Changing Sport Anthropology

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Abstract:

“Why are you studying anthropology?” When I was reading anthropology as an undergraduate, many friends asked me this question. They also asked me if I wanted to be a professor since anthropology as a discipline is recognised as having limited opportunities in terms of specific research jobs related to anthropology. In my dissertation, I aim to answer the question: “Why am I studying sport anthropology?” by focusing, in particular, on changing the notion of sport anthropology, hopefully, to give current students, who are interested in sport studies, a much deeper understanding and awareness of the reasons why anthropology is relevant to them. Based on this objective, the dissertation provides both previous and recent sport anthropological perspectives and critically examines the work of anthropologists on sport. Contemporary anthropologists of sport attempt to develop sport studies by not only engaging with ethnographic methods but also by theorising three different dimensions of sport, i.e. at a local, national and global level. By doing so, they seek to build new kinds of research fields and new anthropological perspectives on sport. Their approach leads to the development of the anthropology of sport as they demonstrate new forms of anthropological theory in relation to sport. However, it is difficult for non-anthropologists to make a valid contribution to this body of work. My aim in this dissertation is to focus on new fields in public, applied or active sport anthropology that can contribute not only to anthropology as a discipline, but also to bridge the gap between sport anthropologists and other researchers, workers and people.
Declaration

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1. Introduction

1.1 The London Olympics: marathon

On 12\textsuperscript{th} August 2012, I walked around Buckingham Palace to observe people cheering on the runners of the London Olympic Marathon. I suspect that more than one million spectators were present around the marathon course. The runners had very serious expressions on their faces and their bodies were very toned and muscular. In contrast, all the spectators had happy, smiling faces and were supporting the runners by cheering, waving their flags and taking photographs and videos of them with their mobile phones. To get a better view of the runners, some people even stood on the shoulders of their friends! I observed that many people were inspired and motivated by this Olympic event in particular, as it brought so many people together, not only in London people but also across the world. This Olympic Marathon has existed since the first Olympics were held in Athens, Greece in 1896. The runners, each one representing their own nation, compete to decide who is the fastest to run 42.195 kilometres.

1.2 The meaning of sport, game and play

This marathon is a sport in the form of game and play. I believe that the meaning of sport is always changing and it has multiple meanings to different people. I, who have engaged in sport activity including play and game for more than 20 years, would claim that sport must include, either the notion of game or play, or a combination of the two notions, and can be enjoyed in different ways: individually, with friends or family, locally, nationally and globally.
Many scholars discuss what game is and what play is, but in my view, a recent definition of game includes people competing with other through play, and at the same time, game also creates excitement and stirs emotions. Play has three aspects. The first aspect is physical: it involves the athlete moving their hands and body. The second one is emotion felt during the game: the athlete feels encouraged and supported by the crowd; they benefit from the high emotion conveyed to them and felt by the spectators. The third aspect is emotion felt after the game: the athlete feels happy if successful or disappointed if not. The marathon is one of the major Olympic events, is an individual game and played as a competitive sport.

1.3 Football and anthropology

The most interesting and attractive London Olympic event for me was the football final. I did not manage to get a ticket myself but I observed people going to Wembley stadium before the match and watched the final game in front of a big screen in Hyde Park with ten thousand other people. I guess that more than thirty thousand people were watching the football final in the three places: Wembley Stadium, Hyde Park and Victoria Park. The sheer number of people attending proved to me that football is very popular. I felt they were creating a social drama through football as they were expressing their own emotional feelings such as delight, anger, sorrow and pleasure. The winner of the football final in this Olympics was Mexico and the Mexican supporters felt enormous pride and also relief at the referee’s final whistle.

Such a mega-sporting event might inspire young people to take up football, because I have played football for more than twenty years, and first became interested when I
watched the Los Angeles World Cup final between Brazil and Italy in 1994. This is why such major football events are very special to me. So, I feel that all lovers of football produce football cultures and embrace such a football event but I ask myself: “What is football? What meaning do I give to football? What does it mean to emulate iconic footballers?” I believe that the notion of football itself has changed and been shaped into diverse forms. For example, football means one thing to players and another thing to spectators, football enthusiasts and children. Football also means another thing to sport anthropologists, as football is highly relevant to the discipline of sport anthropology. Therefore, I seek to explore the relationship between football and anthropology.

In short, anthropologists have always attempted to understand what it means to be human, through ethnography, ethnographic observation and interviewing. Through anthropological representations, they have also theoretically demonstrated how the pattern of a human being’s world works. I define what ‘world’ is as follows: humans create different kinds of notions which exist in a variety of cultural, social, economic and political forms all over the world. Each person has his or her own football world. For example, some people prefer to play football socially, others prefer to meet socially at football matches, and others play football professionally. For some people, football might be both social and professional. Such different football worlds have therefore become an interesting subject of analysis for both previous and contemporary anthropologists. I am also exploring this subject. Football to me is very powerful and it makes a symbolic community which I will describe later. From a native informant’s point of view, my personal football experience can explain the relationship between football and symbolism from an anthropological perspective.
I began to touch and kick the ball with my brother and friends when I was younger since I was fascinated by an iconic football player: Roberto Baggio. At the same time, I started to imitate the play of particular iconic footballers. This is an example of the symbolic power of football. I believe that football is played for fun and pleasure. There can be two types of enjoyment in play: individual and social. Individual fun is when I love to play football when I touch and kick the ball, whereas group fun is when I love to play football with other people and when I pass the ball to them. When I was younger, I joined a social football group because it is much more fun than playing individually. However, I was soon no longer content simply playing for fun; I wanted to play seriously because it was my dream to become an iconic player who had the ability to win game after game. For example, David Beckham could be considered an iconic player with whom people associate on multiple dimensions. Not only has he proved to be highly skilful on the pitch, his presence goes beyond football. He has also become known as a fashion icon around the world that symbolises masculinity, sophistication, wealth, skill and popularity.

In a traditional football game, there are two sides of eleven players. This might be called a symbolic conflict or opposition to which Radcliffe-Brown (1951) referred. It can be regarded as one of the boundaries between playing for fun and playing seriously and changing from an individual to individuals. In general, when a certain number of people gather, those people will start the football game in a group. Then, they will make a team name as a collective symbol, and will seek to find the space and the time to play together. In addition, they will make rules to maintain a symbolic team identity. This symbol means that people obtain creative collective identity and this is why football players and fans wear the same uniform or T-shirt as an identity. Also, for me, as a Japanese person, playing football is not only about
developing and enhancing one’s ball control and technique, or about performing well on the football pitch and scoring the winning goal. In Japanese society, playing football, or any sport, is also about building one’s own mental strength, stamina and patience, and is used for “education” in terms of more teamwork, moral enhancement, fair-play and the promotion of sportsmanship and friendship. High schools and universities not only admit students of sport via the traditional route, i.e. those who have performed well in examinations, but they are also now admitting students who have no formal qualifications but who have achieved a high ranking in prestigious sporting competitions. Therefore, some Japanese parents strongly encourage their children to take up sport such as football because they want their children to develop teamwork skills and other such social values.

As a result, football has now become widely accepted by Japanese society, and when our family members or friends watch us play, we become a football community. This is because a small group of people as a football community are sharing a common interest in football, and they are living in a common location and in a common social system. Although it also means that football creates rivalry between football communities, the symbolic community can be a representation of cultural identities. Based on my own personal experience, this is an example of how people, who are influenced by the power of football, form an imagined community (Anderson, 1983).

“What is the power of football?” As a sport anthropology student, I have analysed what the power of football is from a symbolic perspective. I define the power of football as creative and producing iconic and symbolic elements: play, players, game, identity and community through social interaction in everyday life. The meaning of symbols in this paper can be defined as the signs of creative collective action in social football communities. Its communities can be said to be ‘imagined
communities’ as Benedict Anderson (1983) argues, and the power of football can be seen in its role in the construction of the symbolic and imagined community (Cohen 1985). However, this definition of the power of football needs to be re-defined because the symbolic and imagined community itself is always changing, due to the emergence of new kinds of notions of football. This is what football is, and what football means to me and iconic footballers, from an anthropological perspective.

