

Contesting far flung fields: Sociological studies of migration and acculturation through sport

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Abstract

Sport remains one field in which the migration of people around the globe remains a significant phenomenon, both in terms of the movement of elite athletes, and the impact that sports participation can have on more general migrant and host communities. Research in the sociology of sport has focused on both the direction and intensity of elite player pathways and upon the experiential elements of participation in sport among various migrant groups. The experiences of both elite athletes and non-elite participants have been examined. Consequently it has become clear that intra- and international migration has created a significant intersection of sporting cultures between migrants and indigenous populations. Investigation of this cultural interplay has shed light on how migration trends influence the acculturation strategies and experiences of social agents in sport and beyond. This review will provide an overview of these studies in order to bring together several previously polarized approaches to understanding the influence of sport on acculturation and migration processes. First, the review will focus upon studies which have outlined how sports migration is distributed in complex configurations of geo-political core and periphery relationships. These relationships create an often contradictory landscape of enabling and constraining factors which can influence migration frequency and duration. It will also demonstrate how evidence suggests sports migrant pathways can be ephemeral, contested and contoured by wider trends in globalization processes. Second, the review describes how, against this background of globalization research, a number of studies have uncovered how the experiential elements of sports migration are key to understanding the meanings and stories attached to the migration process on a personal and group level. The review discusses how sport can reflect wider migrant experiences of acculturation and adaptation between and within the spaces they inhabit. These experiences are related to both how elite athletes experience traversing established 'talent pipelines,' and also how the sporting experiences of non-elite migrants are contoured by the socio-cultural relationships experienced in both host and donor countries. The review will outline how sport can act both as a unifying factor between communities and as a conduit through which spatial, 'racial,' ethnic and cultural barriers can be contested, re-imposed, resisted or transformed. The review concludes by outlining the present state of play in sports migration research, making suggestions for future research directions.

Introduction

Socio-Psychological studies of identity have outlined how individuals can feel part of numerous social groups simultaneously, and that perceptions group memberships can influence an individual positively or negatively (Harrolle & Trail, 2007; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Ethnic identities can be central facets of more general identities and are in turn often constructed in relation to self identity, feelings of belongingness and commitment to a group, shared values and attitudes towards one's 'ethnic' group (Phinney et al., 2001). Moreover, previous studies have attempted to understand how ethnic identity is influenced across difference samples of migrants, particularly in terms of how individuals might identify with more than one ethnic group and therefore have more than one ethnic identity (Harrolle & Trail, 2007; Korzenny & Korzenny, 2005).

The interplay between ethnic identities and individual identity has been conceptualized according the concept of acculturation, which reflects a complex multidimensional process of learning that occurs when individuals and groups come into continuous contact with different societies in a manner which can develop and change identity (Stephenson, 2000). In socio-psychological studies of identity acculturation has been increasingly constructed along two dimensions, including identification with one's ethnic group and identification with the dominant or 'larger' group in a society (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005). According to Berry (2005) these two dimensions of acculturation are independent of one another and can mean that an individual's identification with one group does not preclude the nature of their attitudes towards - and identification with - other ethnic groups. As identification with one's ethnic group and with dominant social groups interacts acculturation may or may not occur over the short or long-term. The level of acculturation that occurs can depend upon an individual's interaction with and experiences of cultural practices such as language, food, media, traditions (Harrolle & Trail, 2007; Stephenson, 2000; Tsai & Pike, 2000) and sporting affiliation and participation (Ha, 2012; Harrolle & Trail, 2007; Hosper, Nierkens, van Valkengoed, & Stronks, 2008; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Yu & Berryman, 1996). Indeed, sport can play a key role in influencing interactions between communities. These interactions can influence identities in sport that are manifest in sporting styles, rituals, media coverage and identification with particular teams, events and specific sporting cultures (Harrolle & Trail, 2007).

