

First published 2013
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Simultaneously published in the UK
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group,
an informa business*

© 2013 Taylor & Francis

The right of Katrin Bromber, Birgit Krawietz, and Joseph Maguire to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark Notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Sport across Asia : politics, cultures, and identities / edited by Katrin Bromber, Birgit Krawietz, and Joseph Maguire.

p. cm. — (Routledge research in sport, culture and society; v. 21)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Sports—Asia—Sociological aspects. 2. Sports—Asia—Political aspects. 3. Sports—Asia—Psychological aspects. I. Bromber, Katrin. II. Krawietz, Birgit. III. Maguire, Joseph.

GV649.S66 2012
306.4'83095—dc23
2012027586

ISBN13: 978-0-415-88438-9 (hbk)
ISBN13: 978-0-203-07462-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by IBT Global.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
Introduction: From Asian Sports to Sport in Asia	1
KATRIN BROMBER, BIRGIT KRAWIETZ, AND JOSEPH MAGUIRE	
1 Anthropological Perspectives on Sport and Culture: Against Sports as the Essence of Western Modernity	11
INGRID KUMMELS	
2 Civilizing Bodies: Somatic Engineering in China	32
DENISE GIMPEL	
3 Sport in Japan in the Early 21st Century: An Interpretation	59
LEE THOMPSON	
4 The Memory of Colonialism and Imagined Unification: Two Distinctive Natures of South Korean Sporting Nationalism in the 21st Century	77
JUNG WOO LEE AND JOSEPH MAGUIRE	
5 Representing True Laos in Post-Colonial Southeast Asia: Regional Dynamics in the Globalization of Sport	95
SIMON CREAK	
6 The Debate on 'Revival' and the Physical Culture Movement in Western India (1900–1950)	121
NAMRATA R. GANNERI	

9. For a discussion of Johann Hunzinger's theoretical approach see Allan Guttman, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005).
10. For the colonial context in Sri Lanka, Singapore, and Malaya see *Sport in Asian Society*, ed. Mangan and Hong; for India, see Pramod K. Nayar "Sports and the 'Character Training' of the 'Jellyfish,'" in *Colonial Voices: The Discourse of Empire* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 83–97.
11. Ralph C. Willox and David L. Andrews, "Sport in the City: Cultural, Economic, and Political Portraits," in *Sporting Dystopias: The Making and Meaning of Urban Sport Cultures*, ed. Ralph C. Willox et al. (New York: SUNY Press, 2003), 2.
12. James A. Mangan, "Change not Continuity—Imperial Sport as Stylized Epitome of a Moral Order and the Metaphoric Essence of a Cultured Civilization," in *Sports and Social Change*, ed. Jürgen Buschmann and Gertrud Pfister (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 2001), 54.
13. James A. Mangan, "Prologue: Britain's Chief Spiritual Export: Imperial Sport as Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond," in *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, ed. James A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 1.
14. Steven A. Riess, *City Games* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 254.
15. Tobias Werron, "Der Weltsport und sein Publikum," *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, special issue "Weltgesellschaft" (2005): 260–89.
16. Ruud Stokvis, "The International and National Expansion of Sports," in *Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook*, ed. Eric A. Wagner (New York et al.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 13.
17. Werron, "Weltsport und sein Publikum," 264.
18. Fan Hong, "The Significance of the Cultural Revolution for the Evolution of Sport in Modern China," in *Sports and Social Change*, ed. Jürgen Buschmann and Gertrud Pfister (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 2001), 33–35.
19. David E. Jones, "Introduction: Towards a Definition of Martial Arts," in *Combat, Ritual, and Performance: Anthropology of the Martial Arts*, ed. David E. Jones (London et al.: Praeger, 2002), xii.

1 Anthropological Perspectives on Sport and Culture

Against Sports as the Essence of Western Modernity

Ingrid Kummels

INTRODUCTION

Following a confidential meeting in Zürich on December 2, 2010, the executive committee of the international football association FIFA made a sensational announcement to the sports world: the tiny desert state of Qatar in the Arabian Gulf was to host the FIFA World Cup in 2022, having prevailed against Australia, Japan, Korea, and the USA. The first reaction of *Al Sharq Al-Awsat*, Doha's daily newspaper, was to comment that Qatar and its 1.5 million inhabitants had emerged "from the struggle between continents and cultures" with flying colours.¹ Immediately after the triumphant news, Sheikh Mohammed bin Hamad Al Thani, chairman of the bid committee, thanked FIFA president Joseph Blatter, who declared: "Our thanks to the FIFA executive committee for the opportunity to go to new countries. Eastern Europe and the Middle East are waiting".² Media representatives from countries that had up until then seen themselves as the hub of the football world, on the other hand, were quick to comment in more disparaging terms. The Norwegian *Dagbladet* pronounced Qatar "the biggest football joke of all time".³ The paper may have alluded to corruption scandals in the run-up to the WM award, but essentially seems to have based its judgement on hegemonic and rarely questioned cultural inscriptions of football. According to the latter, football should reflect the needs of the players and spectators in 'traditional' football countries. This saw the introduction of stipulations such as that international competitions be carried out at 'moderate' altitude, i.e., in stadiums not more than 2,750 m above sea level, and the World Cup tournament held in the Northern hemisphere in summer at the end of the 'regular' season. All of this, hitherto taken for granted, was suddenly in the balance with the election of Qatar to host the World Cup—a country from a world region with summer temperatures of up to fifty degrees Celsius. FIFA President Joseph Blatter subsequently made unprecedented concessions: the World Cup championship would be transferred to the winter months and the global football calendar radically altered for at least two seasons.⁴

12 Ingrid Kummels

This recent case from the global world of sport gives an insight into the cultural codifications on which universally popular games like football are based with regard to their standardization, e.g., in terms of venues and schedules. In many instances these conventions have culminated in Eurocentric organizational structures of global dimensions. The case of Qatar winning the World Cup bid furthermore exemplifies how behind apparently given spatial and temporal standards, a broad spectrum of actors are involved in negotiating the cultural meaning of a particular sport. These include athletes, trainers, and supporters, as well as politicians, sport officials, and media experts. Under global conditions, they contest existing social identities and gender roles, as well as ethnic, national, and geopolitical ascriptions. The majority of these global players still associate football with 'the' West, describing it as a typical 'modern' sport that spread from the West to the 'Rest'.⁵