I will now examine various classic and contemporary anthropological work on sport, as it is very important for sport anthropology students, and others who are interested in sport studies, to understand and reveal how people give meaning to sport and how they interact within their communities. After I have outlined their anthropological accounts of sport, I will provide a critique of both previous and current anthropological work on sport and call for the need for applied anthropology.

2. Previous anthropological approaches to sport

2.1 Classic anthropological work on sport

A classic anthropologist, Edward Tylor (1880: 23) described “the geographical distribution of games” in many different countries such as Mexico, China, England, New Zealand, Malay and Japan. The same types of games, such as kite-flying, football and canoeing were played by the Japanese, Chinese, Indians and New Zealanders (Tylor 1880). This is called an anthropological theory of diffusionalism, as diffusionalists, including Tylor, presumed that there must be some historical or human connection between the similar forms, and the basis of anthropological inquiry was to explain these similarities through observation of the primitive habits and beliefs around the world. This is why Tylor (1880) noted that, in a ball-game, the
ball was kicked, thrown and caught, and he captured some characteristics of the meaning of ball-games, as those ball-games showed some evidence of diffusion and cultural contact in different parts of the world.

Another classic sport anthropologist, James Mooney (1890: 105) explored “the Indian game of the ball play”, and revealed that the ritual activities, that formed part of the ball-play performance, were an integral aspect of Cherokee culture. For instance, the objective of the Cherokee’s ball game was not only to entertain their king but also to communicate with nature such as the sun, rivers, trees and animals. Therefore, indigenous shamans were recognised as having the authority to forbid ball players, who were selected by the shaman, to eat rabbits, frogs, lambs and fish before the ball game, as a sign of respect to animals (Mooney 1890).

Similarly, Steward Culin (1902) also explored the American Indian game. He observed children learning how to play games mimetically and Culin classified games into two types: games of skill and games of chance. A game of skill required a high level of mental and physical stamina, whereas the outcome of a game of chance was determined by a number or random numbers (Culin 1902). Culin also provided a description of the relationship between the notion of sport cultures and humans, and he analysed indigenous patterns of thought which formed the behaviour of primitive people (Culin 1902). In 1907, Culin classified “American Indian Games”, and his work contributed to the publication of the Bureau of American Ethnology: Games of the North American Indians (1907) which describes sport activities of “225 different native North American tribes” (Blanchard 1995: 13).

Elsdon Best (1925) referred to the haka of traditional Maori dances and songs which were performed in different forms. The haka of the Maori involved the use of the
hands, feet, legs, body, voice, tongue and eyes to convey a message of challenge, exultation and defiance (Best 1925). It was also a means of worshipping their own so-called, sun god. The haka also played a role in social functions as it expressed a variety of meanings: welcome, entertainment of visitors, birthdays, weddings, farewells, funerals and war dance (Best 1925). Different Maori tribes engaged in the haka and they could recognise and identify each tribe of haka as it was uniquely characterised in a number of different forms, such as, Haka poi, Haka peruperu and Haka pokeja: Ka mate (Best 1925). The poi of Maori used performance for special or formal occasions and the poi has a symbolic, spiritual and ceremonial meaning. For example, poi Tane-mahuta refers to the couple’s desire to have children; the two balls of the poi are joined together and represent the man’s testicles (McLean 1996). After carrying out ethnographic research, Best published: “Games and Pastimes of the Maori” (1925) in New Zealand.

2.2 Modern anthropological work on sport

Since German ethnographer, Von Karl Weule (1925) explained what the difference between primitive and modern sport is and he focused on the changing notion of sport, sport anthropologists have begun to discuss what the definition of sport is. Weule (1925) argued that modern sports are different from primitive sports as the latter were only part of rituals whereas nowadays people do sport for their own satisfaction, competition and enjoyment. Between 1930 and 1960, anthropological literature was occasionally influenced by non-anthropologists and folklorists such as Corrado Gini and Paul Brewster, and the anthropological study of sport and games
has dramatically raised the theoretical debate concerning the relationship between the
general and special role of sport in human society.

In particular, in 1959, since John Roberts, Malcolm Arth, and Robert Bush published
the article: “Games in Culture” (1959), they attempted to construct the concept of
game by defining the following notions: “organized play”, “competition”, “two or
more sides”, “criteria for determining the winner” and “agreed-upon rules” (Roberts,
Arth and Bush 1959:597). In their article, the concept of game was largely discussed
and diverse societies have different meanings of games but they recognised two
categories of games: “games of chance” and “games of strategy” which showed how
games work from an anthropological perspective (Roberts, Arth and Bush 1959: 597).
According to them, in different cultures, games not only develop people’s mental and
physical skills but they also help them to discover their own culture, social system
and religious beliefs. Thus, they concluded the notion of games and anthropology is
highly related.

Similarly, many anthropologists approached the meaning of play, through
ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation in the 1960s and 1970s. One of
the most powerful anthropological concepts was developed by Clifford Geertz, who
conducted his fieldwork in Bali and analysed the illegal cockfight (Geertz 1972).
Geertz demonstrated that fieldwork is the appropriate method to observe ‘how things
work’, and he brought the anthropological concept of “Deep Play” which means:
“play in which the stakes are so high that it is, from his utilitarian standpoint,
irrational for men to engage in it at all” (Geertz 1972: 432). According to Geertz
(1972: 2), for some Balinese people, cockfighting is part of the “The Balinese Way
of Life” like drinking and smoking marihuana. Although cockfighting is illegal
gambling, Balinese people bet on which cock will win or lose the fight. Geertz
(1972) emphasised that the gamblers were more attracted by the thrill of the fight and actually winning the bet was of secondary importance to them.

At the same time, the social anthropologist, Max Gluckman built his own theory of conflict in “Custom and Conflict in Africa” where “the whole system depends for its cohesion on the existence of conflicts in smaller sub-systems” (Gluckman 1955: 21). This is a good example that illustrates the relationship between football and the conflict theory from an anthropological perspective. He referred to case studies that he used in his analysis of social change in terms of the relationship between “tribal” and “town” life (Barnard 2000: 85). Gluckman referred to football as the “new situation of conflict” in that it creates rivalry between supporters of different teams who live in the same city (Scotch 1961: 71). Scotch (1961: 71) applied Gluckman’s conflict theory in his research, noting: “interpersonal and intergroup hostility and aggression are much greater in an urban setting than in the more traditional rural Zulu community”, as football allows us to release our anxiety and tensions of anomic urban life and also to express our aggression and hostility towards others (Scotch 1961).

Victor Turner, who was influenced by Gluckman at Manchester University, also referred to a football game as a “social drama” (Pettegrew 2007: 140). This is because he attempted to develop the classic foundation of the social drama approach, in particular focusing on “the systematic relations between symbolic aspects of culture” (Barnard 2000: 86). Armstrong (1998: 20) applied Turner’s concepts to “football hooliganism” and argued that it creates new values and norms in symbolic form. Turner’s anthropological perspective on football showed how players and fans are symbolically performing a set of rituals (Pettegrew 2007). According to Turner (1980), when people are attracted and fascinated by a major sporting event, such as
The Olympic Games, they create a social drama. Everyone who attends the event shares a common value, mood or atmosphere that either binds them together or causes friction between them. For example, two sets of fans at a football match might clash with each other. This is why he states “A social drama first manifests itself as the breach of a norm, the infraction of a rule of morality, law, custom, or etiquette, in some public arena” (Turner 1980:150). *Football Hooliganism* (1998), published by Armstrong, has greatly contributed to our understanding of hooliganism as Gluckman and Turner’s theoretical work helps Armstrong and us to understand why hooligans behave the way they do. This means that anthropological work on sport implicitly helps us to understand a hooligan’s perspective in social conflict phenomena. A number of academic scholars such as historians, sociologists and political scientists refer to the analysis of the anthropological perspective on sport; the anthropology of sport is considered to be “a sub-discipline of anthropology” (Blanchard 2000:145). Over the past two decades, the anthropology of sport has had several different theoretical foci and sport anthropologists are becoming interested in sport and community, sport and nationalism and sport and globalisation. In the next section, I will take each of these in turn.

