

ON SPORTING NATIONALISM — RESEARCH METHODOLOGY —

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Abstract

There are some theories that with globalization nationalisms will disappear, but nationalisms have been growing more and more. In sport, the number of international sporting events is increasing and sporting nationalism is becoming more and more obvious. Recently sporting nationalism and its relationship with (political) nationalism has been focused on.

In this paper the author analyzed sporting nationalism in Japan and compared it with that of the United Kingdom, where researches on sporting nationalism are the most advanced in the world. For the premise of sporting nationalism, a certain level of nationalism and national sport will be needed. In the case of Japan, where nationalism has been ambiguous and sport is not of cultural importance, sporting nationalism is unclear.

Therefore, research on sporting nationalism in Japan reflects the current. The author reviewed the previous researches and identified some research problems.

The aim of research on sporting nationalism and its relation with nationalism is to approach the theme of 'sport and peace.' Sport Sociology aims to research the relationship between sport and society. There are a lot of researches from the aspect of 'how society influenced sport,' but there are fewer from 'how sport influenced society.'

This research will be one method of approaching the latter topic.

I. *Research Subject*

1. **Current Problems**

Modern sport was born and developed as an element of the nation-state. And in many nations sport was used by the authorities for the purposes of nationalism and national identity. It has been the same in Japan since the Meiji period.

Since the 1980s, sport has developed throughout the world, and the number of international sporting events has increased. At the same time, many sportspeople now make a living outside their native countries, and some fans now travel extensively to attend sporting events. Eastern Europe, where socialism has collapsed, has seen an increase in both nationalism and sporting nationalism. Until now, sporting nationalism has generally been discussed under the category of nationalism, but in recent years, 'sporting nationalism' and its relationship with

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'political nationalism' (nationalism) has been the focus of some attention.

In international sporting events, especially the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup, everyone usually becomes an 'instant nationalist' when it comes to supporting their own national athletes. In cases such as these, people from different religious and political backgrounds collaboratively support their nation's athletes and are integrated as one nation.

Recent international soccer matches have seen many fans with face paintings of their national flags. In the case of young Japanese fans, almost all of them insist that they do not support any particular nationalism. However, many of them do not recognize the historic and social background of the Japanese national flag (the Hinomaru) and the national anthem (the Kimigayo), and some of them say that they love Japan and want to know why it is wrong to love their native country. The psychiatrist, Rika Kayama, describes their superficial nationalism as 'petit-nationalism' and worries that they might drift to the right.¹

The Japanese baseball team (Samurai Japan) won the WBC (World Baseball Classic) in both 2006 and 2009. These victories helped to strengthen Japanese national identity.

The excellent performances of some Japanese baseball players in MLB (Major League Baseball) have sometimes been broadcast as top news items on Japanese TV. For many Japanese who are not strongly nationalistic, the performances of these players help them in their international activities.

Korean nationalism and Chinese nationalism in international sporting events, especially those which also feature Japan, have also been strengthened. Their hostility toward Japanese occupation during World War II can be seen in their antipathy toward, their rivalry with, and their predominance over Japan and the Japanese. International sporting events provide an ideal platform for them to vent their frustration.

Thus, we can see the need for research into the relationship between these international sporting events and nationalism. As a background to this situation are the developments of Sport Sociology and the Research of Sport Policy, which have begun to research sporting nationalism.

2. Aims of This Thesis

(1) Influence of Sport on Society

The research into sporting nationalism is one way of establishing the relationship between sport and society. Of course sport and society are intertwined: society influences sport and sport influences society. The former has so far been researched relatively well in Sport History and Sport Sociology. However, while the latter has been discussed on several occasions, it has rarely been researched and has yielded few results because of the difficulty of the research methodology.

(2) 'Sport and Peace' Research

The fundamental aim of researching sporting nationalism is to study 'sport and peace'. So far 'sport and peace' and 'the Olympics and peace', like 'sport and society', have been discussed several times but very little evidence has emerged from these discussions. In this paper, the author puts forward the hypothesis that international exchange and peace through sport will be

¹ Rika Kayama, *Petit-nationalism Syndrome—Japanism of Young People*, Chuko-shinsho, 2002

accomplished through sporting nationalism.

(3) Concept of Peace

What role does the study of sporting nationalism have to play in terms of 'sport and peace'? In recent peace research, peace has been conceptualized as follows: namely that peace has two realms, one being passive peace, and the other, positive peace.² The former indicates a situation without structural violence, starvation, poverty or political coercion, either internationally or domestically. The latter indicates the avoidance of war as in truces and friendly exchanges. If we apply this concept to sport, we can see the whole range of 'sport and peace'.

i) Positive Peace

Positive peace includes areas such as equality, welfare and the protection of human rights, both domestically and internationally.