The academic teachings of the sociology, anthropology, and history of sport and the associated research have also participated in hegemonic constructs of this kind. They still tend to highlight the unilinear dynamics of sport, according to which modern sports were generated in England and the United States, these countries being allegedly the starting point for its diffusion world-wide. Observations in the direction of "virtually all modern sports diffused from Europe"⁶, however, obscure the multidirectional flows between continents and the stimulus Asia provided to the globalization of sport. This applies in similar fashion to sport studies seminars, which are still publicized in the following vein: "Modern sports were introduced to Asia in the late 19th century as an innovation from the West, and the diffusion and rise of modern sports in Asia overlapped with the development of modern society in Asia".⁷ Modernization narratives of sport postulate, on the one hand, that sport in the sense of "physical contests pursued for their own sake" is universal.⁸ They suggest, on the other hand, a structural or epistemological rupture between 'traditional' and 'modern' sport (the latter is also designated as 'organized' or 'achievement' sport to distinguish it from sports of previous eras). In the 1970s, theorists considered modern sports to be characterized by the standardizing of competition conditions for all contestants—the respective quantification and measurement of athletic performances in their view reflected the scientific-experimental approach of the modern West.⁹ Furthermore, they attributed to modern sports their practice in formal settings such as schools and sports clubs, which in turn codified the venues, schedules and rules of sport, and their regular benchmarking through institutionalized championship competitions. These models propose a global spiralling in the development of sport towards the enhancing of quantifiable performance. This development was firmly established in the modern Olympic Games by the motto 'faster, higher, stronger' (*citius, altius, fortius*). Currently, however, sport theorists emphasize instead that sport is marked by the introduction of the win/lose binary code and not solely by the quantification and measurement

of athletic feats. The achievement/non-achievement code is a second principle that generates benchmarking through permanent competition, which is basically witnessed and evaluated by the spectatorship. As a result, the "public communication of physical ability is the (principle) function of (modern) sport".¹⁰

Current studies on the history of sport focus notably on a small number of proliferating 'western' sports, primarily football, cricket, and baseball. They highlight factors that promote their dominance and global expansion, e.g., certain patterns of supra-national governance, the export and import structures of talented players, media structures and capital flows, and media coverage.¹¹ This bias is also reflected in the subject matter of the leading academic sport magazines: modern forms of sport with a global spread and a privileged position in the global market, such as football and cricket, are the most common topics addressed.¹² Although several studies have recently covered sport flows in the reverse direction, e.g., Asian martial arts to the West, the dynamics of their global diffusion are frequently described as essentially 'different', as merely a reaction to the West, a "reverse diffusion" by which "a minority or dominated culture spread(s) a sport or physical activity to the dominating or dominant culture".¹³

A growing number of academic scientists, on the other hand, have recently striven to capture the multidirectionality of flows with reference to the sociocultural and institutional dimensions of sport in the course of globalization. Global cultural flows not only travel from West to East, but also from East to West, from South to South, and from South to North. Although greater attention has hitherto been given to the dynamics of the neo-colonial military, missionary and mercantile circuits through which 'western' elites introduced their sports to Asia, similar imperial efforts originating from Asia and diverse inner-continental migration flows should likewise be considered in the context of sport diffusion and transformation. Hence, the continuities and breaks in sport traditions deemed as indigenous albeit partly globalized, such as equestrian competitions and martial arts, also deserve special attention. In the course of globalization (see below), influences from the respective other direction are appropriated in both East and West, and reinterpreted.¹⁴

GLOCALIZATION AND THE DIVERSITY OF SPORTS IN ASIA

This chapter endeavours to trace some of the ways in which multilayered, complex processes constitute the field of sport. The manner in which global sport influences are recontextualized in local spaces forms part of these processes; global designs are adapted to local matrices of meaning, where they are absorbed, rejected, integrated or ignored. Roland Robertson coined the term *glocalization* to transcend the local/global binary antithesis associated with globalization processes and to highlight the intense interplay between

the local and the global.¹⁵ Glocalization furthermore implies the production of home, community, and locality,¹⁶ and—by designating and marking them as ‘local’ or ‘national’—the adoption of sport practices as one’s ‘own’. A concrete example is the diverse local and national codes originating from 19th-century ‘football’, which not only embraces the sport of ‘association football’ and particularly FIFA football, but also spawned American football, Gaelic football and Latin *fútbol*.¹⁷ These variations have co-existed to some extent with ‘association football’ for decades and have not been integrated into its international isomorphous forms and global institutional structures.¹⁸ Sport anthropology research has long indicated that these local processes of appropriation are key constituents of global sport flows. They cannot be adequately analysed from a macro-sociological perspective or by focusing exclusively on the agency of the global players and elites involved in exploiting sport in their attempt to establish hegemony.¹⁹ Hence, from a historical perspective attention should be given to the subaltern agents’ influence on the specifics of colonial projects in Asia, important aspects of which were based on sports.²⁰ Similar considerations should be borne in mind, e.g., with regard to the following question currently under debate: to what extent does the reinforcement of national identity through sport (as manifested in fervent nationalistic discourses and partisanship) constitute a paradox in the present phase of globalization?²¹ Or are globalization and emphasis on national affiliation via sport in reality intertwined and mutually dependent?²²

To explore the theoretical and methodological approaches and analytical steps required to decenter the sport history of Asia, I adopt an anthropological perspective on sports. The potential of this sub-discipline’s theoretical approaches and methods to unravel the multidimensional, interlocked dynamics of sport in a globalized world has not been sufficiently acknowledged. This is still the case although social and cultural studies have long since adopted and applied ethnographic research methods such as the long-term immersion in sport milieus, participant observation and in-depth interviews with the aim of collecting and comparing globally multifaceted meanings in sport.²³ The anthropology of sport makes a plea for the need to address the interface between the local and the global, and consequently processes of socio-cultural homogenization and heterogenization at the micro level. It draws attention to the diversity of those actively involved in sport, both at local and international level, and takes a close look at athletes, spectators, sport ideologues (teachers, coaches, and managers, including members of the military and of religious institutions), sports officials, and media representatives. More recent research in the anthropology of sport opposes a static concept of culture and calls for recognition of the transcultural dimension of discrete sporting codes and sport practices. Due to the mobility of the actors and the migration and appropriation of cultural elements originally separated in space and time, sporting codes such as those of football, cricket, polo, and judo cannot be traced to a *single*

origin, e.g., the field of warfare, the religious-spiritual realm or the ambit of pure leisure, or to *one* particular (national) tradition, and are not territorially sealed. Instead, subcultural and regional parallel developments, interlockings, and processes of appropriation, amalgamation and demarcation have taken place. To understand these transcultural processes it is furthermore necessary to explore the sport practices of minority groups and subcultures, marginalized, repressed, and excluded manifestations of sport, such as the team contact sport *kabbadi*, that is, of so-called ‘indigenous’ or ‘native’ (or ‘domestic’) sports in general. These are equally important for an appreciation of global processes, since they can constitute national zones of contact that lead to processes of (national) centralization, homogenization, and ethnic adscription, on the one hand, and the mobilization of alternative visions of society and culture, on the other.²⁴ Hence, anthropological approaches to sports are not only vital to illuminating the perspectives of subaltern actors whose voices have been ignored in the past.²⁵ They also allow for a detailed insight into mechanisms of domination and repression in contemporary sportscapes that take effect on a supraregional level. Following Arjun Appadurai’s concept of *scapes*,²⁶ trans- and multilocal—and therefore deterritorialized—communities that are at the same time relatively stable in terms of their relation to specific sport practices can be described as sportscapes.²⁷

Glocalization in Asia occurs against the backdrop of a vast diversity of sports underway across the continent.²⁸ Many of them are steeped in history and have evolved over centuries, mostly unswayed by Europe but nevertheless spread over great distances, thus becoming an element of interactions within a larger radius.²⁹ The field of martial arts alone has a rich history, beginning with ancient battle techniques of Japanese warriors, such as *kendo*, *judo*, *kyudo*, and *sumo*, which were applied along with weapons, through ‘gentle’ forms that combined gymnastic exercises with philosophy, such as China’s *tai ji*, to manifestations that emphasized masculine physical power, such as the wrestling variations of the Middle East. Polo is an example of the development of this sport from equestrian games played in the nomadic societies of Central Asia. It was established as a royal pastime during the Empire of the Parthian dynasty, which originated in the northeast of today’s Iran in the 3rd century. It spread westwards through the Byzantine Empire in the 4th century, and in the course of the Islamic conquest of the East in the 8th century reached the Indian subcontinent and finally China.³⁰ In medieval times, polo was played throughout Asia, integrating village communities over large distances in interactive contexts. In the light of its intercontinental expansion and interconnections, polo can be allocated to an inner-Asian (pre) history of sport ‘globalization’. Ever since its reinvention in British India of the 19th century, it has formed part of the current global ecumene.