Nevertheless, several quantitative studies which have compared levels of acculturation between ethnic groups within specific societies, including North America, have suggested that there are minimal differences between the acculturation experiences of individuals within groups and their identification with particular sports. Instead, studies have found that identification tends to be made with sports teams, rather than according to more general sports ethnic identities. For example, Harrolle and Train (2007) found that the level of identification between several 'Latin American' groups with several sports, including association football hockey and basketball, remained very similar and that sports affiliation varied more according to individual sports preferences than ethnicity. This observation is perhaps indicative of how participants in this study were identified according to a generalized trans-state identity ('Latinos') which may or may not have resonated with participants' sense of self. The 'Latino' tag was applied equally to multiple national groups, for example. Furthermore, in much the same way as racial or national identity, such 'ethnic' categories are contested and socially produced. They are also often

associated with assumptions about personal characteristics that can be challenged and transformed by social agents. For example, the authors assumed this ethnic identity to be consistent with a love of association football and yet results demonstrated that not all of this ethnic group were association football fans. This calls into question the notion of distinct, homogenous 'ethnic' identities and demonstrates the fluidity of national, ethnic, 'racial' and regional identities that might influence sporting identities and the interaction of different migrant groups through sport.

Such fluidity has been uncovered in a number of studies (Burdsey, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2009; Long, Carrington, & Spracklen, 1997) which have highlighted considerable heterogeneity of sports experiences even within supposedly culturally homogenous groups of migrants. Studies of sport and identity have consequently moved away from racial and ethnic essentialism towards recognising cultural hybridity and fluidity, and by taking a flexible, radically contextual approach that is critical of previous static and homogenizing racial and ethnic categories (Adair & Rowe, 2010). In short, terms such as 'Latino' have been questioned and the underlying meanings attached to them have been challenged. Hence, the notion of statistical comparison between acculturation in delineated and supposedly static 'ethnic' groups could be called into question. Furthermore, it has also been recognised that individual and group identities are constructed not in isolation but in a socio-political context that is influenced by wider social structures and power relationships. The boundaries between ethnic identities are contoured by wider globalizing processes and power relationships that not only influence the ways in which communities interact, but also the direction, duration and intensity of migration and the level of contact between ethnic groups. There is therefore a need to situate acculturation experiences within wider socio-cultural power relationships spatially and temporally. Such a programme is representative of a growing theme within studies of migration, race and ethnicity in the sociology of sport. Several key areas have been examined, including the impact of globalization upon the direction and intensity of sporting migration, the lived experiences of athletic migrants and the impact sport can have upon identities within migrant communities at both the elite and non-elite levels. As the acculturation experiences of migrants are grounded in globalizing processes, it is therefore beneficial to initially outline in brief the contemporary debates that focus upon conceptualizing globalizing processes.

Studies of Globalization and Sport.

Studies which have examined the lived experiences of migrants in relation to sport, either as elite athletic migrants or as part of a wider community of migrants have been grounded upon theoretical debates focusing upon globalization. As Weedon (2010, p203) expounds, 'whilst acculturation is concerned with the changes in individuals resulting from intercultural contact, globalization incorporates all of the myriad ways in which the world has become, and is becoming, more interconnected.' Debates about how globalization should be conceptualized have focused upon overcoming the dichotomies between a global, interconnected world and local resistance to global flows. Globalization processes and their impact on sport have been theorized, debated and developed in the sociology of sport in particular (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007; Maguire & Falcois, 2011; Maguire, 2002, 2011; Poli, 2010). A number of differing and competing approaches have been taken, including that of the skeptics, who question the distinctiveness of modern global flows of people, material wealth and ideologies with processes that were prevalent in the past, a hyperglobalist position which

emphasizes the erosion of previous spatial, territorial and political boundaries by ever-increasing global flows, and the transformationalist approach, which describes how flows of people, ideas and commodities flows down 'global commodity chains,' and which emphasizes global production networks in contrast to quantitative flows associated with internationalization (Dicken, 2007; Poli, 2010). There are, however, a number of issues in these approaches, including a growing recognition that the hegemonic usage of the term globalization can be problematic (Evans & Stead, 2012). This is because many of the concepts associated with globalization have been associated with 'flow speak,' a phraseology which emphasizes seemingly instantaneous mobility, deterritorialized forms of social interaction and 'constant availability' of commodities in an omnipresent manner. In short, the notion that global flows are subject to 'limits' can be overlooked (Bude & Dürschmidt, 2010). Hence, some conceptualizations of globalization can over play the idea of abstracted mobility in a manner which appears to imbue globalization with a boundless explanatory power (Carter, 2011a; Massey, 2005; Weedon, 2012).