Domestically, improvements in welfare and human rights and the diminution of economic differences are required, and sport for all is an element of welfare policies, therefore through the sport for all policy we can speculate on the welfare level of any given society. In this sense Japan is not a welfare state, even though she has economic power.³

In a world swept by neo-liberalism, the exploitation of developing countries by advanced countries in the form of neo-colonialism, and by multinational corporations and international hedge funds, has made developing countries poorer and poorer. Therefore, the diminution of economic differences internationally has not changed. In this situation, the IOC supports those developing countries in the sporting arena through Olympic Solidarity.

ii) Passive Peace

Passive peace indicates activities in order to avoid direct wars. In the area of sport, it includes the Olympic Truce and international sporting events. The Olympic Truce was declared at the 1992 Barcelona Olympics by the IOC together with the United Nations. Its aim was to have a cessation of all war, at least for the duration of the Olympics. This was a move of some significance.

The 'Olympics and peace' movement also has passive peace as its central goal, with positive peace as an additional one. The Olympic movement has overcome a great deal of social discrimination, and established dialogue among various religious groups, and also among political groups during the Cold War.

Incidentally, why do countries take part in international sporting events? There are a number of reasons: to strengthen their sporting levels; to achieve economic gains; and to achieve international exchanges and improve communication. Sporting nationalism underpins these international sporting events, and the aim of the research is to discover the causes of international peace and of mutual conflicts.

² Hisakazu Usui, Shokichi Hoshino (ed.), *Peaceology*, Mitsumine shobo, 1999, p112

³ Kazuo Uchiumi, *Sport for All in Japan- Sport Policy in an Immature Welfare State*, Fumaido shuppan, 2005. Kazuo Uchiumi, *Sport for All in England- Sport Policy in a Mature Welfare State*, Fumaido shuppan, 2003

II. *Concept of Sporting Nationalism*

Nationalism generally means 'political nationalism' and nationalism concerning the area of sport is described as sporting nationalism (or, it is known as sport nationalism, sportive nationalism and so forth.) So far sporting nationalism has been included as part of nationalism. However, because the contributions of sport and the Olympics to world peace have been widely recognized, a differentiation between nationalism and sporting nationalism was required.

1. Nationalism

Nationalism is a thought and movement to integrate a nation-state and to try to be independent. The nation-state was founded on the basis of national identity. Benedict Anderson referred to it as 'imagined communities.'⁴ National identity is a loose sense of belonging to the community. Nationalism is formed through international relations and allows one nation to distinguish itself from others. Chauvinism rejects other forms of nationalism, but patriotism acknowledges others. Friendships among many countries develop through patriotism. Sporting nationalism can combine with chauvinism and patriotism.

The 'nation-state' is a concept of the 'modern state' from the aspect of the integration of nations. In 1875 there were only forty five sovereign states throughout the world. The modern state indicates a state with a rigid border and sovereign power, and one in which people share a common nationalism and national identity. Nationalism insists on an independence from the outside and rejects minorities and heretics from within.

Neo-liberal states are forced to be competitors in the world market, and mobilize nationalism to make the most of the economic environment. In global competition, people can be winners one day and losers the next. This can have a serious impact on national pride and national identity. Nationalism in international sporting events is an example of this.⁵

National identity and nationalism are composed of the following elements: language, race, blood, religion, history, culture, ideology, territory and so forth. Some of them come together to support and establish nations. Ideally the nation-state is formed by a single nation, but it is very rare and in reality every nation-state is composed of many nations. Economic equality among these nations is very important. Economic discrimination exists behind racial and religious conflicts in a nation-state. Economic equality tends to have a calming effect on these conflicts between nationalisms.

Nationalism is usually divided into two categories:

① Ethnic nationalism

A nation which is formed through race, blood, ethnicity and religion is usually based on ethnic nationalism. Therefore it tends to be chauvinistic. This nation-state, based on ethnic nationalism, is more primitive than civic nationalism mentioned below. In some African states, the former Yugoslavia, Iraq and Afghanistan, racial and religious conflicts

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, translated into Japanese in 2007 by Shiraishi, Shoseki-kobo Sayama.

⁵ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neo-liberalism*, Oxford University Press, 2005, translated by Watanabe, Sakuhinsha, 2007

are based on this ethnic nationalism. And one group usually occupies a privileged position from which it oppresses other groups.

② Civic nationalism

Civic nationalism is nationalism based on a state governed by law, which is composed of many political, religious and racial groups. The nation-state has been an artificial entity since the 19th century and has a special political, legal and tolerant identity, as opposed to that of ethnic nationalism. Civic nationalism is the mainstream among nationalisms. However, civic nationalism contains two conflicting groups.