Although so-called ‘dominant modern sports’ such as cricket, football, and baseball were introduced to Asia in the 19th century in the course of

British and American colonial projects and subsequently gained a national foothold, it should be noted that they were not adopted with the same intensity and meaning throughout the continent. There are several reasons why these sport practices might have meant a great deal to actors in some local or national contexts and very little to those in others. In some instances, familiar elements of local physical culture were incorporated into the new sport, with emphasis on similarities. In others, the actors perceived devotion to a new sport as a conscious break with local sport cultures as a result of their identity politics. Thus actors in Japan identified enthusiastically with baseball—as was the case in Cuba—because they associated it with the United States, rapidly remodelling this American symbol to one of Japanese modernity.³¹ Little is still known, however, about how the processes in Japan and Cuba, which both display vibrant, autonomous baseball cultures, might in turn have impacted on the United States, the homeland of baseball.

Indeed we may also note that 'modern forms of sport' were invented not only in Europe, but also in Asia, and took the world by storm: Japanese migrants introduced the modernized martial art form of judo (*jiu-jitsu*) to Brazil and the Soviet Union, among other countries, at the beginning of the 20th century. There it interacted and partially merged with local martial art forms such as *capoeira* and *sambo*, all three being transformed in the process. The export of judo from Japan and its relocation to Brazil and the Soviet Union was part of the worldwide advance of Asian martial arts. Since the 1970s, these modern sports have been an integral part of a new global cultural style adopted by young men—bolstered, among other factors, by the Bruce Lee and Jackie Chan films of the global film industry.³² These examples suggest that it is of the utmost importance to analyse more thoroughly the multilayered dynamics with which actors in Asia (re)invented sports and exported them, sometimes re-importing those that had been reinterpreted and transcultured elsewhere, and with which they shaped processes of sport globalization, and the international codification and global marketing of sport in important ways.

DEFINITION AND SOCIO-HISTORICAL CHANGEABILITY OF 'SPORT'

The complexity of sports in Asia across several eras as outlined above inevitably invites us to rethink the category of 'sport' itself. Sport definitions that focus on sports created in Western industrialized societies often emphasize the epistemological rupture that led to the practice of sport in formal settings such as schools, the codification of sport space, schedules, and regulations, and the orientation of sport to spectatorship via regular competition benchmarking. Such definitions bear the risk of presupposing these elements to be a universal teleological development. 'Modern' sport

is accordingly used as a foil for comparison with other physical cultures described as less competitive and less regulated, and thus as 'pre-modern' or 'traditional'. These sports of the 'Rest' are denied recognition as agents of global sport developments. Sport research that proceeds in this manner essentially reproduces real life political discussions that argue on the basis of the modern/traditional binary in order to co-opt emblematic sport practices as vehicles for national identity. The Afghan equestrian game *buzkashi* and the negotiation processes involved are a good example. While the Uzbek minority in North Afghanistan performed a laxly regulated, more anarchic version of these equestrian events as a vehicle for their efforts at regional autonomy in the 1970s, the central government led by the Pashtun sought to establish a heavily regimented version of the riding tournament as a national sport. To distinguish it from *buzkashi*, the latter was referred to as *qarajai*. The Afghan government closely combined an elaborate rule book for the formalities of the new game with a civilizing discourse and a restructuring of the regime's administrative organization. It replaced the traditional patrimonial authority structure with an alternative model of a national bureaucracy, identifying only the latter with the 'national sport' *qarajai*.³³

If these negotiation processes and the changing place of sport phenomena in diverse societies and cultures over time are to be captured and understood, a broad and inclusive definition of sport as physically based competitive activities or physical cultures should be adopted. Such a definition should allow for the inclusion of forms that do not match the ideal type of competitive physical activity.³⁴ Generally using a broad 'sports' category, the anthropology of sport is able to focus on the transitions and overlaps of physical cultures, which may accentuate secular, ritual, militarist or leisure aspects, depending on the particular place, society, and time period. Globalization processes based on long-standing local traditions can thus be examined in detail. Hence, the anthropology of sport allows for apprehension of emic concepts of physical activity, actor perspectives, post-colonial power arenas, and consideration of not merely one, but a range of turning points in the development of physical cultures. This makes it possible to establish, beyond the frequently stressed break to standardized 'modern' sport, further ruptures and continuities of body cultures in the course of and following industrialization. These occur by no means simultaneously worldwide. Susan Brownell³⁵ and Xu Guoqi,³⁶ for example, show for China a variety of physical activities that emerged long before that and are far from the Western ideal of sport. Among them are the core Confucian curriculum of the so-called six arts (ritual mastery, music, archery, horsemanship, literature, and mathematics) and competitive events. From a historical perspective, both authors expand on the continuities and breaks in the exploitation of physical cultures in China by religious or political and class-based power groups—and on their counter-proposals.³⁷ Africanist and anthropologist John Bale³⁸ proposes a pragmatic approach to the

systematic understanding of emic physical culture definitions as situated within a specific socio-historical moment in time and referring to specific actors and their practices: categories relevant to daily life can, for instance, be analysed on the basis of how much space a particular 'sport' occupies in the sports pages of the newspapers.³⁹ Bale therefore points at the intrinsic value of writing and of sport regulations in written form as a site for negotiating the cultural significance of sport.⁴⁰

EXCURSION INTO ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF SPORTS: ITS METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BROADER FIELD OF SPORT STUDIES