3. Current approaches in sport anthropology

3.1 Ethnographic accounts of sport

Recent anthropological work on sport has gradually progressed through the following sport anthropologists: Archetti (1997), Sands (2002) and King (2004). They have explored sport studies from an anthropological perspective and ethnography including ethnographic observation and interviewing, and have also laid
the foundation for contemporary anthropological work on sport. In particular, they showed that ethnographic methods have increasingly played an important role in anthropological accounts of football.

For instance, in the ethnography: *The Ethnography of Moralities* (1997), Archetti broke down the boundary between the researcher and the informant by listening to a fan’s football story, and he describes what informants say about “the philosophy of football as a game: the contradiction between elegance and force” (Archetti 1997: 104-105).

Sands (2002) applied Malinowski’s ethnographic concepts, including “the native’s point of view”, the ethnographic diary and scientific value. He took classes at Santa Barbara City College in order to be able to play football with informants and he observed football players and kept a diary as part of the process of fieldwork. According to Sands (2002), this diary not only supplemented field-notes but also supplemented the analysis of the field-notes. Doing good sport ethnography is to record the feature of sport behaviour through visual technology (Sands 2002). Visual image such as photographs, videos and film clips are valuable evidence of ethnography. Thus, Sands (2002) saved all the college football game tapes for his research during his fieldwork, and he attempted to use video footage of college football players in his ethnography.

Furthermore, anthropological engagement with women’s football cultures has found a social space for lesbian presence and visibility. King (2004) observed how lesbian visibility in football discloses and displays their sexuality in the UK. He interviewed 14 women football players who acknowledged themselves as lesbians. Interestingly, six women identified themselves as heterosexual and five women joined teams
because of their lesbian presence. King (2004) reveals what informants say is ‘the real voice’ of football and gives an anthropological account of gender and space in football. The above sport anthropologists have revealed the meanings of football in diverse social contexts.

### 3.2 Local, national and global dimensions of football

According to Brown, Crabbe and Mellor (2008), sport anthropologists also have been observing and analysing the process of forming football communities, and football is widely discussed by contemporary sport anthropologists who seek to develop theoretical debates on football communities. For example, through a range of theories such as structuralism, functionalism and symbolism, sport anthropologists attempt to understand different types of communities which are identified and characterised by each football team. In terms of football communities, there can be three different scales of community: local, national and global. First, local communities are strongly bonded by kinships and friendship groups on a small scale. The smallest scale of football community might be where only two people regularly meet each other to play, watch or talk about football. Some people might join local football clubs or associations and others just support local football clubs that consist of iconic football players who belong to local or professional leagues. Second, there is the national scale of community which is highly influenced by iconic national football players and clubs. Finally, global communities recruit players and attract fans not only locally and nationally but also from overseas. For example, Manchester United is supported on a global scale and has several foreign players.
Stevenson and Alaug (2000) argue whether football has ritual meanings in a national level or not, and they remark that sport has multiple ritual meanings. Modern sport, such as football, triggers the formation of a new kind of national identity. In the process of producing a national identity through sports, there is more significant value in ritual meanings than in the result of games. National identity has become a symbolic meaning in relation to ritual which can be conveyed through sport (Stevenson and Alaug 2000). For instance, international sport competitions such as The Olympics and The World Cup bring a new sense of solidarity to people when they travel to a sporting event in order to see the national players perform. Sport also has some elements of ritual as it makes people participate in sporting events and they demonstrate a certain pattern of social phenomena which anthropologists observe. Important sporting events are very relevant to anthropological research on ritual or festival as sport anthropologists reveal their important role in social life.

Carter (2002) also remarks that sport is highly relevant to the construction of nationalism, since the globalisation of sport such as football creates a new kind of specific national identity to come together nationally. For instance, since Western sports such as football were imported in Yemen in 1880, male football has become popular and been developed by the Yemen national football association (Carter 2000). On the other hand, unlike in Western societies, women’s football has not taken off because of the religious beliefs of Islamic society and culture (Carter 2000). Because of the influence of sport radio or television, Yemen football fans have dramatically increased, and over the past few decades, Yemen has promoted local and national clubs to participate in international games in order to promote Yemen’s national identity around the world. As Carter (2002) also states, there are various kinds of national identity such as “Samba” in Brazil and they have been created
culturally, socially, economically and historically. As Armstrong and Giulianotti (1997) state, the phenomenon of football can be compared and contrasted in different cultures and countries around the world, as football cultures have historically emerged as diverse cultural identities. The notion of Western football has spread globally and has been accepted by different people locally and nationally around the world (see, for example Stevenson and Alaüg 2000; Carter 2002; Brown, Crabbe and Mellor 2008; and McGarry 2010). It has become a contested sport between different nations globally, and at the same time, sport studies have become focused on international sport events as well as on the expansion of capitalism in sport business (Carter, 2002). So, Carter (2002: 418) mentions that Appadurai’s notion of “scapes”, which can refer to “sportscape”, means “the flow of people, practices, capital, and institutions that constitute the fluid, irregular movements of sport across the globe and within localities”. This means that it is becoming necessary to study sport from many different angles in local and global contexts.

For example, McGarry (2010) analyses the changing representation of socio-cultural sport identities and its theories and methodologies by referring to the four recent anthropological works on sport: Vennum (1994), Azoy (2003), Dyck (2003), and Giulianotti (2007). In particular, in the Sport, Dance and Embodied Identities (2006), Dyck and Archetti not only focused on the voices of football fans and their behaviour but they also explored how spectators outwardly manifested their feelings of loyalty and support, by wearing the team’s uniform, for instance. In the sport stadium, fans are also stimulated by a vast range of smells, sights and sounds (Dyck and Archetti 2006). Thus, Dyck and Archetities (2006) explore how playing or watching sport can affect the emotions of sport players and spectators, such as anxiety, happiness and stress and how they collectively and globally express their national pride during and
after a sporting event even if they are not physically present but are or were watching on television many miles away either at home or with friends in a bar.

Similarly, from an anthropological perspective, Rollason (2011) also discusses how the globalisation of football has formed a new kind of identity in Panapompom people, PNG. According to Rollason, (2011), an image of globalised football appears in Panapompom’s football strips. His anthropological work shows how Panapompom people in PNG are influenced by the globalised visual image of football through coverage of The World Cup. “Football, created by the image of football strips, served to stake a claim to a sort of relationship organized around the apparent, tactile impression of football figured on the surfaces of people’s bodies” (Rollason 2011: 486). Football, Rollason (2011) states, has become part of the everyday life of the Panapompom people in global contexts. In the article, he emphasises that Panapompom people reproduce football themselves in a unique form. He captured the notion of football which is played by the Panapompom people in a political and global form.

Current sport anthropologists have sought to theorise sport phenomena in a different way, compared with the past anthropologists who contributed to the development of sport anthropology, and much value can be obtained from studying the theory of sport anthropology. In the next section, I will move on to the critique of previous and current anthropological work on sport.

4. A critique of classical and contemporary anthropological work on sport

In the previous sections, I have attempted to outline the process of how anthropologists begin to focus on sport as a topic, and how they have developed sport
studies from an anthropological perspective. In the second section of the above recent anthropological work, I have demonstrated recent ethnographic engagement and theoretical debates on sport. Football, especially, has become a topic in local, national and global sport, as I have mentioned. In this section, I will provide a critique of both classic and recent anthropological work on sport. I will also critically examine each previous anthropologist in turn and how recent anthropologists refer to their work on sport.