More recent approaches have therefore attempted to reintroduce notions of space, territoriality and cultural heterogeneity into globalization theory. Put simply, they have attempted to overcome the seeming dichotomy between the global and the local by emphasizing how local cultures can resist, transform or adapt to global phenomena through 'glocalization projects' (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007). Similarly, a number of studies have highlighted how, in the field of athletic talent migration, the influence of space, place and geopolitical power relationships can create a complex interweaving of global and local factors whereby global transfers of culture, commodities and people are reproduced, resisted and changed by groups and individuals at the local level (Maguire, 2005). This has significant implications for studies of acculturation because it introduces the idea of power relationships in how cultures are transmitted, transformed and resisted in specific temporal and spatial contexts. In the sociology of sport studies which examine the impact global flows have on individuals have focused upon two key areas. First, studies have examined the transfer of elite athletic labor around the world in terms of both directionality and intensity and also how individual and groups of migrant negotiate these flows. Second, studies have examined the experiences of migrant groups in host countries, frequently framed around studies of race and ethnicity. Each of these areas will be outlined in brief below.

Athletic labor migration in sport: Talent pipelines and 'core-periphery' relationships

The movement of elite athletes around the globe, or sports labor migration, has been described as a key symptom of the impact of globalization on sport (Maguire, 2004). To this end, there are a growing number of studies which map out the direction, intensity and duration of 'talent pipelines,' or recurring patterns in the transfer of athletic talent around the world (Maguire & Stead, 1998; Stead & Maguire, 1998, 2000). Two predominant theoretical approaches have been taken in the sociology of sport in which sports migrant pathways have been conceptualized. First, studies taking a figurational standpoint have highlighted how cultural, political, historical, geographical and temporal factors are interdependent in promoting, maintaining and changing labor migration patterns (Bale & Maguire, 1994; Elliott & Harris, 2011; Elliott & Maguire, 2008; Elliott & Weedon, 2011; Falcos & Maguire, 2005b; Maguire, 2000; Maguire & Falcos, 2011; Maguire & Pearton, 2000; Maguire & Possamai, 2005; Maguire & Stead, 1996, 1998; Stead & Maguire, 1998). It has also been demonstrated in such studies that many sports have a

unique geography, economic structure and political organization which influences the movement of migrants according to patterns in geopolitical and territorial power relationships (Poli, 2010). Second, studies have also used world systems approaches to provide insight into the political and economic drivers of athletic talent migration and how these are influenced by the interests of others within sport, including owners, agents, financiers and those who govern sport (Chiba, 2004; Chiba & Jackson, 2006; Darby, Akindes, & Kirwin, 2007; Darby & Solberg, 2010; Klein, 1994; Magee & Sugden, 2002).