- Nationalist nationalism: established and mainstream nationalism, which is usually conservative.
- Progressive nationalism: democratic and revolutionary nationalism, which is opposed to nationalist nationalism.

These two forms of nationalism can exist in the same country.

2. Sporting Nationalism

Sporting nationalism emerges mainly during international sporting events, and domestically it combines with the conservative nationalism that is already in place.

Sporting nationalism requires two elements as its premise: nationalism and a certain level of 'national sport'. Of course there are some exceptions. For example, even though soccer may not be very popular throughout a particular country, the participation of the national team in the FIFA World Cup increases the level of nationalism. And an Olympic Gold medalist is welcomed by thousands of people in developing countries when he/she goes back to his/her country. In these developing countries, sport is not popular and there is no professional league, but sport is the only tool to raise their level of nationalism and to integrate people inside the country.

The level of sporting nationalism is increased, domestically and internationally, when people are present in the stadia where the events take place, when they watch them on TV, and by the media coverage following the events. The role of TV in raising the level of sporting nationalism has become more and more important in recent years. Team sports such as baseball and soccer are more successful in raising the level of sporting nationalism than individual sports like track and field and judo because they appeal to a greater number of spectators and a wider audience. The greater the audience, the greater the ritual, and the more symbolic it becomes.

Sport started to spread through the world since mid 19th century and the number of international events has increased. Sporting nationalism has been recognized since then, and it came about in parallel with the nation-state. The history of the modern Olympic Games, since Athens in 1896, has been the history of sporting nationalism as well.

Internationalization and globalization brought cultural imperialism to the world of sport. Indigenous cultures were banished from some parts of the world with the intention that the world would be unified through one culture. However, localism was also recognized, and many foreign cultures and technologies have been imported with the indigenous ideologies. This is known as 'Wakon-yosai', or, 'western technology with an eastern mind'. Thus, the age of

glocalization, which allows people to communicate more easily and freely, means that developing countries can call attention to themselves on a level footing with developed countries. In football, many African and South American players now play in Europe, while baseball players from Caribbean and Asian countries participate in MLB in the USA.

The examples above are based on patriotism not on chauvinism because international sporting events could not exist with the latter. Major events like World Expos and the the Olympic Games have been utilized in order to increase nationalism and national identity, through economic stimulation and rural development and to increase their national appeal to the rest of the world. If sporting events become bigger and bigger, it will be impossible to hold them in terms of sport alone. The Olympic Games need to be supported in many different forms, whether they are economic, political or cultural.

III. *Research Trend*

1. **Research Trends in England**

Researchers in England piloted the research in sporting nationalism for the following reasons.

First, nationalisms in the United Kingdom are clearer than in other countries. The United Kingdom is a state composed of four nations, England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and each has its own nationalism. Political, economic, racial and religious problems often overlap. Scotland has an independence movement, while Northern Ireland has serious internal conflicts. Great Britain (or Britain) is used to refer to England, Scotland and Wales, but not to Northern Ireland.

The United Kingdom now has a crisis of national identity. While it adheres to its glorious past, it is now a multiracial country with many immigrants. Furthermore, there has been a strengthening of 'Celtic peripheralization', which requires the dissolution of Britain, and there has been a weakening of British identity because of its affiliation with the European Union. It could also be said that globalization has generally weakened the stability of the United Kingdom. These elements have affected the relationships between the four nations that make up the United Kingdom.⁶

Secondly, the UK is the place where modern sport was born, and then exported all over the world. And currently the number of people watching and participating in sport makes the UK one of the leading places in the world when it comes to the popularity of sport. Football, especially, is tremendously popular, and England can boast the most popular Premier League in the world, with teams throughout the country who benefit from a great deal of traditional, local support. Soccer internationals that pit teams from within the United Kingdom against each other can be a way of releasing people's frustrations. This is especially true when either Scotland or Wales play England. Here, we can see that sporting nationalism has an important role to play.

Thirdly, 'the Troubles (internal conflict)' in Northern Ireland, especially from 1969 to the

⁶ Joseph Maguire and Jason Tuck, 'Global Sports and Patriot Games: Rugby Union and National Identity in a United Sporting Kingdom since 1945,' Mike Cronin and David Mayall (ed.), *Sporting Nationalism: Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration and Assimilation*, Frank Cass, 1998, pp103-126

1990s, between Catholics and Protestants also involved sporting nationalism, which was connected to political nationalism. This situation attracted the interest of researchers, particularly those researching sporting nationalism.

Finally, there was the development of the Sociology of Sport. Until the 1970s the main centre of the Sociology of Sport was in the USA, mainly based on Functionalist Sociology. However, since the 1980s the UK has overtaken the USA, with the emergence of Cultural Studies, Figuration Sociology and Marxism. In the UK, more sociologists and political scientists are interested in sport and sporting nationalism than in other countries.