Studies of sport have been analysed by a number of anthropologists drawing on a variety of anthropological perspectives, theories and methodologies (see, for example, Blanchard 2000; Carter 2002; Dyck 2004; Harvey; 2005 and McGarry; 2010). Contemporary sport anthropologists such as Blanchard (2000) and Dyck (2004) McGarry (2010) drew on previous anthropological work on sport, from anthropologists such as: Edward Tylor (1879), James Mooney (1890), Steward Culin (1907), Von Karl Weule (1925), Elsdon Best (1920), John Roberts (1959), Malcolm Arth(1959), and Robert Bush (1959) and Clifford Geertz (1973). In particular, Kendall Blanchard’s works such as “The Anthropology of Sport: An Introduction” (1995) and the anthropology of sport in the “Handbook of Sport Studies” (2000) might be crucial for gaining a greater understanding of what sport anthropology is as he has referred to significant past literature about sport anthropology. Not only Blanchard (2000) but Dyck (2004) and McGarry (2010) also have mentioned Tylor’s work, which tried to build a foundation for anthropological studies in sport and focused on ball-games from a diffusional perspective which I have discussed earlier.

However, Tylor’s work on sport was not ethnographic because, in his article: “Remarks on the Geographical Distribution of Games” (1880), he broadly mentioned many national games such as kite-flying, football and canoeing but he did not seek to
explore what the special meaning of each game in each region is and he did not carry out sustained ethnographic observation and interviewing in any of the places he mentioned. However, Blanchard (1995; 2000) seemed to overstate the diffusion theory to emphasise Tylor’s work as well as to establish his own theory. Ball-games can be applied through a theory of diffusionalism as Tylor argued, but as each society has different meanings of ball games, Tylor’s diffusion theory cannot be fully understood and so his theory has been criticised by modern anthropologists (see, for example, Boas; 1896 and Radcliffe-Brown; 1951).

I understand through the work of Mooney (1890) that the game played by the Cherokees was considered to be a social and cultural event involving religious ceremonies. Blanchard (1995; 2000) considers Mooney’s work to be a sport anthropological account but neither Mooney nor Blanchard, as previous and recent anthropologists respectively, seem to make a significant contribution to contemporary debate on what sport is. However, Mooney’s work is only applied by recent sport anthropologists as part of an historical account which suggests that the game of the Cherokees simply had a ritual meaning. In fact, such kinds of sport activities, in which people around the world take part, have multiple meanings.

Stewart Colin’s work on “American Indian Games” (1902) contribution to sport study has been widely accepted in anthropological literature about games and sports, as he argued that sport as an item of culture is not only analysed through modes of native thought, but is also recognised in the categorisation of sporting games through theoretical perspectives. However, not only Blanchard (1995; 2000) but also contemporary sport anthropologists such as Chick (1998), Dyck (2004) and Harvey (2005) mention that Steward Colin (1907) researched indigenous sport activities; in particular classification of games based on native thoughts. Culin tried to
demonstrate that sport can be categorised in the notion of games and his understanding of native thoughts on sport contributes to recent theoretical debates but it is very difficult for recent sport anthropologists to apply Culin’s work, as the notion of games has changed and become globalised.

For example, Elsdon Best (1925) studied the haka of the Maori which played a role of significant social and cultural meaning as I have stated, but the meaning of haka has recently changed in commodification of culture due to globalisation. The haka of the All Blacks, which represents the national rugby team of New Zealand, is completely different from the original meaning of haka as their haka is merely used as a show before the game and people misunderstand the meaning of the haka because when they think of the haka, they immediately think of the haka of the All Blacks. Therefore, Best’s anthropological work on sport provides a valuable insight into what the real meaning of the Maori haka is but contemporary sport anthropologists such as Blanchard (1995, 2000) refer to Best who carried out ethnographic research and observed the sport activities of the Maoris in New Zealand in the 1920s only.

The work of James Mooney (1890), Steward Culin (1907) and Elsdon Best (1925) has contributed to building a fundamental theoretical debate on sport culture but their description of sports was limited to a theoretical understanding as they focused on a small scale of community only. Consequently, recent sport anthropologists have tended to consider the work of these three people to be part of historical literature on anthropological sport.

Roberts, Arth and Bush (1959) developed a debate on the notion of game and it has become widely recognised in the concepts of game which I discussed in the previous
section. However, in my opinion, the article by Roberts, Arth and Bush: “Games in Culture” (1959) might be misleading because the general concept of the game, that they have come to understand, has a single meaning.

In terms of play, Geertz built a concept of “Deep Play” (1973) which I described in the previous section, and I agree with his concept but on the other hand, he only concentrated on a very small aspect within anthropology that focused on a minority of people in non-Western societies. He did not carry out the observation of people who had never engaged in cockfighting, and he did not explain why those people never participated in it and why they were not interested in it. Therefore, his concept does not apply to all human societies.

Gluckman and Turner developed the theory of conflict and social drama in symbolism. Later Armstrong applied their theories to demonstrate how their symbolic identities have emerged in hooliganism and how those identities conflict with different people. Nevertheless, even though both anthropologists and sociologists look at how the process of a new kind of identity has emerged through football, their research is not explicitly relevant to making useful policies that solve sport issues; rather their theoretical debates are active within anthropology.

Recent sport anthropologists have looked at previous sport anthropology, and their works have demonstrated that sporting activities, including game and play can be explored by anthropology as a discipline. Moreover, although classic anthropological work on sport has focused on non-Western societies with relatively small numbers of indigenous people, such work has become part of an anthropological account of sport studies. However, their purposes have been to provide either an historical account of anthropological work on sport or to develop approaches for anthropology. I also
wonder if contemporary sport anthropologists carry out sport studies to contribute to the important work of the academy through their research, or if their purpose is to simply build their own career and gain personal recognition through their theoretical development to the work of sports. I emphasise here that recent sport anthropologists tend to focus on the theory of sport studies, and they come into conflict with different theoretical positions within anthropology as a discipline.

For example, Carter (2002: 418) refers to Dyck’s work as follows: “As the volume’s authors make abundantly clear, not everyone plays or becomes enamoured with a professional sport” and “Dyck and Susan Brownell justly and roundly criticize anthropologists for ignoring such a profound institutional practice with such a global reach”. This is evidence of a conflict between three different anthropological perspectives: local, national and global. Even though sport anthropologists have provided theoretical argument on a symbolic community, other sport anthropologists will critically examine the symbolic theoretical approach and will provide a critique of the football phenomena as they emerge not only on a local level but also on a national and global level. They also attempt to explain the differences between their own approaches to sport and the existing approaches to sport.

Anthony Cohen’s (1985) symbolic community can explain how football communities are formed and the theory of social drama can also clarify how participants and audiences interact socially in the form of a football community. However, those theoretical debates on community are always changing as communities themselves are changing. So, those theoretical discussions about communities will continue forever but previous theoretical commitments on the study of communities have merely become a part of the history of sport anthropology.
These new kinds of current anthropological approaches might be similar to the classic anthropological work on sport that I have described in an earlier section.

In addition, many sport anthropologists discuss nationalism in relation to sport as ritual, as they look at how sport has an influence on shaping nationalism and how it creates ritual meanings. However, football has not only brought solidarity but it has also caused segmentation and dysfunction. The issues of nationalism are not only extending the conflict between nations but are also extending the conflicts and tensions within national sports, both locally and globally. It is true that, due to the recent growth of the global sport media, it has become very important to consider how sport travels across borders (McGarry 2010). However, the notion of anthropology as a discipline has a limited focus for them as their fieldwork tends to involve ethnographic observation and interviews are conducted in a small community over long periods. In my view, modern sport can be a new kind of ritual form and it produces symbolic meanings. However, those debates on nationalism and ritual also provide a framework in which anthropologists can carry out their specific research but such debates have no a real significant value beyond anthropology.