A glance at the history of the anthropology of sport reveals that scholars recurrently developed and sophisticated approaches to the study of sports, establishing the basis for current theoretical approaches and methods in the broader field of sport studies. Some of these are addressed in brief in the following overview. At the turn of the 20th century, Stewart Culin,⁴¹ a self-taught ethnographer and museum curator, recorded the broad spectrum of games and sports in Asia and North America, and published his findings in an encyclopaedic report with a continental range.⁴² He demonstrated the cultural diversity of 'indigenous' sport phenomena by analysing their technology as well as their underlying motives, and interpreted their similarities according to the evolutionist perspective popular at the time. Culin considered 'traditional' sports as having evolved from rituals and therefore as differing fundamentally from modern sports of a secular nature.⁴³ A striking example of this is Arthur E. Grix' monograph on sports in Japan, which is perhaps the first of its kind with regard to this country.⁴⁴ Decades later, subsequent anthropological research focused more systematically on in-depth ethnographic fieldwork at the micro-level. This enabled it to overcome such rigid and simplistic formulas. Ethnography endeavours to understand the perspectives of actors of unequal status and their actions in everyday life that contribute to moulding sport to an expression of culture and of society. The basis of its research techniques is immersion into the real life context of the research subjects by becoming a participant observer in sport and other societal settings. This allows for insights into what motivates actors as part of their (emic) perspectives—revealing the structures of relevance according to which they act.⁴⁵ On the basis of fieldwork in Cochiti Pueblo in New Mexico, Robin Fox⁴⁶ argued that this indigenous group had adopted baseball, a 'modern' sport, by incorporating traditional forms of witchcraft into the game, thereby actually using baseball as an arena for negotiating community conflicts along traditional lines. Although he too focused on the religious aspect, he did not see it as constituting an essence of sport. Instead he deemed it to be dependent on the degree of relevance actors attributed to this dimension. Sport academics from outside the field of anthropology such as Allan Guttman⁴⁷ took up these findings.

They, however, contextualized them in a broad historical period across the ages and across historical societies worldwide; contrary to Fox, Guttman understood such 'indigenous' forms as survivals of the past. In *From Ritual to Record* Guttman formulated a universalizing typology of sport, arguing that 'traditional' sports had always possessed cultic aspects that basically distinguished them—along with other characteristics—from modern sport and its secularism. In his view, 'primitive sports' were not sports in the strictest sense. Guttman and other sport historians underpinned their notion of a structural or epistemological break between traditional and modern sport.⁴⁸

In the 1970s, cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz⁴⁹ pioneered a different direction when he contextualized his local ethnographies in a wider socio-historical context. Geertz, now renowned as one of the founders of symbolic anthropology, developed an interpretative perspective on culture in the 1950s during his field research in the rural communities and cities of the young nation-state of Indonesia, which had gained its independence in 1949. Interestingly, in his seminal ethnographical essay published in 1972 and based for the first time on his proposed method of 'thick description', Geertz devoted himself to what is generally considered a marginal phenomenon, i.e. cock-fighting in Bali. According to the criteria of a linear sport history, cock-fighting would have been classified as a traditional sport reminiscent of the Spanish colonial era in Southeast Asia and the society that practiced it as likewise 'traditional'.⁵⁰ Geertz, on the other hand, experienced cock-fighting in a Balinese village differently, employing participant observation over a long period: he concluded that cock-fights in a post-colonial situation provided a contemporary arena for conflicts of broader significance between the inhabitants of the village and the central government. The urban elites perceived these cock-fights as 'primitive' and harmful spectacles due to the time and money peasants wasted on them, and in sum as unworthy of a nation on the road to modernization.⁵¹ Consequently, when the Republic of Indonesia had been proclaimed, cock-fighting was declared illegal. The villagers, on the other hand, had sought to raise money for a new school precisely by organizing the sportive gambling event. By combining cock-fighting with this form of self-taxation they were in fact in the process of modernizing; in this context they boosted and resemanticized a pastime once introduced by the Iberians and since then glocalized.

In Geertz's view, 'thick description' allowed for closer scrutiny of the complex meanings and values of daily practices in line with the epistemological assumptions of hermeneutics. He interpreted the semantic richness of the local sport with the aid of the thick description method, which has held its own in the method canon of cultural anthropology ever since. According to Geertz, we can only approach the multidimensional cock-fight through the interpretations of the event itself, in conversations, gestures and actions on the part of the actors, the meanings of which the anthropologist must strive to grasp. Culture is constructed in public and not a 'given'.⁵² By interpreting the divergent narratives of the actors involved in

this event, their dealings with cocks in ordinary life and the gambling at cock-fighting contests, Geertz illustrates how competitions are rooted in behaviour driven by moral imperative more than by greed.⁵³ The villagers attach the key values of bravery and masculinity to the cocks and their combats. Their society retains its cohesion through the shared emotions experienced and constructed by the individual participants at these events: the thrill of risk, the despair of loss, and the pleasure of triumph.⁵⁴

Geertz thus paved the way for positioning sport as an integral part and a major mode of expression of the socio-cultural system in which it is embedded. As early as 1938, historian Jan Huizinga highlighted the connection between sport and culture. He claimed that human culture emanated from games; the latter contained principles (such as spontaneity, systematization, and rationalization) along which society and everyday life were organized, and from which basic social institutions such as poetry, religious cult, law, and war originated. Although no one would follow him to this extreme today, sport scholars advocate for the most part that physical activities sited in particular places and times are recurrently and systematically used as a means of reflecting on culture and society.⁵⁵ According to James Higham and Tom Hinch sport derives its specific appeal from the following sources: First, the passion that sport and sport competitions engender; second, the tension and conflicts that stem from the uncertain outcome of competitions; third, the excitement sport produces when spectators align themselves with their favourite athletes and teams; fourth, the collective experience that sport offers, for example, to a larger broadcast audience, transcending the spectatorship at the competition venue; fifth, its unique, dramatic and highly symbolic rituals; sixth, the potential of sport to acquire status in a meritocracy simply by identifying with a sports team and uniting as a city or country; and seventh, the remarkable unity of action and representation that is experienced and displayed in achievement sports.⁵⁶

To a greater extent than Geertz, authors of subsequent studies from the field of the anthropology and sociology of sport addressed the role of sport as part of the post-colonial legacy of political and cultural Western imperialism. They turned first and foremost to football and cricket, which the British had introduced during the colonial era. Both rulers and the ruled exploited the exceptional opportunities sport offers as a knowledge system conveyed through the body: firstly, sport as knowledge is more accessible for the lower classes than fields of knowledge closely associated with institutional training and the presupposition of literacy, and secondly, perceived as 'apolitical' and to some degree as separate from economic interests, it enjoys wide acceptance. Representatives of the colonial powers frequently attempted to discourage resistance on the part of the dominated from the outset by forcing on them classification systems of 'races', classes, and nations, making use of such elementary practices as physical exercise and sport. The oppressed, on the other hand, turned the newly introduced sports practices into social spaces where colonial and post-colonial antagonisms

and differences appeared, for instance, in the "actual cricket, the strokes, the lengths and the catches", and gave them an imaginary solution by symbolically turning power relations upside down, as Cyril Lionel R. James⁵⁷ analysed in *Beyond a Boundary*. In this now classic study based on his own life, he describes first-hand the appropriation of the 'white' sport of cricket by 'black' Jamaicans.⁵⁸

James's *Beyond a Boundary* inspired the cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai⁵⁹ to a related analysis of the rise of cricket—a game heavily associated with Victorian elite values of masculinity—to a national sport in India. His analysis is part of a paradigm shift in the anthropology of sport towards studies that systematically analyse the post-colonial processes of indigenization through which European or American sports introduced to Latin America, Africa, and Asia were appropriated and decolonized.⁶⁰ Prior to Appadurai, Ashis Nandy⁶¹ addressed the puzzle of cricket's huge acceptance as a 'veritable' Indian sport. Nandy⁶² argues that there are mythic structures beneath the surface of cricket that despite its British origins make it, as he only half jokingly states, an "Indian game accidentally discovered by the British". Appadurai chose an alternative approach and interpreted the 'autochthonous' character of cricket as the result of intertwined and partly contradictory processes leading to indigenization and running parallel to the emergence of the Indian nation. These processes concern the management of cricket, the negotiation of class affiliation and values, nation building, and the role of language and media in the vernacularization of cricket. Hence, its transformation to a sport viewed as embodying India can only be understood in the context of post-colonial politics and culture: cricket presented the one-time colonized with an opportunity to beat their former colonial masters at their own game and its values were renegotiated within the framework of the colonial ecumene.