Even though the History of Sport researched the relationship between sport and nationalism, it did not and does not focus on sporting nationalism. Irish nationalism, which was treated as typical of nationalism in nationalism research in history and literature, did not include sporting nationalism.⁷ Sporting nationalism has played an important role in history, but was not recognized as important by the academic community. Now, however, it is regarded as a symbol of globalization.

In 1993, Alan Bairner, then a political scientist, and John Sugden, a sociologist, who were based at the University of Ulster, confronted the acute sporting nationalism in the divided society that was Northern Ireland in their book on sporting nationalism, *'Sport, sectarianism and society in a divided Ireland'*.

In recent years research on sporting nationalism has also been carried out by other nations such as Scotland, England, Wales and the Republic of Ireland. This reflected the complex of nationalisms and the popularity of sport in the UK. However, in other countries where sport is not so popular, even in those with divided societies, we do not see such strong examples of sporting nationalism.

At the end of this paper, some researches on sporting nationalism are referred to. Alan Bairner published his book *'Sport, nationalism, and globalization: European and North American perspectives'* in 2001.⁸ In another book, *Sport, nationalism and Orientalism: the Asian Games* (edited by Fan Hong, Routledge, 2007), Asia is discussed.

Research on sporting nationalism is still young, so sporting nationalism has not been analyzed in depth and political nationalism is still treated mainly as Alan Bairner indicates.

2. Appearance of Sporting Nationalism

For the appearance of sporting nationalism two premises, nationalism and national sport, are needed. Of the two, nationalism is the more fundamental; the appearance of nationalism and sporting nationalism will be classified below. (In this paper, the author will only discuss the UK as typical of a 'divided society'. This is because of pressure of space.

(1) International Sporting Events

Sporting nationalism in international sporting events will be discussed from three

⁷ Mike Cronin, *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic Games, Soccer and Irish Identity since 1884*, Four Courts (Dublin), 1999, p17, 23

⁸ Kazuo Uchiumi, Book Review : Alan Bairner, "Sport, Nationalism and Globalization: European and North American Perspectives", *Research on Sport Sociology*, Vol.18, No.1, 2010, the Japanese Association of Sport Sociology, Soubun-Kikaku, March, 2010

perspectives: between nations in conflict with each other; between non conflicting nations; and between two or more nations. An example of a match between nations in conflict with each other is that of El Salvador and Honduras in a World Cup qualifier in 1969, which led to war between the two countries. While there was very little trouble at the first match, the second was played at a neutral venue to avoid serious clashes. However, after that match nationalisms in both countries became inflamed and this was followed by war. It has been said that soccer caused the war. But that is not correct. A volatile situation between the two countries had already existed before the match because of an immigration problem. The matches simply added fuel to the fire.

In the case of matches between non conflicting nations, provided that the matches are played fairly, mutual understanding of sporting nationalisms will be deepened and will lead to friendship. International friendly matches would be an example of this.

In events involving two or more nations, such as the Olympic Games, individual events and team events take place. The level of nationalism will be increased for international appeal, and for integration within nations. This assembly of many nations can make a contribution to peace.

In the case of international sporting events, we can clearly see examples of nationalism and national identity. Many more examples of these categories need to be collected.

(2) Domestic Matches

In the case of domestic matches there are two categories, 'divided society (nation)' or 'undivided society'. The UK is a typical example of the former, and Japan is typical of the latter.

IV. *The Current Situation in the UK*

Previously, the UK was described as one state made up of four nations. And there are historical differences between England and the other three nations, which had been ruled by the former. This is an example of conflict in a 'divided society (nation)', and each nation has its own conflict as a divided society as well. When the UK wishes to take part in international sporting events, it is grouped as follows:

- Olympics: Northern Ireland enters separately from the UK and enters jointly with the Republic of Ireland. Scotland, England and Wales enter together and represent Great Britain.
- FIFA World Cup: the four nations (Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland) take part separately.
- Rugby Competitions : The Irish team is made up of players from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The other three nations have their own individual teams.
- The British and Irish Lions: Includes players from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland (that is, the island of Ireland).

In soccer and rugby matches the greatest rivalry exists between Scotland and England. In the last ten years there has been greater integration within the EU. England is opposed to this to a certain extent, and insists on its Englishness. In some ways the Celts have been

peripheralized.

1. Scotland

The Kingdom of Great Britain came about in 1707 with the integration of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland. But the integration was disadvantageous for Scotland. Since then Scottish people have had a strong rivalry with England and the English people. The development of North Sea oil, which was discovered in 1960, was a boon for Scotland. A Scottish government was formed following the devolution of Scotland in 1998 and can now implement many of its own policies.

