in French and Spanish, two out of three official FIFA languages, 'Corée' comes before 'Japon'. Other matters of disagreement and competition between Japan and Korea centred on the design and control of the mascot or mascots, ticket sales (the settlement being an even split in spite of Japan's far larger population), visas, and the vexed question of whether Japan's Emperor should attend the opening ceremony in Seoul. FIFA's conventions expected the Emperor to attend, while the prospect of displays of Korean hostility towards him during any visit dictated that it would be best for him not to do so. A range of further issues threatened to set back the unfolding détente. There was, as there continues to be, an emotionally charged debate over history and historical accounts (most notably in school textbooks), especially over Japanese imperialism and its excesses, commemorations of Japan's wartime past (in particular as conducted at the Yasukuni Shrine), the aforementioned territorial dispute, among a range of other, related issues (McLauchlan 2001; also see Butler 2002; McCormack 2002).

Against this background of similarities and hostility, the decision to co-host the World Cup was welcomed by many as an unprecedented opportunity to improve the bilateral relationship. As McLauchlan (2001: 499–500) says, 'FIFA's historic 1996 decision at least presents an unparalleled opportunity to reduce the bitter rivalry between the hosts'. Some constructive moves have already been made, such as the decision to lift the Korea ban on Japanese culture – including Japanese music, television, and *manga* – in a series of steps leading up to the World Cup. The exchange of large numbers of fans during the World Cup presented numerous opportunities at the grass-roots level to begin a mutual dialogue, and

also provided local governments (such as the Ōita government officials we talked to) with the hope that relations could be established that would continue on into the post-World Cup world. It is far too early to tell whether these seeds will take root and thrive, but any objective overview of the World Cup would have to conclude that the outcome was at least of marginal benefit to the bilateral relationship. Moreover, worst-case scenarios did not happen: both countries did well during their first games; neither was knocked out early; North Korea did not carry out a terrorist attack; hooligans did not create havoc; and the final was not a match between the two in which Japan emerged victorious. Although it is still a little early to give a conclusive account of the degree to which the relationship has been helped, it can be said that the overall impact of the World Cup has been a beneficial one.

In other words, while it is easy to laugh at some of the steps taken to date to improve the bilateral relationship – *karaoke* contests where Japanese have to sing in Korean and Koreans in Japanese (*Korean Herald* 2003), for instance – the positive impact on Japan–Korea relations of sports diplomacy and of the successful experience of co-hosting the World Cup should not be underestimated. At the same time, the history of animosity is deep, and it will require more than the World Cup to overcome the past. The World Cup can therefore be seen as a productive step, but as only one step.

One sign that the World Cup has had an effective and beneficial impact can be seen in a series of public opinion surveys carried out by the Japanese and Korean media leading up to, during and following the event. For instance, the Japanese *Mainichi* newspaper reported that it had conducted a survey with the *Hanguku* newspaper in Korea that showed that three out of four Koreans and two out of three Japanese believed that the bilateral relationship had improved as a result of co-hosting the World Cup. At the same time, positive attitudes about Japan in Korea improved from less than 30 per cent in June 1995 to 42 per cent in July 2002, while in Japan positive attitudes about Korea improved from 38 per cent to 77 per cent during the same period. This momentum has been maintained; in an article dated 30 May 2003 in the *Asahi* newspaper it was reported that about 60 per cent of respondents in both Korea and Japan believed that the relationship was heading in a 'good direction' (*Asahi Shinbun* 2003), up from the 50 per cent in both countries who replied that they believed that the bilateral relation was not a good one in a survey conducted in October 2001 (*Asahi Shinbun* 2002a).

During the World Cup, Japan made it as far as the top 16 teams. In a promising sign for the future, after Japan was knocked out of the competition, large numbers of Japanese fans travelled to Korea to cheer on the Korean team (which made it into the top four). Those individuals who travelled between the two countries during the World Cup and the various grass-roots networks that have been constructed will provide a solid foundation upon which the bilateral relationship may be further promoted. As the opinion polls cited above demonstrate, the World Cup must be viewed as a success in terms at least of its political objectives.

Conclusion

We have argued that the cultural globalisation represented by football's growing popularity in East Asia has not been met with the same resistance in Japan and South Korea that other forms of globalisation have faced, and that this was because of the sentimental terminology used to promote football. In South Korea especially, the reversal of the schemata of a dominating Japan and a dominated Korea has helped to popularise the sport. The rhetoric of football and globalisation in Japan and South Korea has not been a language of resistance, but of acceptance. Indeed, the World Cup was marked, and partially marred, by a running battle between the two countries over which had been more successful in the globalising stakes. Moreover, the experience of the World Cup in East Asia brings into serious doubt the view, whether explicitly stated or implicitly held, of an active global centre (or Occident) and a passive periphery (or Orient). Not least, we have argued that the World Cup has probably contributed to an improvement in the bilateral relationship between the co-hosts, if only marginally.

In this chapter we have tried to throw some light on the 2002 FIFA World Cup by focusing on both the Japan–South Korea relationship and the globalisation processes within which the extravaganza was embedded. In turn, dialectically, the World Cup can tell us much about this relationship and these processes, and in particular about the global diffusion of football as a cultural phenomenon which, while originating in the West, is subject to *glocalisation* and *playback*. Football as a cultural form has been one of the most widely accepted, least resisted, aspects of the Western cultural account, which riding on the back of Western hegemony is pervading all corners of the planet (Manzenreiter 2002: 6). In part, this may be due to the game's intrinsic appeal. If so, however, this quality has for now been lost on most of those living in the Americas to the north of the Rio Grande. North American culture has mediated and modified the world game, with its origins in Europe via South America, so as to parade a relatively *feminised* version around the global arena. This case while unique is, none the less, indicative of a more general tendency whereby place after place has adopted the cultural form, amended the cultural content in accordance with local tastes and customs, and then projected – or played – back the syntheses onto the global-level processes involved. The latter, consequently, are being constantly reinvented without the sport's popular, near universal appeal being lost. If anything, its following is being further strengthened. In a sense, the globalisation of football as a cultural phenomenon can be understood in terms of how it has been throughout its history a sport *of the people, by the people and for the people*. Its evolution is the product of mainly popular, bottom-up and *democratic* involvement, often of a highly passionate and sometimes of an explosively fanatical kind. Herein perhaps lies football's near-global appeal and, moreover, its lessons with regard to the future of globalisation inclusively speaking. Having begun in Europe (and more precisely in England) and having been subsequently re-cast the *South American way*, is it – we dare ask – East Asia's turn to have its say as to what the future of football, the emerging *global game*, will be like?

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