Furthermore, in the sport anthropological discussion of a global level, Carter (Carter 2002: 407) mentions that “sportization” is a process of growing “the ideas and practice of sport” and he suggests that they can be a form of sport colonialism. This is because sport tended to be used as a tool for the colonial education of indigenous elites (Carter 2002). In terms of capitalising modern sport events, sport culture is commercialised by the influence of Western sport ideology and the sport industry. Whether sport is cultural colonisation or not depends on the context but I would argue that globalised sport is not cultural colonisation. However, many different countries participate in mega-sport events such as The World Cup and many people
enjoy watching the game via the media. As a popular sport, football dominates and may stop people from playing traditional local sports. This means that the value of traditional sports might become less and less and be in danger of disappearing. Yet, it depends on how you define cultural colonisation but I disagree with the colonial position in sport, because football is accepted by local and global cultures and those who become lovers of football are influenced and fascinated by it. Nonetheless, there are many social issues which arise due to the globalisation of football. I do not think playing football just for fun causes serious issues but it might if people play in order to compete on a more serious basis. As Carter (2002) also states, many people would agree with the two essential meanings of sport: pleasure and competition. Sport is just for fun and it does not matter if players win or lose games, whereas competitive sports are professionalised and commercialised; sport players are required to be highly skilful and to perform very well because spectators have bought expensive tickets to see them. Winning games is essential to achieving their own status, personal satisfaction, prize and salary (Carter 2002). Such a notion of the football game has emerged globally. The recent notion of sport is widely recognised as having both an economic and competitive purpose globally, and many football players have begun to pursue the ideal of participating in and winning The World Cup. As a result, according to Carter (2002), each national team represents their nation and a big ethnic group of the country which means each national identity is different from the other. However, in my view, these kinds of globalised ideas of competitive games and sport business have not only produced such a national identity but have actually also created positive and negative factors within football cultures.
For example, in 2002, Brazil won the World Cup that was jointly hosted by Japan and Korea, and Cafu was the captain of Brazil. After the final match, he described the top of his yellow shirt to be “100% Jardim Irene” and showed his stripes (uniform) around the world. “100% Jardim Irene” means that Cafu was born and grew up in Jardim Irene. 7 years ago, his adviser, Yoshino told me that he wanted to repay the people of his hometown by showing the uniform which described him as “100% Jardim Irene”. This is because he grew up in the city and learned many things from the people. Almost nobody around the world could understand the message of his script - only his hometown people could fully appreciate the deep emotion that his message intended to convey and it was also a moment of immense pride for Cafu’s hometown.

On the other hand, in 2006 “Say No to Racism” was the slogan of the World Cup but in the final match, the representative of an Italian player, Marco Materazzi gave Zinedine Zidane a mouthful of racist abuse towards his sister. As a result, Zidane head-butted him during the game. The referee of the match then showed his red-card and he was sent off the pitch. The supporters of the Italian national team applauded his provocation against Zidane and the supporters of the French national team considered his reaction to it to be the right one. However, the slogan of “Say no to Racism” was completely absent or ignored in The World Cup.

I agree with current sport anthropologists who have begun to change the perspective on sport studies globally, since the notion of sport has been intensely globalised by mega-sport events such as The Olympics and The World Cup as I mentioned. They also seek to capture how the globalisation of sport affects traditional sports which have maintained a significant role in social communities. Moreover, because of the interaction between local and global sport cultures, recent sport anthropologists have
attempted to construct anthropological theories and methodologies in global contexts. They also seek to construct a new kind of theory to represent the globalisation of sport phenomena as local people, in particular younger generations, have come to represent a new form of sport identity. In particular, over the last couple of decades, sport anthropologists have been discussing how they approach the globalisation of sport in local contexts. Therefore, sport anthropologists know people are living in different cultural, social, economic and political forms, and a variety of issues are caused by sport globalisation as the globalisation of sport has often brought issues for local communities.

However, sport anthropologists have not approached the issues of sport globalisation beyond anthropology as a discipline. Many anthropologists re-focus on material culture to highlight the issues of globalisation but sport anthropologists are behind in their research on sport globalisation compared to sport political scientists and sport sociologists (see, for example, McGarry; 2010 Giulianotti and Armstrong; 1997). Thus, “Such inter-and intra-disciplinary analyses of material culture are still conspicuously absent from contemporary anthropologies of sport” (McGarry 2010: 159). Nonetheless, some scholars might produce sport anthropological works by just sitting on a chair, reading their books on the desk and making theoretical debate in global contexts. These contemporary scholars may be called “arm-chair anthropologists” such as Frazer (1890). Others have also begun to theorise how local people are influenced by global sport based on anthropological theories such as symbolism. It is important for contemporary sport anthropologists to determine what football identities are from an anthropological perspective and they produce or represent a new kind of identity of each football community, literally and visually. However, they answered the question: What is their football identity, 20 or 30 years
later? Their answer will be used in similar references to classic sport anthropology as the identity of each football community is constantly changing. Future sport anthropologists will use their work as part of the history of sport anthropology as I have described above. So, I consider that it is very important for sport anthropologists not only to look at the changes in local communities but also to highlight what kinds of issues are apparent. Certainly, sport anthropology is essential for following the notion of anthropology which is to explore different world views theoretically. Based on the fundamental anthropological discipline, sport anthropologists have specialised in theoretical debates on nationalism and globalisation and have enhanced the values of sport anthropology. However, as I have demonstrated above, sport anthropologists have critically analysed other works on sport anthropological literature to publish and to decide in which area of research they would like to specialise in their career. From an anthropological perspective, sport anthropologists reveal how people are related to sport and how they extend and develop knowledge of sport anthropology but it is for sport anthropologists to use such specialised knowledge. This is because sport anthropologists tend to carry out theoretical debates within anthropology. So, there are not only differences between anthropology and other people’s knowledge but knowledge of sport anthropology is not recognised by others either.

Rollason’s approach and his core question underline the theory and methodology in anthropology as an ethnographic problem. In my view, his research on the Panapompom people playing football seems to acknowledge anthropology as a discipline but also recognises the difficulty that anthropologists have in exploring others through ethnography. As a result, his research aims to develop only sport anthropology. Even though his paper is widely valued in sport anthropology as he
understood local people from a global perspective, his research might not be appreciated outside of the discipline as its style or content could be irrelevant to other scholars or inaccessible in wider debates on the issues of sport globalisation which sociologists, economists, politicians and engineers do focus on.

5. The need for applied sport anthropology

I have provided a critique of both previous and recent anthropologists who have engaged in research on human sport activity, and in the second section especially, I have critically commented on contemporary theoretical arguments on three dimensions: local, national and global. Consequently, some readers might ask me: “do anthropologists need to carry out research on sport?” My answer is “yes” but I consider what anthropological research in sport is for. “Is it worth carrying out detailed research in anthropology as a discipline only, as I have discussed above?” My answer is “no” because there is a large gap between anthropology and other disciplines and it makes it very difficult for anthropology students to work in different fields. The only option for anthropology students is to carry out research in anthropology. I suggest this is because anthropologists spend much of their time observing the pattern of people’s worldview and analysing it theoretically to make anthropological debates within anthropology. Through the anthropological writing on sport or sport ethnography, I therefore argue that sport anthropologists should apply the notion of anthropology to globalised issues in sport to have access to sport organisations and institutions beyond the discipline. The so-called, active or public and applied anthropology in sport needs to be more active in a wide range of areas so that it can be accessed by others such as sport institution staff or sport policy makers. Yet, the knowledge of sport anthropologists is different from that of others such as
sociologists, political scientists and social developers. Knowledge of sport anthropology is also not well recognised in such sport business or development studies. One of the problems of anthropological writing in sport is that there are fewer academic journals than there are in sociology and history. It means that there is less access to sport journals in anthropology. Therefore, I would urge applied sport anthropologists to contribute to social development by publishing journals which explore applied anthropology in sport.