Scottish nationalism takes two forms in its opposition to England. These are: 'completely independent', 'culturally independent' (but politically and economically dependent).

Sporting nationalism in Scotland has two realms, outward and inward. Outwardly, it is at its strongest against England, and inwardly, it is best typified by the conflict between two Glasgow football clubs, Celtic and Rangers. Celtic is supported by Irish-Catholic-Scottish people who are generally poor and Rangers are supported by Anglo-Protestant-Scottish people who are generally more affluent.

In competition against England, sporting nationalism of the 'completely independent' type is very strong. And sporting nationalism of the 'culturally independent' type is also strong. Scotland is partly independent now, but politically and economically still dependent on England. Scotland does not have enough power to be completely independent from Britain, so the frustration of Scottish people often shows itself in sport.

Many Scottish fans, who sometimes show their hostility towards England, still vote for the Labour Party or the Conservative Party rather than for an independent party of Scotland (the SNP, the Scottish National Party) at general elections. A member of the SNP criticized these fans as 'ninety minute nationalists.' This example is indicative of the difference between sporting nationalism and political nationalism. Many Celtic fans are Irish immigrants, Catholic, poor, and usually vote for the Labour Party, whereas many Rangers fans are Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, more affluent, and usually vote for the Conservative Party.

The immigration of the Catholic Irish to Scotland from the end of 19th century brought new racial and religious conflicts to the political conflict that already existed. In Scotland many Irish football clubs were formed, and many of them emphasized their Irishness, and so they were on the receiving end of a great deal of antagonism and pressure, and only Glasgow Celtic survived. Thus Celtic is now a symbol of the Irish-Scottish in Scotland.

When the Hibernian club joined the Scottish League, they were asked to restrain their Irishness. (Hibernia means Ireland in Latin.) In 1952, Celtic was asked to remove the Irish flag which flew over one end of the stadium, and were threatened with fines and suspension from the Scottish League.

Celtic's great rival in Glasgow is Rangers, many of whose fans are Protestant. For years neither team signed players who were Protestant, in the case of Celtic, or who were Catholic, in the case of Rangers. They are the two most successful clubs in Scotland, and their local derbies are known as the 'old firm' derbies because the matches have always been a commercial success.

The rivalry between the teams can be seen both inside and outside the stadiums where the games take place. Many fights have taken place between rival fans following games. In

Glasgow sporting nationalism combines directly with political nationalism.

Celtic fans favoured Irish symbols rather than Scottish ones. They imported the Irish national flag and national anthem to Scotland, which has created much conflict among the natives. This problem reflects the Diaspora.

Celtic nationalism is Irish nationalism and is composed of the following three elements, Catholic (religious), Celtic (racial) and Irish (national). Furthermore, Irish people in Scotland are synonymous with the poor. If there were fewer economic differences and more equality of the classes, religious and racial relations would be eased.

The Irish-Scottish feels that Celtic represents their Irishness. Supporting Celtic is the only opportunity to express their racial, religious and cultural differences. By supporting Celtic they are able to maintain their identity in a 'foreign' country. In the 1990s, Celtic season tickets were completely sold out and the team performed well. Celtic's good results inspired the Irish-Scottish.

The reason I use the word 'Diaspora' is because the Irish in Scotland do not have a Scottish national identity and still adhere to their Irish national identity. Of course there are many reasons for this.

The Irish-Scottish has less interest in the Scottish national team than they have in Celtic. Therefore, matches involving Celtic assume a political nationalism, and so sporting nationalism becomes one of the instruments for increasing the level of political nationalism.

2. Northern Ireland

There have been many conflicts between the Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland. While one group wished for a united Ireland, the other swore their loyalty to the Crown. So matches took place between the different groups reflected sporting nationalism and political nationalism. There have been many bloody conflicts between rival sets of supporters, and they carry on to this day. The relationship between sporting nationalism and political nationalism was brought into question here.⁹

Historically, Protestants from the lowlands of Scotland and the northern part of England moved to Northern Ireland in the 16th and 17th centuries to occupy Ireland. So, we can see that Northern Ireland is typical of a divided society. The Protestant population is about 60%, and the Catholic one is about 40%. The former wants to unite Northern Ireland with Britain and is known as Unionist or Loyalist, while the latter wants to unite Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland, and is known as Nationalist.¹⁰

In Northern Ireland sport has been important historically and the number of people who participate in sport is very high, but sporting nationalism in this divided society had been neglected for a long time, both by academics and the mass media.¹¹

The position of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) in Northern Ireland has been more problematic than that of the Gaelic Athletic Association in the Republic of Ireland. The GAA in Northern Ireland has had close contact with nationalists, and many of its members were

⁹ Alan Bairner, *Sport, Nationalism, and Globalization: European and North American Perspectives*, SUNY, 2001

¹⁰ Alan Bairner and Paul Darby, 'Divided Sport in a Divided Society: Northern Ireland,' J. Sugden and A. Bairner (ed.), *Sport in Divided Societies*, Meyer & Meyer Sport, 1999, pp51-72

¹¹ Op. cit., p52

nationalists. But the GAA in Northern Ireland took a neutral stance and received assistance from the British government. Sometimes there were conflicts between hardliners and others in the organization.