In combination, studies which examine the direction and strength of sport labor migration have described how many sports have 'core' economic and culturally powerful areas which tend to exist interdependently with 'periphery' areas (Maguire & Falcous, 2011). Such core regions tend to act as a focus for athletic talent migration and often host the highest-quality and most lucrative competitions within specific sports. Thus, talented individuals from peripheral areas can be drawn to migrate into core regions in order to accrue better contractual conditions, compete at a higher level and seek additional prestige and fame through their sport (Falcous & Maguire, 2005a; Maguire & Falcous, 2011). Moreover, the actions of powerful groups within core areas have had significant impact on the organization of sport in peripheral areas (Chiba, 2004; Darby & Solberg, 2010). Studies have described how in several global sports 'cash cropping' of local athletic talent can be common. For example, Klein (1988, 1994, 1999) outlines how American baseball teams have founded 'academies' in Dominica and other regions of Latin America in order to acquire the best athletic talent and facilitating player migration to the United States at a lower cost than might be required to develop athletic talent domestically (Klein, 1988, 1999; Klein et al., 1994). Similar trends have been observed in association football (Darby et al., 2007; Darby & Solberg, 2010) and rugby of both codes (Kanemasu & Molnar, 2012; Maguire & Possamai, 2005). Furthermore, several studies have outlined how even within seemingly homogenous 'core' regions, regionally stronger or weaker areas can exist. For example, in association football, elite European competitions have been conceptualized as a global core in the past (Bale & Maguire, 1994), and yet even within Europe inequalities exist between east and west, creating a western core region within the larger 'European' continental core region (Elliott, 2012; Elliott & Harris, 2011; Maguire & Stead, 1998). What's more, geopolitical relationships between states can transcend sport, and employment laws, visa rulings, international treaties and trade agreements can also have a significant impact upon the direction and intensity of talent pipelines. Athletic migrants in several sports including cricket and rugby have been shown to take advantage of special visa conditions and short-term contracts to lead a seasonal existence between two or more countries. These visa conditions include the 'working holiday visas' available between Commonwealth countries permitting a limited period of work in a host state without penalty (Maguire & Possamai, 2005; Stead & Maguire, 2000).

Finally, international laws can also be cross-cut by sport-specific, intrinsic legislation that can influence migration patterns and frequencies. Quota systems limiting 'overseas' participation in a national league were widespread and regulated internally by sports governing bodies for many years in many sports, and remain in place where international law permits such regulations to exist. The reason sometimes given for employing a quota, or limit, on non-indigenous professional athletes lies primarily in the desire to protect the employment opportunities of indigenous players. However, quotas are prone to change over time as talent pools ebb and flow, and the fortunes of national leagues and teams change (Maguire

& Stead, 1998). For example, in European association football prior to 1995 a '3+2' quota existed that dictated teams could play three 'foreign' and two 'assimilated' players at one time, regardless of whether they were European Union (EU) nationals or not. However, in June 1995 this specific quota system within the EU was not only challenged, but directly overruled by non-sporting legal institutions. By extension, the legality of all quota systems was questioned. This challenge stemmed from the well-documented case of Belgian association football player Jean-Marc Bosman and resulted in the erosion of sports agencies power to overrule international trade agreements (Miller, Redhead, Bale, & Maguire, 1994; Verow, Lawrence, & McCormick, 2005). These rules were extended to states with trade-links to the EU by subsequent cases involving association football players Tibor Balog and Igor Simutenkov and Slovakian handball player Maros Kolpak (Maguire & Possamai, 2005; Maguire, 2005). However, although these rulings have had a considerable impact upon sports labor migration, it must be noted that rulings concerning labor rights, visa regulations and international trade are based upon national identities, which may or may not correspond to ethnic identities and which are prone to change. For example, in some cases sports governing bodies, agents, athletes and even state bodies challenge national identities by 'naturalising' athletes with specific talents in order to induce them to compete for their national teams and whose level of identification with a host culture may be one of convenience rather than any deep-rooted desire to represent a particular state (Chiba, Ebihara, & Morino, 2001; Darby et al., 2007, Maguire, 2005). In sum, such complex core-periphery and inter-state relationships within and outside of sport impact upon the direction, duration and intensity of migration. They also influence the acculturation experiences of athletes from specific regions as they negotiate existing talent pipelines, legal facilitators and barriers to migration, or break new ground in specific sports and contexts. Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that athletic labor migration is dominated by powerful groups in core regions. Power relationships between core and periphery regions are rarely unidirectional and sociological studies which focus upon sports globalization have highlighted complex and dialectical core-periphery relationships in which those in peripheral regions resist marginalization by reinventing sports cultures and by resisting or redirecting flows of athletic talent into and out of core regions (Bale & Maguire, 1994; Carter, 2007; Klein, 1993; Maguire, 2004; Maguire & Falcous, 2011; Maguire, 2005, 2011). For example, Klein (1993) outlines how baseball in Dominica has come to imbue many supposedly 'Dominican' characteristics, including use of music, more relaxed playing times and playing styles and by acting as a focus for national pride through success against other countries, particularly the USA.