In a new form of human agency, applied sport anthropologists need to establish their own public journals to discuss a range of issues which are caused by the globalisation of sport. They will convey those issues to FIFA or the International Olympic Committee (ICC) and become involved in significant debates around sport issues beyond an anthropological discipline. Because of the influence of sport globalisation, applied sport anthropologists should be encouraged to engage in the debate on gender, social development, ethnicity, education, sport policy and children’s rights in sport. Applied sport anthropologists, who are more practical and active beyond anthropology as a discipline, are different from both previous and recent sport anthropologists whose priority is and was to form a theoretical position on a local, national and global level within anthropology.

I want to emphasise here what the difference between sport anthropologists and applied sport anthropologists is first. For applied sport anthropologists, anthropological theories can be useful to understand how human sport activity works but the most important thing is to convey sport issues through anthropological work in sport outside of anthropology which previous sport anthropologists did not do. It is also important to address the theory of how people are influenced by football but it is also necessary to pursue and address the negative issues of the globalisation of sport.
Then, applied sport anthropologists need to find a way to solve issues which are caused by the globalisation of sport. In a global context, they should look at issues in sport and they need to address them, since I recognise that the globalisation of football is an issue in local communities, and a range of social issues are caused by the globalisation of sport such as football. Mega-sport events encourage anthropologists to explore several issues of social change. Hence, I reiterate that they should not only claim theoretical arguments about the globalisation of sport phenomena but they should also represent the voices of people who recognise what the potential danger of sport globalisation is. Applied sport anthropologists should also mention what the problems of sport globalisation are and who is affected by them. Through ethnographic observation and interviewing, they should not only observe what they do, how things work but they should also represent what the problems are in the globalisation of sport.

How do applied sport anthropologists approach issues of sport globalisation such as football? How do applied sport anthropologists collaborate with professionals in other disciplines? In this section, I will therefore focus on the following three main issues: 1) ethnic discrimination based on my short ethnographic observation, 2) sport for social development including education, gender and sexuality, 3) and a summary of my manifesto that includes a discussion surrounding some of the issues faced by the public at the London Olympics.

### 5.1 Ethnic discrimination

Ethnography as a method, particularly in ethnographic fieldwork, maintains the distance between the researcher and the informant and attempts to form a good
relationship with the informant (Heyl 2001). Although ethnography can be time consuming, anthropologists do not gather a large amount of data in a short period like sociologists and journalists do. While carrying out an ethnography, anthropologists often find that local people are a highly valuable resource and represent them in their ethnographic research whereas other professional researchers fail to even notice them. In terms of globalised football games, applied sport anthropologists can explore both non-Western and Western but ethnography is a crucial method to demonstrate qualitative research achievement. Therefore, if anthropological researchers want to explore a large city, it might be better to collaborate with sociologists who are specialists in quantitative research so that they can provide both qualitative and quantitative research achievements.

Since I believe ethnography is a good method to analyse sports issues, I attempt to demonstrate that ethnographic approaches can reveal the detailed issues of how people are affected by sport globalisation and can represent local and global perspectives better than other professional researchers such as sociologists, political scientists and journalists. In terms of the issue of ethnic discrimination, there is an example of comparative analysis based on my ethnographic observation in Manchester.

People often ask me: “Can I play?” when I was playing football in the parks in Manchester whereas when I was living in New Zealand for two years, young male New Zealanders shouted “get out of here” when I was playing football in the park on several occasions. There are two possible reasons for this: racism towards South East Asians and the fact that they might hate football because New Zealanders prefer to play rugby and it is a national sport in New Zealand. It might be the case that New Zealanders see football as an inferior sport in the same way that Japanese people saw
football as inferior some twenty years ago. Older Japanese people think of baseball as a traditional Japanese sport while football is a foreign export. However, this notion of people’s image is now changing as football has become a more popular sport in Japan in the last two decades among younger people as I have explained my personal experience of football in the introduction. This is also because the sport media have exposed the Japanese national team much more in recent years. As a result, there are now different notions of sport cultures between Japan and New Zealand - I have already mentioned sport racism in New Zealand. As a foreigner who has lived in both New Zealand and Manchester, I would now like to compare and contrast sport cultures between New Zealand and Manchester.

I have carried out some short ethnographic fieldwork, observing Manchester park life and its people. It was an unusually warm, sunny day in March, 2012. I observed more than fifty separate different groups of people, with various numbers of people within each group sitting on the grass. Some groups were simply talking to each other but others were having a picnic or a barbecue. All different groups were represented. Some groups contained a mixture of different skin colours, all members of the group were, however, probably born in the UK whereas other groups only had members of only one skin colour and were possibly immigrants. Most people were in their twenties, probably university students who live in the local area. Everybody in the park was dressed in shorts and a T shirt. A few young males were even topless. In the other grass area of the park, I observed separate groups of people who were taking part in various activities. I observed couples, sleeping, chatting and kissing. I also saw groups of both young men and women in their twenties, playing with a Frisbee. More than ten different groups of mainly, young men were playing football. I became interested in two groups in particular. There was one group of dark-skinned
young men, possibly of Indian or Pakistani origin, playing football. Most members of the group were wearing ordinary shorts and T-shirts but one member was topless. There was another group of footballers nearby. This group contained both white and dark-skinned young men, playing football in Manchester United shirts. In addition, I observed a small, dark-skinned girl wearing a scarf who was playing football near a Muslim family in the children’s playground. Consequently the Muslim girl seemed to already be assimilated into football culture in Manchester, as in Muslim culture, it is not usual for girls to play football. So this is an example of cultural acculturation and it may also be called assimilation into football culture in Manchester, as Gans (1982) argues. This can refer to the concept of multiple migration paradigms such as assimilation with acculturation and multiculturalism (Grillo 2005, Holtug and Mason 2010). Furthermore, as Robinson (2006) states, social relationships are formed between different people in different places in the city. This could explain that football cultures are different in each community. In this sense, football cultures are shaped by local people in diverse forms and they are constantly changing in both positive and negative ways as I have compared and contrasted Dunedin in New Zealand and Manchester in the United Kingdom. My ethnographic account can demonstrate that dark skin or light skin is not an ethnicity and a national background; they are only the basis for a shared identity. My account of the park life in Manchester also shows that people who live in Manchester are promoting multiculturalism as well as social cohesion, while in the other country, they often come into conflict with different ethnic groups and the different ideologies of sport. This ethnographic account and knowledge can be useful in our everyday life as a way of reducing ethnic discrimination which leads to social development.
5.2 Sport for social development

Next, I could not carry out ethnographic fieldwork for a social development project in my dissertation but I am interested in such a project and have read a range of literature concerned with those areas that sport anthropologists have focused on or not. In my previous essay at university, I mentioned that James Ferguson (1990: xiii) posed the question: ‘what is “development”?’ in *The Anti-Politics Machine*. According to Ferguson (1990: xi), “development” is placed in quotation marks to remind the reader that this concept is problematic, and he addresses the issues of the concept of “development”. In this process, he is concerned with the problems of operation of the international “development” apparatus in “Thaba-Tseka Project” in Lesotho, and this project is funded and supported by the World Bank and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) (Ferguson 1990). He investigates its “rural development project”, and insists on a particular sort of anthropological approach to the material culture (Ferguson 1990: 9 & 17-18). In particular, Ferguson (1990: 9) has fiercely criticised the “conceptualization”, “planning” and “implementation” of its “development project”. As a result, he has revealed the case of a development project in Lesotho that turns out unexpected effects of “failure” with an intervention and the instruments of a planned strategy (Ferguson 1990: 20). I think his anthropological account urges us to reconsider what *development* without quotation marks is, not only for developers but also for students who are interested in development studies.

However, as Green (2010) mentions, anthropological work on development is extremely limited, as there are distinct categories of knowledge in development and organisation and anthropology has been shaped by other discipline areas in social sciences. Also, it is unlikely for anthropological knowledge to engage in the
international development system, as anthropologists, in reality, have contributed to development as consultants, poverty advisers, social policy analysts and social development specialists within international development (Green 2010). There is a conflict between anthropological and development knowledge.