The Sport Council of Northern Ireland (SCNI) included GAA in NI and the Irish Football Association (IFA) and intended to relax the relation of both groups. Even though the IFA and its related organizations opened soccer to everyone in Northern Ireland, the executive of the IFA was dominated by Unionists.¹² The main barrier to easing tensions between Catholics and Protestants was that throughout its history the GAA had had strong connections with Nationalists, and as a result it was not trusted by Unionists. Many members of the GAA in Northern Ireland were of the opinion that the community harmony policies of the SCNI were in place in order to weaken Irish nationalism in Northern Ireland.

Here, it is possible that sporting nationalism can bridge the different nationalisms or national identities within the political framework. However, where there is political instability, sporting nationalism aggravates relations more and more.

So far, there has been a great deal of expectation, perhaps too much, that sport can help to ease tension in Northern Ireland. We should not separate sporting events from their political background. Sporting events should be viewed from perspectives such as how sport is organized and enjoyed, and who organizes sporting events and for whom. Sporting nationalisms between politically, economically and militarily opposed countries will be organized as an element of political nationalism and conflicts will increase.

The problems of sporting nationalism in the UK offer a typical example of those in an advanced country, because within the UK there are divided nations and divided societies, and they have excellent national sport. 'Sport and peace' research through sporting nationalism will surely be accelerated in Britain.

V. *Current Research in Japan*

Following its introduction into Japan during the early Meiji period, sport spread through universities and high schools, but between the world wars Japan needed nationalism based on Imperial history as a basis for her invasion of other Asian countries. So, sport was utilized and controlled by the state in order to guide students to 'Good and safe ideology'.¹³ Sport was most importantly utilized by the state to encourage nationalism, especially around the time of the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics and the 1936 Berlin Olympics. In those days, people had fewer leisure activities and radio broadcasting had just begun, so radio broadcasts tended to catch the attention of people.

At this time, many sporting ideologies like Marxism which criticized the political usage of sport by the government, and liberalism which insisted that sport should not be played for political purposes, were oppressed by the government. And before World War II many sports were prohibited by the government as foreign (enemy) cultures, and only traditional martial arts like Judo and Kendo were permitted as they had a strong relationship with Imperial nationalism.

¹² Op. cit., p69

¹³ Yasuhiro Sakaue, *Sport as a Power System: National Strategy of the Imperial Japan*, Kodansha, 1998, p244.

Imperial nationalism in sporting events continued after World War II. The most typical example of these events was the National Sport Festival (Kokumin Taiiku Taikai), which was a heir of the pre-war event and held for the first time in 1946. The second, in Kanazawa in 1947, was attended by the emperor, and the national flag and national anthem (the Hinomaru and the Kimigayo) featured prominently, even though they were banned by the General Head Quarters of the Allied Power, mainly composed by the American occupiers.

Since 1964 the event has had many problems, for example each host prefecture, no matter how small, has been expected to win the top prize, that is, the Emperor's Cup, and so they have been energetically involved in recruiting top athletes from other prefectures. Since the 1970s, the event's popularity has dwindled because international sporting events were being broadcast on TV. In spite of these problems, the Imperial nationalism of the event has become stronger and stronger.¹⁴

In 1978 the book, '*Sporting nationalism*' was published.¹⁵ It covers a very wide area of sport, from the very top level to school sport and physical education, while also paying attention to sport in foreign countries and internationalism, as in the case of the Olympics.

The aim of the book was to grasp the whole interior mechanism of the relation between sport and nationalism. However, because of the difficulty of the research methodology the book did not achieve that aim. In the last thirty years, this matter has not been touched upon.

VI. *Sporting Nationalism in Japan*

1. Current Trend of Nationalism

Even though there are many books and papers on nationalism, the book, "*Superpower and Neo-nationalism of Japan - Grope and Narrow Path of the Imperial Nationalism*" ("*Nihon no taikokuka to neo-nationalism no keisei—Tennousei nationalism no mosaku to airo*") by Osamu Watanabe is outstanding.¹⁶

When discussing Japanese nationalism, the position of the emperor is most problematic. Watanabe classifies the post war history of nationalism into three periods.