Appadurai strongly pointed out the significance of the media, including sports journalism, for the emergence of an Indian nationalism based on cricket. He followed Benedict Anderson's notion of the nation as a political community imagined on the basis of the "sense of simultaneity" that the common ceremony of reading newspapers and other mass print products conveys to its consumers. Appadurai primarily underlined the role of the media in the process of indigenization: cricket was essentially appropriated in the context of radio and television broadcasts. Here an audience learned how to become literate in, how to interpret and discuss the subtleties of cricket culture. The adaptation of cricket to the various language and cultural registers of multi-ethnic India, not least by way of novels and magazines, was crucial to its indigenization. The media furthermore enhanced Indian sport stars' role model status, which children and youth took to imitating. At the same time, the impact of the media on cricket and its associated commercialization indicates the strong mutual dependence of local and global processes.⁶³ *One-day* cricket (with a single day's play settling the match outcome), which conforms to the commercial demands

of television such as regular advertisement slots, is gradually gaining currency. It encourages risk-taking, aggressiveness, and bravado rather than the traditional fair play. Significantly, this new ethos finds its expression in tournaments such as the *Australasia Cup* established in the 1990s in the Gulf Emirate of Sharjah.

Appadurai thus analyses a process of sport glocalization in terms of multi-layered dimensions of indigenization without actually using the term glocalization, which only became popular later on. His analysis indicates that its exploration calls for a multi-methodological approach, which besides participant observation may well require archival and media studies, the recording of auto ethnographies, and a holistic research of sporting events. Depending on the sport concerned and the specific actors at the center of the study, the methods currently employed include physical participation as practitioners and the translation of somatic experience and embodied knowledge into words ('thick participation'),⁶⁴ the analysis of body practices and pedagogies as embodied schemes of disposition, e.g., habitus,⁶⁵ and a media analysis of the coverage and consumption of global sport events.⁶⁶

SPORT AND CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION

One of the major trends of globalization is the growth of 'popular' or 'global culture', whereby people now share more common cultural interests, particularly in the realm of sport.⁶⁷ This process saw the rapid adoption of certain sporting codes such as football and their homogenization on the basis of international isomorphic forms and global institutional structures.⁶⁸ Hand in hand with Western multinational media corporations, such as the Rupert Murdoch-controlled News Corporation, international sport organizations dominated by the West, e.g., FIFA, and British and North American associations like the NBA (National Basketball Association), NFL (National Football League), and NHL (National Hockey League), have led to the expansion and dominance of the sports represented by these leagues among the male spectator target group in many Asian countries.⁶⁹ Although this has been conducive to the gradual expansion of only a small number of globally marketed Western sports competitions, which are medially relayed and consumed, and thus diminished contrasts between sport phenomena at the expense of indigenous sports, globalization has not reduced heterogeneity. Varieties within a sport increase and new sports emerge due to the creolization of mobile sport cultures.⁷⁰ This applies, on the one hand, to sports exported to Asia, as the example of baseball in Japan illustrates.⁷¹ On the surface *besoburo* or 'Samurai baseball' looks just like 'original' US baseball. It is, however, different in several aspects from the game played in the United States, since *besoburo* has been reshaped to embody values deemed as Japanese, such as the fighting spirit of the Samurai warriors. Current research on baseball in Japan rejects

older notions claiming that the appropriation and reshaping of baseball as a Japanese sport occurred primarily on the basis of supposedly ancient Japanese values.⁷² This scholarship holds that Japanese baseball incorporates and stresses, in accordance with the Japanese view of life, group identity, team spirit, a conduct of hard work and practice to perfection. William Kelly,⁷³ in contrast, argues that the glocalization of baseball in Japan and its appropriation as a national sport took place on the basis of several, historically particular, interwoven processes: baseball was encouraged as a competitive element in elite boys' schools towards the end of the 19th century. The Japanese First Higher School developed a style of baseball embodying the Samurai fighting spirit, based on a rhetoric of self-sacrifice and displayed in conspicuous exertions.⁷⁴ In the late 1910s and 1920s, the sport ideologue, coach, manager, and later newspaper commentator Sui-shu Tobita picked up on and modernized this warrior ethos. In this way he contributed to baseball's appeal as character building to the sporting public and the state. As in the case of Indian cricket, glocalization within Japanese baseball took place on several levels, i.e., sport management, the negotiation of class affiliation and values, the process of nation building, and the media. In other words, the Samurai national character was a myth inscribed into Japanese baseball during this period. Belief in the Samurai imagery remains an essential part of current reality, with Japanese baseball perceived both by the Japanese and the Western press as having a fundamentally 'different' national style.⁷⁵ In contrast to this perception of incompatibility between sport systems, Japan has been fully integrated in the global structures of baseball since the 1940s. It participates in the Baseball World Cup, the World Baseball Classic, and the Olympic Games.⁷⁶ When mapping and analysing the global spread and appropriation of baseball, not only should the (neo-)colonial, military, and mercantile circuits along which dominant groups introduced their sports be taken into account. The local dynamics of attributing meaning to them should be considered as well. Multi-sited ethnography allows for exploring how sport phenomena take shape across multiple localities and for outlining the interconnections that give rise to different scapes.⁷⁷ The concept of a secondary diaspora may be useful in understanding the polycentric pattern of global expansion and its specific transcultural dynamic. US baseball began travelling beyond the borders of its land of origin, the United States, even earlier than English football; it spread and developed autonomously in Cuba and China as early as the 1860s. Despite the missionary zeal of Albert Spalding, who invented baseball, however, its advance slowed down at the end of the 19th century. Since the professional organizational structures of baseball remained in the United States (Major League Baseball, MLB), it did not become a global sport in the sense of relativizing all particularisms.⁷⁸ Cuba and Japan proved to be vital centers of diffusion in this period and can therefore be considered 'secondary diasporas' of baseball.⁷⁹ The term 'secondary diasporas' can be applied to the new settings to which baseball spread after its initial

diffusion wave. The dynamics that form the sporting codes in these secondary diasporas, however, are different from those of the primary country of origin. In their places of origin, sport phenomena are accepted as part of the legitimate cultural heritage. In secondary diaspora contexts, on the other hand, actors need to create new narratives of national belonging. In order to reinforce the status of their sport in the new target country, they will de-emphasize its 'original' national character and instead re-signify it, either by focusing on the national character of the secondary diaspora or emphasizing the growing translocal nature of the sport, and by employing globally relevant discourses and practices.⁸⁰ Such shifts in meaning and value took place when Japanese baseball enthusiasts introduced baseball to Korea and Taiwan as a component of Japanese colonialism.⁸¹ Baseball in Korea is therefore primarily identified with Japan as a symbol of modernity. Similar situations exist in Brazil and Hawaii, regions where again Japanese immigrants contributed to giving this sport a new home. These specific dynamics of baseball create a global *sportscape* of local followings, national pastimes, and international competition events.⁸²