According to Green (2010: 2), anthropologists approach international development not only as a critique of development projects through texts and representation but she also claim to produce “a particular knowledge practice and a knowledge product” through the construction of texts and practice of representation. It is true that knowledge in development differs from knowledge in anthropology, as the development knowledge practice is a form of development action which directly influences local people and project areas. However, anthropological knowledge practice observes how development works, and produces ethnographic writings through the practice of representation from anthropological perspectives. Knowledge production in international development produces programmes and policy process for development, whereas knowledge production in anthropology re-evaluates the concept of development and constitutes the discipline of development anthropology. Therefore, anthropology is the study of organisations and practices in international development rather than the application of knowledge from the international development sphere. The differences between anthropological and international development knowledge are in their application, which is more self-reflective for the former and more practical for the latter. Green (2010) claims a new kind of knowledge production which is important for development anthropology and it implicitly contributes to social development from an anthropological perspective.

Based on above applied anthropological perspectives, I claim that, in sport anthropology, especially in sport for social development projects, it is important for
applied sport anthropologists to provide not only critical views and new kinds of knowledge produced from an anthropological view which can help to improve sport development but also to provide opportunities for debates on issues of sport and dialogue with everyone including local people, developers, economists, businessmen and sport anthropologists.

In order to achieve this objective, I argue whether sport for social development projects, such as “Right to Play”, works or not. Applied sport anthropologists should investigate whether their sport projects contribute to those regions or not and whether the projects work or not. Do they work and if so, how? If not, why not? What kind of action are they taking in the sport development project?

According to Armstrong (2002: 471-473), football brought “nationalism” or “national values”, as it produces a “collective conscience” or “collective emotion” which integrates people. While conflicts between different identities resulted in football hooliganism, Armstrong (2002: 490-491) emphasises that the conflicts in West Africa are very serious, but football inspires “young boys to be millionaires rather than murderers”, and “rich and poor, women and men, Muslims, Christians, and Animists enjoy the game” across the world. That is why not only football associations such as UEFA, FIFA but also educational institutions and international organisations such as UNICEF and the UN have engaged with social development and peace building through football (Armstrong 2002). The IOC, UNICEF and FIFA promote sport to foster global friendships or to solve ethnic conflicts.

The names Right to Play, Development and Peace-building do sound great but applied sport anthropologists need to be wary of them. It probably depends on what sport project staff aim to achieve but they should keep in mind that their practices
and actions of sport for social development will either succeed or they will not. I am inclined to think that sport development might not be necessary if sport brings local people together and helps them to form good relationships with their close friends and neighbours. In general, even poor children can play sport with their friends if they have their parents’ support. However, if poor children are required to work because their parents cannot work or they do not have a job, this means that those children cannot afford to play sport and are being denied the right to play as human beings.

In this situation, what kinds of measures are sport project staff taking for those children and how are they tackling child labour? In a sport project, food, clothing and shelter are essential for those children to play sport so sport organisations should provide them. According to Kidd (2008), the International Olympic Committee’s Olympic Solidarity Commission has invested US $200 million for international sport development organisations. It is also for sports development staff including coaches, trainers, doctors and volunteers to support and foster sport development. They consider that sport is part of education.

However, I believe applied sport anthropologists can explore and find the value of sport development by highlighting issues of sport education, and it is quite important to understand whether football is a tool of education or not, because education encourages and motivates a particular kind of player who is a star. Education uses iconic players as examples to, aspire to such as David Beckham, as I have previously suggested, but top class professional footballers do not necessarily have a high level of moral conduct as I have mentioned in the previous section. It might be very important to dream of signing up top class professional sport players but at the same time it can make dreamers narrowly focus on one aspect of sport only which means
they miss a lot of other things. If they educate younger generations to become professional sports players, it can be also a similar form of western ideology such as promoting specialisation, qualifications and sport competition events, and many people might be brainwashed by a big notion of football which FIFA promotes.

For example, there is a big football association: FIFA which organises The World Cup. The central football association, FIFA is divided into different forms of continental and national levels such as the AFA (Asian Football Association) and the JFA (Japanese Football Association). In Japan, the JFA is also divided into local levels such as the KFA (Kumamoto Football Association). Therefore, international football events are run by FIFA which is a big institution divided into international, national and local levels. If you want to participate in a football league, you have to pay those football associations to join. If you wish to make a professional football team, you have to meet the conditions of the JFA. For example, a professional football club must have a stadium which can accommodate 3,000 people. The teams must have huge capital from their own sponsors to manage the team.

Moreover, the JFA started to promote the professionalisation of football as an advertising tool for big companies 10 years ago. As the same time, football is utilised as a tool of education for not only developing moral behaviour, forming friendships and promoting good health but also for winning prestigious tournaments such as The World Cup and obtaining economic benefit from the football industry. Although football as a tool of education helps to foster good, healthy relationships between people, by following the notion of sport competition, football has become commercialised so that children and younger generations can aspire to becoming professional players.
However, in reality, many professional teams go into debt and a number of professional players have a fear of being fired by the professional clubs. I am not saying that sport commercialisation through mega-events is bad but there are positive and negative aspects which sport developers must be aware of. They also should notice the notion of football cultures which is changing locally.

Recently, in the UK, especially in London and Manchester, as more presidents of commercial companies, such as an American business man, Malcolm Irving Glazer, are buying famous football clubs, local supporters are getting tired of the domination of commercialised football clubs and those fans are tending to build new kinds of football teams such as AFC Wimbledon and FC Manchester United which are supported by local people only. Local fans expect professional clubs and players to perform something of ‘soulful’ football; they are not concerned with rich clubs that buy highly skilled players to win matches. If a footballer is loved and supported by local people, he is only loved for his football skills like a child is loved by his family. In contrast, if a footballer is loved globally, he becomes a superstar and his commercial value then becomes much more important than his football skills.

Consequently, in my view, sport is good for children to develop socially but it might not be used for maximising or prioritising economic benefit only. Sport development is very relevant to political aspects as they promote sport players to participate in mega-events such as The World Cup for economic development and there can be top-down development through political engagement in sport (Darnell 2012). As Bloyce and Smith (2010) state, local people who participate in the project need to follow their policies and purposes which are not only to construct friendships in education but also to appeal for the preservation of HIV/ AIDS drugs. Yet, such a sport development project aims to be involved in mega-sport events which directly
lead to economic advantage, and their social sport development projects might become a tool of business and will be commercialised in a form of western business. However, applied sport anthropologists should critically investigate a major sporting eventing such as The World Cup, as social development does not mean that sport needs to be developed in a business-like way and professionalised in order to build a strong team of players or to focus on mega-events for economic benefit. If the priority of sport development is to foster a good sport player to win the game, people will disregard the slogan and important message of sport events. Therefore, it is necessary for applied sport anthropologists to carry out fieldwork by participating in sport development projects as they will notice that sport organisations such as IOC, UN, UNICEF, NGOs and FIFA promote sport for social development but those organisations are highly likely to use sport from a Western and neo-liberal way of thinking. Applied sport anthropologists not only observe what they do and how a sport project works from an anthropological perspective and a theoretical view but they also highlight any issues, participate in debates about sport projects and have dialogue. There is no right answer for either encouraging children to take part in competitive Western sports or other notions of entertainment or ritual meaning for them to come together and interact with each other. I have never participated in such a sport development project but as a student who seeks to be an applied sport anthropologist, I will explore and investigate how sport can make a contribution to a good, healthy development of social networks and why I believe it plays a valuable role in applied sport anthropology.