The first period is from 1947 when the national constitution was enforced, to 1960. The imperial policy of the ruling class stabilized the emperor's position, which was described in the constitution as symbolic, and utilized his position to stabilize their political system. The national sport festival described above is one example of this.

The second period is from 1960 to 1980, a time of rapid economic development when a new company-dominated society with a newly emerging nationalism became more important than the traditional Imperial nationalism.

The third period is from 1981. By this time Japan had become a major economic power and a big capital exporting country. In order to maintain this position, Japan needed its own

¹⁴ Gakushun Ken, *Research on the National Sport Festival (Kokumin Taiiku Taikai): Nationalism and Sport Convention*, Aoki-shoten, 2006, p302

¹⁵ Toshio Nakamura (ed.), *Sporting Nationalism*, Taishukan, 1978

¹⁶ Osamu Watanabe, *Superpower and Neo-nationalism of Japan - Grope and Narrow Path of the Imperial Nationalism*, ("*Nihon no taikokuka to neo-nationalism no keisei—Tennousei nationalism no mosaku to airo*") Sakurai-shoten, 2001

military force, and the government required the amendment of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which prohibited Japan from maintaining an army, or from sending any military power to other countries. Since the early years of the 21st century, the Japanese government has tried to find a way in which it could send Japanese military forces to other countries with the ideology of 'an international contribution'. They wanted to strengthen nationalism as a neo-nationalism. Then they enforced the 'National Flag and Anthem Act' in 1999.

The change of government policy on nationalism, from Imperial nationalism to the international contribution was governed by the existing economic and political background, because Asian countries which had been invaded by Japan in the last war were once more concerned about Japanese Imperial nationalism.

One more element which dictated the government's change of attitude was the democratic (progressive) movement inside Japan. The democratic movement opposed military nationalism and Imperial nationalism, so they were generally anti-nationalism. Their political principle is 'democracy + peace + anti-nationalism'. Therefore, they don't want any nationalism. Marxism which led the post war democratic movement has some responsibility for this, because Marxism traditionally stressed the internationalism of the working class and rejected nationalism.

The ideology of the international contribution became dominant in government and Imperial nationalism became weaker, and it is said that the Imperial system in Japan has been on the wane recently.¹⁷ Imperial nationalism is opposed to the nationalism of the USA theoretically, because, the former embraces the invasion of Asian countries in the last war. Current mainstream conservative groups in Japan want a nationalism of strong Japan, while still being dependent on the USA.¹⁸ In fact, it is said that current Japanese nationalism has become introverted.

The cause of the ambiguity of Japanese nationalism is connected with Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution which prohibits Japan from sending forces to other countries. Japan is a very unusual country, in that it has not fought with any foreign countries for more than sixty years.

Robert Dujarric, a director of the Institute of Contemporary Japanese Studies at Temple University Japan in Tokyo, has commented that nationalism is not an issue in Japan, compared with China and South Korea.¹⁹ Every nation-state needs nationalism. If she wants to avoid a conservative nationalism she needs a progressive one. For Japanese progressive groups, a progressive nationalism like 'Peace Japan based on Article 9' will be required. The general public may want such nationalism, because according to an opinion poll conducted by the Asahi Shimbun (newspaper) on 3, May 2010, 67 per cent of Japanese were against the revision of Article 9, while 24 per cent were in favour. The main reason given for not revising Article 9 was that it would contribute to the stability of Japan and East Asia.

Michael Billig has suggested that in developed countries nationalism becomes banal, but that in developing countries it is still intense.²⁰ The ambiguity of Japanese nationalism may be connected with this in some way.

¹⁷ Yutaka Yoshida, 'Nationalism of Contemporary Japan', *Japan on the Crossroad*, Michio Goto (ed.), Yoshikawa kobunkan, 2004

¹⁸ Masao Hamabayashi, *Nationalism and Democracy*, Ohtuki-shoten, 2006

¹⁹ Robert Dujarric, 'Nationalism isn't an issue in Japan,' *The Japan Times*, Wednesday, July 30, 2008

²⁰ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, SAGE, 2009

In the USA, former President Bush stressed American nationalism in the following ways during the Iraq attack after September 11, 2001, 'Free America', 'Strong America' and 'Democratic America'. However nationalism in the USA is usually rather banal. But if the country is threatened, nationalism increases. Nationalisms in the developing countries are not banal, they are usually required for the purpose of integration.

2. Sporting Nationalism in Japan in International and Domestic Sporting Events

(1) Internationally

Good Japanese players in MLB and the WBC provide Japanese people with a strong image and strengthen their national identity. Therefore, their games are broadcast on TV, and sometimes their performances are leading news.