Consequently, there has been a shift towards the examination of how space and place mitigate global flows (Carter, 2011a, 2011b). Carter (2011 p. 2) outlines how theories of athletic labor migration must avoid focusing on only 'intra-institutional relationships to a focus on power relations manifest in the interplay between different identities and place.' In much the same manner observed in recent trends in globalization studies, such a shift represents a move away from emphasis on networks of free-flowing athletic migration towards a re-introduction of spatial limits and barriers to migration into theoretical analysis. Such an approach would recognize the ways in which as migrants forge formal and informal connections between places to produce their own mobility, they can at the same time render others immobile (Carter, 2011b). It would also emphasize the relational nature of places and the multiple connections that exist between them, whether imagined or physical, historical and ephemeral. As Evans

and Stead (2012 p. 4) outline, 'interrogation of how migrants understand the foundations of social and cultural life in their place of origin and destination is essential, therefore, in overcoming the limitations of theorizing migration purely in terms of global flows.'

Moreover, sports labor migration is driven by a trade in embodied athletic talent. It represents an exchange of skills and abilities which are temporally limited to short periods during athletic migrants' careers, and which are specific to a sport and, in some cases, a specific role within a club or organization (Evans & Stead, 2012). It has therefore been argued that the embodiment of sporting culture and abilities also influence the migration of athletic talent, acculturation experiences and overall career trajectories (Bude & Dürrschmidt, 2010; Evans & Stead, 2012). Indeed, it has also been widely recognized that there are a wide number of individuals who can have an impact on migrant experiences, including other athletes, administrators, coaches, agents, club owners, media personnel, family and friends (Maguire & Falcous, 2011). For example, a study by Evans and Stead (2012) examining rugby league migrant's experiences highlighted how several groups of migrants, including Melanesians, Micronesians and Polynesians frequently consulted coaches, team mates, family members and even other players during tours when considering migrating into the Northern Hemisphere. This consultation did not only focus upon sporting considerations, but also cultural, linguistic and even climatic considerations about what life might be like in unfamiliar surroundings. There are numerous studies which examine the more experiential elements of athletic labor migration, and it is to this subject that this chapter now moves.

Experiencing the global-local nexus: Migrant 'typologies,' identity and acculturation in elite sportspeople.

Studies which examine the experiential elements of athletic talent migration have begun to situate the personal within the context of observable patterns of migration. The experiences of several groups of sports migrants have been studied, including association footballers (Elliott, 2012; Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Molnar, 2006; Molnar & Maguire, 2008; Stead & Maguire, 2000), cricketers (Maguire & Stead, 1996), baseball players (Chiba, 2004; Klein et al., 1994), ice hockey players (Genest, 1994; Maguire, 1996), basketball players (Falcous & Maguire, 2005a; Maguire & Bale, 1994a), rugby union players (Chiba & Jackson, 2006; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2012; Magee & Sugden, 2002), rugby league players (Evans & Stead, 2012) and American Collegiate sportspeople (Love & Kim, 2011). The complexity and ephemeral nature of migrant goals and how these relate to social and geopolitical contexts has also been uncovered (Dabscheck, 2004; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2012; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Maguire & Bale, 1994b; Maguire & Stead, 1996, 1998; Mason, 1994; Molnar, 2006; Molnar & Maguire, 2008; Stead & Maguire, 2000). Furthermore, the interdependence of several groups through personal networks and networks of employers, agents, media personnel and sports administrators have also been highlighted (Evans & Stead, 2012; Maguire & Stead, 1996, 1998; Miller et al., 1994; Stead, 1998). Such personal relationships, whether face-to face, virtual or historical, have an impact upon multiple elements of migrant identity, cultural norms and lived experiences, as well as length of sojourn and how migrants interact with a host culture (Bairner, 2001; Elliott & Maguire, 2008; Maguire, 1993; Maguire, 2011). This has implications for acculturation, as the migration of athletic talent can be interpreted in very different ways by groups within a host culture, including viewing imported talent as

exotic elements in a competition or team, as confirmation of the success of a league competition, or as a threat to indigenous talent – despite limited evidence to suggest the latter is a regular occurrence (Elliott & Weedon, 2011; Evans & Stead, 2012; Weedon, 2012).