The labyrinthine travel routes of Asian sports point to similar processes that flow from the East to the 'Rest'. Recent years have seen an increase in socio-cultural studies that focus on multidirectional flows, both in the West and in Asia itself.⁸³ This allows for a multi-faceted picture of the homogenization and pluralization of practices associated with a variety of 'Asian' sports, and their transculturation. In contrast to static cultural concepts that presuppose a contingency and homogeneity of culture, actors, and territory, the term transculturality heightens the moment of permanent movement and change, and the multidirectionality of elements that travel in time and space.⁸⁴ As mentioned above, the modernized form of judo was exported from Japan to other continents as early as the beginning of the 20th century. This unified, institutionalized form had been reinvented by Kanō Jigorō in the 1880s on the basis of older, almost forgotten martial art forms such as *jiu-jitsu*. Working as a teacher and director of elite schools, he combined existing judo practices from different schools and actively reshaped them. The martial art was designed to enable weaker participants to overcome physically stronger opponents and at the same time conceived as a philosophical way and "a technique of using one's energy in the most economical and rational way to achieve a goal".⁸⁵ Once judo had taken priority over older martial art forms, it was incorporated into the training units of the Japanese police. After the Russian-Japanese War (1904–1905), Japanese police and military instructors contributed to the diffusion of judo beyond the national borders—with considerable success, since Japan was perceived as a symbol of modernity. In the 1950s, for example, the instructors transplanted judo to Ethiopia when so-called 'special forces' were introduced to security areas.⁸⁶

Kanō set down rules for judo and developed it into a competition, defining its terms of winning or losing, 'sportifying' this physical activity in

the process. Similar to procedures in 'western' sports such as football, he thereby created a cornerstone for judo's global diffusion. Miguel Villamón and his research team identified the year 1946 as a further turning point for the sportification of judo. The US-American forces occupying Japan had banned judo during the World War II for ideological reasons, since it was seen as buttressing nationalism and the Japanese fighting spirit. When the ban was lifted judo was reoriented to a western competitive sporting ethos. This contributed to the promotion of judo on a sport-oriented basis and marked the beginning of its worldwide expansion in this new form. Judo gained acceptance as an Olympic discipline in 1964, something Kanō had rejected, claiming that it contradicted the spirit of judo.⁸⁷ Martial arts such as Japanese *aikido* and Chinese *wing chun kung fu*, in contrast, have since become a global idiom via other, decentered dynamics. Unlike *judo*, *aikido* and *kung fu* were not subjected to a comparable synthesis. Instead they have an informal structure of numerous lineages headed by masters who teach these sports.⁸⁸ Because of this, *aikido*'s 'secondary diasporas' are widely dispersed and it diffuses in a rhizome-like manner, even from small centers outside the Asian continent. Migrants and their "transnationalism from below"⁸⁹ contribute significantly to promoting the dissemination of this new global sport. Globalization is not only furthered by the informal structure of masters and their respective followers, but also by practitioners' adoption of *aikido* as a specialized and highly prized habitus, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu⁹⁰ with particular reference to sport.⁹¹ Instruction manuals and DVDs play an increasing role in the learning and diffusion of *kung fu*, although face to face transmission through habitus of the senses and the body has retained its central importance. The socially constructed meanings of *kung fu* are closely associated with gender and social class. On the one hand, *kung fu* is evolving in Asia itself in a context of exchange between martial art practitioners and mutual borrowings from other combat sports in Hong Kong, Vietnam, Singapore, and other regions of East Asia. On the other hand, it is gaining momentum in the West detached from local, cultural, and social contexts in China, its country of origin. At the same time, according to George Jennings et al.⁹², "like other martial arts practiced in the West, many Wing Chun associations still look to the East for their mythopoesis, lineage and cultural identity". These processes of 'orientalization', which construct vague horizons of authenticity in geographically distant places, are likewise an integral part of the collective identity construction and community-building of mobile actors in the current phase of globalization.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

These glimpses at processes of diffusion from Asia to Europe confirm that if we are to grasp the dynamics of globalization today beyond simplistic

master narratives, we must analyse the field of sport as one of transcultural processes. The findings of the approaches and studies of the anthropology of sport addressed here suggest that within the framework of transcultural processes, variations of sport—including ostensibly quite stable institutional arrangements such as modern competitive sports—can be traced back to multilinear paths of development. Increasing sportification under unequal conditions of power in Asia itself should likewise be seen as a component of globalization processes, in the course of which dominant (not solely Euroamerican) actors were at no time able to enforce their sport concepts, practices, and organizational forms unilaterally. The concept of secondary diasporas—centers where particular sports found new homes following their initial diffusion and have since spread through dynamics that promote identity—puts the significance of primary diffusion waves into proper perspective. This allows us to detect the contexts in which important new impulses that contributed to the constitution of modernity—sport being one of its significant components—also stemmed from Asia.

NOTES

1. Alexander Smolczyk and Volkhard Windfuhr, "Freudentaumel in Qatar: Die Araber feiern größte Hallen-WM aller Zeiten," *Spiegel Online*, December 3, 2010, <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/0,1518,732668,00.html> (accessed December 3, 2010).
2. "Katar erhält Zuschlag für FIFA-WM 2022," <http://de.fifa.com/newscentre/news/newsid=1344374.html> (accessed January 7, 2011).
3. Alexander Smolczyk, "Qatar Has High Hopes for 2022 World Cup," *Spiegel Online*, December 15, 2010, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,734610,00.html> (accessed February 20, 2011).
4. These concessions were made about a month after controversial debates in the European media on the selection of Qatar as host. See Stefan Coerts, "FIFA President Sepp Blatter Supports 2022 Winter World Cup," December 17, 2010, <http://www.goal.com/en/news/3512/20182022-world-cup-host/2010/12/17/2265637/fifa-president-sepp-blatter-supports-2022-winter-world-cup> (accessed February 20, 2011).
5. The terms East and West are employed in the following as analytical descriptions of these binary concepts, albeit without implying their basis on essential givens.
6. Eric A. Wagner, *Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook* (New York et al.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 5.
7. Announcement for the "International Workshop on Modern Sports in Asia: Cultural Perspectives" at the National University of Singapore, April 29–30, 2010, see "International Workshop on Modern Sports in Asia: Cultural Perspectives," Humanities and Social Sciences Net Online, <http://www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi?ID=173294> (accessed January 15, 2011).
8. Guttmann defines sports in this sense as "autotelic physical contests", *auto* meaning "its own", and *telos* "goal, end, or purpose". Allen Guttmann, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 1. Sport can broadly be understood as a "structured, goal-oriented, competitive, contest-based, ludic physical activity". Barry D. McPherson, James E. Curtis, and John W. Loy, *The Social Significance of Sport: An*