The fact that some Japanese players make a living playing soccer in different European Leagues, and the national team's qualification for the last sixteen in the 2010 World Cup indicates a strong Japan in the sporting sense, and the Japanese can identify with this. A sport policy document, 'Strategy of Raising Japanese Sport' ('Sport rikkoku senryaku') published in August 2010 by the Ministry of Education and Science, states that good performances by Japanese athletes encourages Japan and strengthens the Japanese national identity.

Many Japanese are worried by the lack of success of Japanese wrestlers in Grand Sumo tournaments and the fact that foreign wrestlers are coming more and more to the fore. After all, Sumo is regarded as the national sport of Japan. Meanwhile, traditional Japanese 'Ippon-judo' is involved in a tug of war with the foreign 'Point-system judo'. Some people think this is a crisis of Japanese nationalism.

People also worry about the face painting of national flags at international football matches because those young people could be swayed by rightist groups.

In international soccer and baseball matches between Japan and China or South Korea, the latter countries have a very intense rivalry with Japan and have a strong sense of nationalism toward Japan, because of the bitterness engendered by Japanese occupation during the last war. Their nationalism has a serious historical background. It is similar to matches between England and Scotland, which I have already described.

(2) Domestically

Of course, sporting nationalism occurs in domestic matches. In Japan the National Sport Festival since 1946 has been organized as a major event to integrate Imperial nationalism and to disseminate it throughout Japan.

Since 1999, when the National Flag and Anthem Act was introduced, the Hinomaru and the Kimigayo (national flag and anthem) have been displayed and played at every international sporting event involving Japan. In addition, J-league teams and professional baseball teams go to pray for victory at Shinto shrines whatever their beliefs may be.

The Japanese conservative government forces local education boards and schools to accept the national flag and anthem. However, the Hinomaru and the Kimigayo were symbols of the invasion of other Asian countries during last war.

With globalization there has been an increase in the number of international sporting events, and the Japanese government stresses the importance of the Hinomaru and the Kimigayo in their campaign for a 'strong Japan', but lately with the increase of the international

contribution ideology, Imperial nationalism is not being emphasized.

VII. *Remaining Problems*

Sporting nationalism has been researched with globalization. (Political) Nationalism and National sport are premises for sporting nationalism.

1. **National Sport**

Sport for all policy is an element of national welfare in advanced countries. Sport for all policy means that the government or local authorities provide sport facilities and foster coaches and give people the opportunity to participate in sport. Why do the central and local governments need to create such policies? Dealing with health issues, social and community integration and education are the main targets of these governments. In addition, people want human rights as well as the rights to culture, welfare and sport and so forth. Sport for all policy is realized through a Sporting Country policy and is an element of the welfare state and a product of historical and social development.

The rapid economic development of Japan since the late 1950s led to a 'company dominated society'. In order to allow Japanese companies to be competitive internationally, the government supported these companies and workers' salaries were kept low. Social investment by central and local government was mainly funneled into infrastructure in the form of airports, harbours, motorways and so on, rather than into matters important to people's welfare like libraries, local cultural centres, music halls and sport facilities. As a result welfare in Japan is still at a low level, even though Japan is one of the world's leading economic countries. For example, in Western welfare states society was structured as follows: 'workers union - Labour party - welfare', but in Japan the structure was 'company control of workers - support conservative party - economic development'. This led to Japan experiencing major economic development, while, at the same time, welfare lagged behind that of other countries. And the government's attitude to sport is still quite indifferent compared to that of other advanced countries. This is because of the way the state developed.

Sport for all policy is necessary for the development of nations' sport, because sport for all provides the foundation for 'do-sport' and 'see-sport.' Japan is an economically advanced country, but a developing country in the welfare area.

2. **Nationalism**

In order to research sporting nationalism in Japan the second problem is to grasp just what Japanese nationalism is, as it has become very ambiguous recently. Imperial nationalism is still strong in the area of sport even though it is losing its influence on the general public.

3. **Research problems**

The third problem is to understand sporting nationalism and political nationalism in depth, and to investigate and demonstrate the mutual relations between them.

If sport is neutral, elements which control the direction of sporting nationalism will be found in areas such as the sporting environment, players' way of thinking, the mottoes of sport organizations, the media and government policy.

The researches on sporting nationalism will be conducted in the following areas: before matches; during matches; and after matches. Before matches we need to understand mutual attitudes between opposing countries and to analyze the media coverage. Recently, the influence of the media, especially TV, has been increasing. And during matches we need to analyze the opening and closing ceremonies and sport events themselves. For post- matches we need to really understand the media coverage and how people really feel. If we pursue these research problems, we will meet the requirements of Alan Bairner and Toshio Nakamura.

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