A number of frameworks have been produced that focus upon characterizing how the personal experiences of migration and the networks that enable and constrain migrant choices create complex combinations of migrant motivations in elite sport. For example, Maguire and Stead (1996) and subsequently Magee and Sugden (2002) produced a ‘migrant typology’ that encapsulates the characteristic migrant motivations in elite sport. This typology was not intended to be definitive nor to ‘pigeon hole’ migrants into a specific category (Maguire, 2004; Maguire & Stead, 1996), but nevertheless includes several categories of sports labor migrants, including first the *missionaries*, described as sports pioneers who would move to a region where they aimed to use their skill and expertise to aid the promotion and development of the sport itself, or to ‘convert the natives. Second, Maguire and Stead (1996) defined the *nomadic cosmopolitans* (also defined as ‘*explorers*’ by Magee and Sugden 2002), who travel to develop themselves, travel the world and to develop themselves through experiencing (and being) the ‘other.’ Third are the *colonists*, or *settlers* (Magee & Sugden, 2002) who are defined as a group seeking to set up a permanent residence in a location by using their sporting skill to become part to a culture and to assimilate with a host culture. Fourth were the *mercenaries*, a group who would sell their talent for monetary gain and are motivated by short-term advantages and benefits. Finally, Maguire and Stead (1996) defined the *returnees*, a group of migrants whose sojourn would be relatively short lived and for whom a return home is always a key intention.

Over time, this typology has been revised to reflect the ephemeral and changing nature of the migrant experience, and it has been recognized that a migrant can show characteristics of many if not all of the categories at different times in their career (Maguire & Falcoux, 2011). Similarly, although the typologies outlined provide a relatively thorough outline of many of the migrant motivations uncovered, the differences between many categories appear to overlap and can affect migrants in different ways at different points in their career (Elliott & Weedon, 2011), insinuating that many of the differences between categories are semantic rather than substantial, do not always account for the sometimes ‘irrational’ motives of migrants (Agergaard & Botelho, 2010). Consequently static typologies can fail to account entirely for the fluid, changing and contested terrain of a foreign sojourn in which adaptation, loneliness and in some cases ‘culture shock’ can play a considerable part (Bourke, 2003; Maguire & Stead, 1996, 1998; Stead & Maguire, 2000; Weedon, 2012). What is more, most categories that have been applied to sports migrants have been formulated through football migrants moving to and from Europe, and therefore there are limits to the generalizability of each migrant type. For example, both the motivations for migrating and choices migrants make can vary between sports, genders and also alter between the levels of skill a migrant possesses (Evans & Stead, 2012; Thorpe, 2010; Thorpe, 2012). Indeed, whilst some migrants have been shown to be informed, wealthy and well-supported professionals, in other cases athletic labor migrants have been shown to have been offered limited choices, and the ephemeral and inherently ‘risky’ nature of an athletic career can be brought into sharp focus (Evans & Stead, 2012; Maguire, 1996).

It is against these conceptualizations of migrant motivations that acculturation experiences in sport have most often been studied. For example, Weedon (2012) describes how the interplay between the political economy of globalization and the experiential elements of glocalization can intersect at the level of individual agents through acculturation strategies. A number of approaches have been taken to understand how globalization processes are experienced, negotiated and resisted at the level of the individual and local context, including how the political economy of globalization can interplay with experiential glocalization projects to create a complex interweaving of intentional and enforced acculturation strategies (Weedon, 2012). In particular, four acculturation strategies have been described in which sports migrants (and migrants with an interest in sport) engage. These include *assimilation*, where there is an active interaction between migrant and host culture with little or no desire for maintenance of indigenous cultures, *separation*, in which indigenous cultural norms are maintained and integration into a host culture is resisted, *marginalization*, used to describe a situation where there is neither interaction with a host culture nor maintenance of indigenous cultural norms, and *integration*, in which both maintenance of indigenous behavior and immersion into the host society are sought (Berry, 1997).