- Introduction to the Sociology of Sport* (Champaign: Human Kinetics Books, 1989) 15.
9. Henning Eichberg, "'Auf Zoll und Quintlein': Sport und Quantifizierungsprozess in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Die Veränderung des Sports ist gesellschaftlich: Die historische Verhaltensforschung in der Diskussion; Diskussionsband* by Henning Eichberg, (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1986), 109–37.
 10. Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 26.
 11. Tobias Werron, "Der Weltsport und sein Publikum," *Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft "Weltgesellschaft"* (2005): 264.
 12. Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilizations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999); idem., *Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2005); Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, "The Globalization of Football: A Study in the Globalization of the 'Serious Life,'" *British Journal of Sociology* 55 (2004): 545–68; William W. Kelly, "Is Baseball a Global Sport? America's 'National Pastime' as Global Field and International Sport," *Global Networks* 7, 2 (2007): 187–201; David Rowe and Callum Gilmour, "Sport, Media, and Consumption in Asia: A Merchandised Milieu," *American Behavioral Scientist* 53, 19 (2010): 1530–48.
 13. See leading academic sport journals such as *The International Journal of the History of Sports*, the *International Review of Sport Sociology*, and the *Sociology of Sport Journal*. The exploration in numerous ethnographies of various forms of sport is likewise unbalanced and tends to neglect the sport activities of marginalized groups, among them those classified as 'indigenous' or 'native' (domestic), and thus as 'other'. Michael L. Silk, "Sporting Ethnography: Philosophy, Methodology and Reflection," in *Qualitative Methods in Sports Studies*, ed. David L. Andrews et al. (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 71.
 14. Miguel Villamón et al. "Reflexive Modernization and the Disembedding of Judo from 1946 to the 2000 Sydney Olympics," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39 (2004): 141; see also Allen Guttmann and L. Thompson, *Japanese Sports: A History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).
 15. Arjun Appadurai, "Playing with Modernity: The Decolonization of Indian Cricket," in *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. Carol Breckenridge (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Tamara Kohn, "The Aikido Body: Expressions of Group Identities and Self-Discovery in Martial Arts Training," in *Sport, Dance and Embodied Identities* ed. Noel Dyck and Eduardo P. Archetti (Oxford: Berg, 2003); Giulianotti and Robertson, "The Globalization of Football"; Roland Robertson, "Globalization: Time-space and Homogeneity-heterogeneity," in *Global Modernities*, ed. Michael Featherstone et al. (London: Sage, 1995); George Jennings, David Brown and Andrew C. Sparkes, "'It Can Be a Religion if You Want': Wing Chun Kung Fu as a Secular Religion," *Ethnography* 11 (2010): 533–57.
 16. Robertson, "Globalization"; Giulianotti and Robertson, "Recovering the Social: Globalization, Football and Transnationalism," in *Globalization and Sport*, ed. Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson (Malden Mass: Blackwell, 2007), 60.
 17. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 178–99.
 18. Ingrid Kummels, "Adiós soccer, here comes fútbol!: La transnacionalización de comunidades deportivas mexicanas en los Estados Unidos," *Iberoamericana* 27 (2007): 101–16.

18. Giulianotti and Robertson, "Recovering the Social," 61.
19. Jeremy McClancy, "Sport, Identity and Ethnicity," in *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, ed. Jeremy McClancy (Oxford: Berg, 1996) 11.
20. James H. Mills, *Subaltern Sports: Politics and Sport in South Asia* (London: Anthem Press, 2005).
21. David Rowe, "Sport and the Repudiation of the Global," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 38, 3 (2003): 281–94; Marion Müller, *Fußball als Paradoxon der Moderne: Zur Bedeutung ethnischer, nationaler und geschlechtlicher Differenzen im Profifußball* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009).
22. See Woo Lee and Maguire in Chapter 3 of this volume.
23. Kendall Blanchard, "The Anthropology of Sport," in *Handbook of Sport Studies*, ed. Jay J. Coakley and Eric Dunning (London: Sage, 2000); Noel Dyck, "Games, Bodies, Celebrations and Boundaries: Anthropological Perspectives on Sport," in *Games, Sports and Cultures*, ed. Noel Dyck (Oxford: Berg, 2000).
24. See, for example, Joseph S. Alter, "Kabbadi, a National Sport of India: The Internationalism of Nationalism and the Foreignness of Indianness," in *Games, Sports and Cultures*, ed. Noel Dyck (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Hjørleifur Jonsson, "Mien through Sports and Culture: Mobilizing Minority Identity in Thailand," *Ethnos* 68, 3 (2003): 317–40.
25. Silk, "Sporting Ethnography."
26. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*.
27. John Bale, on the other hand, used the term *sportscape* before Appadurai to refer to the 'industrialization' of sport environments and competition venues in modern societies as a result of the codification of sport by international bodies. Highly confined and artificial sport landscapes such as golf courses, ski jumps, and light athletic stadiums are examples of this type of sportscape. John Bale, *Sports Geography* (London: E & FN Spon, 1989), 129.
28. Boria Majumdar and J. A. Mangan, *Sport in South Asian Society: Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2002); Rowe and Gilmour, "Sport, Media, and Consumption," 1532.
29. Wagner, *Sport in Asia*, 5; Guttmann, *Sports*, 39–51.
30. H.E. Chehabi and Allen Guttmann, "From Iran to All of Asia: The Origin and Diffusion of Polo," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 19, 2 (2002): 384–400.
31. Kelly, "Is Baseball a Global Sport?"; cf. Louis A. Jr. Pérez, "Between Baseball and Bullfighting: The Quest for Nationality in Cuba, 1868–1898," *The Journal of American History* 81, 2 (1999): 493–517.
32. M.T. Kato, *From Kung Fu to Hip Hop: Globalization, Revolution and Popular Culture* (New York: SUNY Press, 2007).
33. G. Whitney Azoy, *Buzkashi: Game and Power in Afghanistan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
34. Due to its lack of competitiveness, *aikido*, for instance, would not be defined as a sport in a narrow definition, despite its embeddedness in various international associations and standardization as a physical activity since the 1950s. Bale, *Sports Geography*, 7; Dyck, "Games, Bodies," 18.
35. Brownell, Susan. *Training the Body for China: Sport in the Moral Order of the People's Republic* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995) 35.
36. Guoqi Xu, *Olympic Dreams: China and Sports, 1895–2008* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008) 13.
37. Susan Brownell shows for the People's Republic of China how in the context of state interests body cultures are strictly divided into two categories, each overseen by a different ministry. According to their assignment either to the State Sports and Education Commissions or to the Bureau of Health, physical activities are classified as *tiyu* (an overarching term for physical activities) or as *weisheng* (physical culture and health). Susan Brownell, *Training the Body for China: Sport in the Moral Order of the People's Republic* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995), 20.
38. Bale, *Sports Geography*, 8.
39. Bale confirmed three categories for the US in the media of the 1970s, "serious sports", "recreational sport", and "new waves of body culture" (Bale, *Sports Geography*, 2, 8–9).
40. Miguel Villamón et al., "Reflexive Modernization and the Disembedding of Judo from 1946 to the 2000 Sydney Olympics," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39 (2004): 146; cf. Thomas Vennun, *American Indian Lacrosse: Little Brother of War* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 253–64.
41. Stewart Culin, *Korean Games with Notes on the Corresponding Games of China and Japan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1895); idem., *Games of the North American Indians*. vol. 2: *Games of Skill* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1907).
42. Culin's interest in Asia was aroused by the Chinese migrants who settled in his home town of Philadelphia. This phenomenon motivated him to undertake his first field research.
43. Culin, *Games of the North American*, 809.
44. Grix, *Japans Sport in Bild und Wort* (Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert Verlag, 1937).
45. Georg Elwert, *Feldforschung: Orientierungswissen und kreuzperspektivische Analyse* (Berlin: Schiler, 2003).
47. Robin Fox, "Pueblo Baseball: A New Use for Old Witchcraft," *Journal of American Folklore* 74 (1961): 9–16.
48. Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*.
49. Blanchard, "The Anthropology of Sport," 147.
50. Clifford Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung: Beiträge zum Verstehen kultureller Systeme* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987).
49. Hjørleifur, "Mien through Sports," 319. Cf. for cock-fighting in Latin America, see Joseph L. Arben and David G. LaFrance, *Introduction to Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Wilmington, DE: Jaguar Books, 2002), xi. Geertz himself remarked that despite intensive ethnological research in Bali, cock-fighting had hitherto been given little importance. Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung*, 208.
51. Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 57.
52. Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung*, 14.
53. Blanchard, "The Anthropology of Sport," 147.
54. Geertz, "Deep Play," 83.
55. Jeremy McClancy, "Sport, Identity and Ethnicity," in *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, ed. Jeremy McClancy (Oxford: Berg, 1996), 4.
56. The first five sources of the specific appeal of sport have been taken from James Higham and Tom Hinch, *Sport and Tourism: Globalization, Mobility and Identity* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 63. I have further amended their list with two additional aspects mentioned by John Bale in James Higham and Tom Hinch, *Sport and Tourism: Globalization, Mobility and Identity* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 67 and Otmar Weiss, *Einführung in die Sportsoziologie* (Wien: WUV, 1999), 153.
57. Cyril Lionel R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (London: Stanley Paul, 1963), 60.