Here is an example of how sport for gender equality is promoted in sport development (Houlihan and Green 2011) Depending on the religious beliefs of specific countries, it has become easier for women to participate in sport events than
ever before, as the rise of feminism and gender studies have made sport much more accessible for women. This is also because the global sport media have encouraged women to participate in international sport competitions. As the notion of women’s participation in international sport competitions has spread globally, it is important for applied sport anthropologists to recognise that the changing role of women in sport activities also brings some significant issues around cultural constraints. The globalisation of sport is not exclusive to the gender debate but also provides public space for gay and lesbian people. In recent years, Western countries have started to introduce gender and sexuality studies in schools but there is still a long way to go. Moreover, in terms of religion, women’s exposure of skin is highly restricted by religious beliefs. In this regard, based on the anthropological understanding of a religious perspective, applied sport anthropologists can represent women’s religious obligations to the Olympic committee and seek to make a sport policy or measurement. The participation of gay men and lesbians in international sport can be one of the agendas which needs to be discussed to make a gay and lesbian space, and applied sport anthropologists are expected to contribute to the gay and lesbian debate. Nevertheless, there is limited literature available about gay and lesbian sport anthropology.

This is because many university students have become interested in sport studies, but because of the influence of the commodification of sport culture, such students tend to focus on sport business management from an economic perspective. Nowadays, the priority of people, who are involved on a professional level, is to consider how to obtain economic benefit as sport has a significant role in generating business and profit. Current students who study sport anthropology might play a part in commercialising sport because they purchase books and literature about the subject
and, at postgraduate level, they might publish papers and literature on sport anthropology. This in turn helps to promote sport anthropology commercially. While sport business studies is becoming more important and popular as a discipline, sport anthropology is not as attractive as sport business studies because there are fewer employment opportunities in this field. However, I stand by my claim that applied sport anthropologists can make an important valuable contribution beyond the discipline.

5.3 A manifesto from my point of view

Lastly, I would therefore like to demonstrate to people who are interested in sport studies and anthropology just how relevant applied sport anthropology is in everyday situations. I will endeavour to do this by referring to an example of a particular issue that I experienced myself at the London Olympics. In my view, applied sport anthropologists must attempt to understand what meaning people give to sport. In particular, I believe it is very important, in order to contribute properly to the sport studies debate, for current sport anthropology students to read a range of classic and contemporary literature about sport anthropology and to carry out their own ethnographic research that includes both interviews and participant observation. Based on what they have read, observed and discovered, they should then present their findings, conclusions and theories that can then be studied, analysed and critically examined by contemporary and future sport anthropologists. It is only through continuous debate and research that sport anthropology as a discipline can develop, adapt or reform. However, sport anthropology plays an essential role in other areas and it is essential that sport anthropologists collaborate with other professionals such as sociologists, economists, politicians, scientists and engineers.
This is because contemporary sport studies, including sport anthropology, have a part to play in cultural, social, economic, political and technological circles. As I believe the notion of “development” is a key word in any field of sport studies, it is necessary to consider what “development” is. For example, what is sport development culturally, politically and technologically? I do not have the right answer to what development is, but applied sport anthropologists should discuss what development means or does not mean, with a wide range of people beyond the discipline, in terms of not only the relationship between people in cultural and social sport development but also the relationship between people in economic, political and technological sport development.

As a result, in such debates, applied sport anthropology can see and find a new kind and form of knowledge which can be construed as an anthropological theory. I believe it is important for sport anthropologists to apply or produce new knowledge by studying different fields such as development, economy and politics to point out exactly what developers, economists and politicians have missed out. For example, I have discussed issues of ethnic discrimination and social development, including gender, in this section. Furthermore, as I mentioned in the introduction, many people were present around the city of London but I noticed in an underground station that the escalators that led down to the platform, were out of order. This caused considerable difficulty and inconvenience for some people, such as those with wheelchairs and parents with babies and small children. Previous and current sport anthropologists failed to notice such an issue but I believe sport anthropologists should address the issue in order to widen their focus and extend the realms of the discipline. It is therefore very important for applied sport anthropologists to be able to transfer their skills and expertise to other areas. If I had only focused on what
meaning Mexican football fans gave to the London Olympics, I would never have considered addressing such an issue from an anthropological perspective. Through ethnographic observation and interviewing, they should represent not only new kinds of cultural-social identities which recent sport anthropologists have already done but they also need to improve accessibility to the stadium, and speed up waiting times in queues while security checks are carried out. By listening to informants who had difficulty in accessing the stadium, applied sport anthropologists should not only present those findings and data to sport organisations such as the IOC and London City Council staff but they also need to talk to economists and technological developers to investigate and solve such issues. Therefore, applied sport anthropologists should communicate and interact with not only local people but also people involved in political, economic and technological areas. A detailed, informed and open debate is essential if changes and improvements are to be made.

To this end, applied sport anthropologists should take action to resolve such issues by representing the informant’s voice and producing applied sport anthropological literature and films as a new form of practice in applied sport anthropology. I have only discussed a few, small issues in this dissertation but I would urge future anthropology sport students to find new insights into applied sport anthropology, to research the issues regarding sport globalisation and to debate them in not only social and cultural contexts but also economic, political and technological fields. I will be really pleased if you now have a slightly better understanding of what applied sport anthropology is, based on the arguments that I have presented and I hope that you will be able to apply some aspects of sport and anthropology to your field. This is why I have studied sport and anthropology and intend to work as an active, or public and applied anthropologist.
6. Conclusion

This dissertation has provided a new insight into sport anthropology by not only criticising both past and recent literature on the anthropology of sport but also by arguing the importance of dialogue and debate about the globalised issues of sport beyond anthropology as a discipline. In the introduction, I have described the participant observation of the London Olympic games: the Marathon and have defined what sport, game and play are. I also have discussed what the relationship is between anthropology and football from a native informant’s perspective and I have shown that it relevant to anthropological studies. Second, based on this relationship, I have outlined previous and current anthropological work on sport, and in the following section, I have critically examined the notion of sport anthropology by reviewing the process of how classical anthropologists began to examine the topic of sport theoretically. The first main critical point was that classic anthropological work on sport tended to provide either a description of sport that was played by a minority of indigenous people or merely applied anthropological theory by focusing on such an indigenous sport activity. The classical anthropological work on sport was limited in the ways I have explained, nevertheless, they laid the foundation for further social studies of different aspects of sport, for example, hooliganism. Non-anthropologists, such as sociologists, political scientists and social workers, investigated topical issues of sport conflicts such as hooliganism. I have therefore shown how anthropological descriptions and theory of sport have been applied by other discipline areas. Yet, the anthropology of sport was criticised by other scholars such as sociologists, because it relied on anthropological methodologies such as ethnography. This was seen an obstacle to approaching and capturing the globalisation of sports such as football, but the anthropology of sport is undergoing a
process of change. So I have demonstrated how the notion of anthropology extends to the realm of sport anthropology and how sport anthropologists attempt to explore sport in local, national and global contexts. They have opened up a space for debate on anthropological theory on a global scale. However, their attitude towards studies of sport globalisation is very similar to classic sport anthropology except for theoretical applications of global contexts which I have discussed.

Finally, I have argued that the idea of applied anthropology in sport needs to be improved and increased in order to represent specific issues of globalised sport. This can be achieved by listening to the voices of local people who struggle with the globalisation of sport in a form of human agency. Applied sport anthropologists therefore need to debate issues of globalised sport by involving others who are not only academic, such as sociologists or historians, but also sport organisation or institution staff who make and implement sport policy. By taking part in such a debate, applied anthropologists might (re)-visit both classic and contemporary anthropological theories to explain the issues of social phenomena in sport but in my opinion, the most important thing is that they should take action and explore how those issues are approached by a new kind of ethnography not only from an anthropological perspective but also by considering the views of others and collaborating with them. Moreover, applied sport anthropologists need to have access to applied sport anthropological journals so that anthropological work on sport can be used by a range of social groups. In order to achieve this objective, I have argued how new insights into the notion of sport anthropology can be made by providing several case studies as examples: ethnic discrimination, sport for social development including gender and sexuality and a manifesto from my point of view. In the anthropology of sport, I have suggested that it is time to break down the barrier
between anthropology and other disciplines in global contexts. In addition, I have sought to provide a space for dialogue with others and find a new kind of value based on applied anthropological work on sport. I am not saying that theoretical developments are not important but I have argued that new kinds of anthropological engagement with sport need to be improved in terms of new anthropological representations.
Bibliography


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