58. As a sports reporter, James was intimately familiar with cricket.
59. Appadurai, "Playing with Modernity"; idem., *Modernity at Large*.
60. The film *Trobriand Cricket: An Ingenious Response to Colonialism* (1976) should be mentioned in this context. Twenty years before Appadurai's reflections on cricket, film-maker Gary Kildea and ethnologist Jerry Leach's film documented the indigenization of cricket on this South Pacific archipelago.
61. Ashis Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket: On Games of Destiny and the Destiny of Games* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
62. Ibid., 1.
63. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 107.
64. Jaida Kim Samudra, "Memory in Our Body: Thick Participation und the Translation of Kinesthetic Experience," *American Ethnologist* 35, 4 (2008): 665–81.
65. Pierre Bourdieu, "Programm für eine Ethnologie des Sports," in *Rede und Antwort* by Pierre Bourdieu (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992); Löic Wacquant, *Corps et âme: Carnets ethnographiques d'un apprenti boxeur* (Marseille: Éditions Agone, 2001).
66. See Jung Woo Lee and Maguire in Chapter 3 of this volume; Rowe and Gilmour, "Sport, Media, and Consumption."
67. Higham and Hinch, *Sport and Tourism*, 26.
68. Guilanotti and Robertson, "Recovering the Social," 61.
69. Rowe and Gilmour, "Sport, Media, and Consumption," 1531.
70. Joseph Maguire, "Sport, Identity Politics and Globalization: Diminishing Contrasts and Increasing Varieties," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 11, 4 (1994): 398–427; idem., *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilizations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 87.
71. Charles W. Hayford, "Samurai Baseball vs. Baseball in Japan," *The Asia Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 2007, http://old.japanfocus.org/_Charles_W_Hayford-Samurai_Baseball_vs_Baseball_in_Japan (accessed January 15, 2011).
72. Robert Whiting, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat: The Game Japanese Play* (Sag Harbor: Permanent Press, 1977); "The Samurai Way of Baseball and the National Character Debate," *The Asia Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 2006, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Robert-Whiting/2235> (accessed January 15, 2011).
73. Kelly, "Is Baseball a Global Sport?"
74. Koichi Kiku, "The Japanese Baseball Spirit and Professional Ideology," in *Japan, Sport and Society: Tradition and Change in a Globalizing World* ed. Joseph Maguire and Masayoshi Nakayama (London: Routledge, 2006).
75. Kelly, "Is Baseball a Global Sport?". See Fidel Castro's analysis of the reasons for the Japanese precedence over Cuban baseball following a Cuban defeat in "Los Culpables Somos Nosotros," *Agencia Cubana de Noticias*, March 19, 2009, <http://www.ain.cu/2009/marzo/19egreflexiones.htm> (accessed January 7, 2011).
76. The International Olympic Committee has eliminated baseball from the Summer Games starting from 2012.
77. George E. Marcus, "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95–117; Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*.
78. Kelly, "Is Baseball a Global Sport?"
79. Secondary diaspora is a concept devised by Alejandro Frigerio to refer to the dynamics of religious globalization. Here I translate it to the field of sport. Alejandro Frigerio, "Re-Africanization in Secondary Religious Diasporas: Constructing a World Religion," *Civilisations: Revue Internationale d'Anthropologie et de Sciences Humaines*, 51 (2004): 39–60.
80. Frigerio, "Re-Africanization."
81. Andrew D. Morris, "Baseball, History, the Local and the Global in Taiwan," in *The Minor Arts of Daily Life: Popular Culture in Taiwan*, ed. Andrew D. Morris et al. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).
82. Kelly, "Is Baseball a Global Sport?"
83. For a review of the literature, see Jennings, Brown and Sparkes, "It Can Be a Religion," 535.
84. Cuban lawyer and ethnologist Fernando Ortiz designed the concept of *transculturación* in 1940 in opposition to the more linear concept of acculturation in American cultural anthropology. Stephanie Schütze, Galindo Zapata, and Martha Schütze, "Transkulturalität und Geschlechterverhältnisse: Ein Perspektivenwechsel auf kulturelle und geschlechtsspezifische Dynamiken in den Amerikas," in *Transkulturalität und Geschlechterverhältnisse: Neue Perspektiven auf kulturelle Dynamiken in den Amerikas*, ed. Stephanie Schütze (Berlin: Edition Tranvia, Verl. Frey, 2007).
85. Yoshinobu Hamaguchi, "Innovation in Martial Arts," in *Japan, Sport and Society: Tradition and Change in a Globalizing World*, ed. Joseph Maguire and Masayoshi Nakayama (London: Routledge, 2006), 12.
86. Personal communication of Katrin Bromber.
87. Villamón, "Reflexive Modernization," 142.
88. Kohn, "The Aikido Body," "Bowling onto the Mat," Jennings, Brown and Sparkes, "It Can Be a Religion."
89. Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, *Transnationalism from Below* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1998).
90. Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
91. Jennings, Brown and Sparkes, "It Can Be a Religion," 545.
92. Ibid., 536.