It has also been recognized that migrants themselves are not always conscious of adopting an acculturation strategy, and must instead adapt to the structural constraints within which their experiences are situated. For example, many elite sports clubs in sports such as association football, baseball, basketball, rugby and cricket can act as culturally 'closed' institutions which can have a considerable impact on the acculturation strategies of migrant athletes with a host culture, and through which global flows are transformed at the local level (Weedon, 2012). The actions of powerful groups within established clubs, for example, particularly if wealthy and with access to large pools of talent through established talent pipelines, can both support and inhibit migrant choices. Often clubs can financially support the act of migration, provide residence, facilities, expertise, legal advice and personal guidance and support during the settling in period, for example (Maguire & Pearton, 2000). At the same time though, such actions can act to limit interactions between migrants and local populations, and in some cases migrant careers have been shown to be risky and ephemeral, particularly if on-field performances are less successful than expected (Evans & Stead, 2012).

The ongoing debate surrounding how the experiential elements of elite athletic talent migration can be situated within wider global migrant pathways represents one facet of how acculturation between different groups can be illustrated in sport. Clearly, elite sportspeople attract considerable media attention and can be considered key illustrations of migration in sport. However, they are not the only group of migrants amongst whom the experience of globalizing processes and acculturation in sport has been studied. The migration and experiences of athletic labor remains only one facet of how sport can influence ethnic, regional and national identities and acculturation. Sport is a cultural field which has an influence upon the identities of many non-elite participants. Consequently, it is worth outlining in brief how the acculturation experiences of more general communities of migrants in and through sport have been studied.

Migrant Identities, Diasporic national identities and Sport

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this chapter to examine in detail the complex interplay between national, ethnic and racial identities amongst migrant communities in and through sport, several areas of research remain highly cogent in terms of examining acculturation strategies in sport amongst general migrant populations. In particular, several studies have focused upon migrant identities in Europe and Australasia in relation to sports participation, health and well-being and in some cases, the socio-cultural marginalization of migrant groups from sporting competitions, careers and positions in sports governance (Adair & Rowe, 2010). The 20th century saw significant migration of people from former European colonial territories into the West in what has been described as an 'interiorization of the exterior' (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). Such movements have been considered to act as a context for the (re)construction and (re)contestation of notions of 'race,' nation and culture and in some cases perceived as a threat to indigenous identities and spaces (Burdsey, 2006b). Sport is a particularly useful site for examining this changing content and context of racism because it articulates the complex interplay of "race", nation, culture and identity in ways that can be hidden in other social spheres (Carrington & McDonald, 2001). For example, sport is a field in which 'national' teams, or teams thought to represent the imagined community of 'the nation' are selected (Bairner, 2001; Anderson, 2006; Burdsey, 2006b). As Burdsey (2006b) notes, however, who precisely constitutes 'the nation' remains unclear. For example, for British Asians, ethnically exclusive notions of 'Englishness' that are reproduced in some sports and which can be associated with perceptions of 'whiteness' contrast with more inclusive identities, such as 'Britishness' (Burdsey, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2009).

One group in which acculturation in sport has been studied are first or second generation migrants to Britain from the Indian subcontinent with a 'British-Asian' ethnicity, particularly in relation to association football and cricket. This group remains consistently under-represented at all levels of association football in the United Kingdom, and a number of reasons have been postulated about why this is the case, including institutional racism, a lack of role models, a lack of familial support, negative stereotypes concerning 'Asian' physique and cultural and religious differences (Long et al., 1997; McGuire, Monks, & Halsall, 2001). These trends have created considerable divisions in terms of participation in association football, both at an elite and grassroots level. Consequently, due to these and other perceived barriers to integration into 'mainstream' association football in the UK, a number of 'all Asian leagues' have been constructed in the United Kingdom which are intended to offer Asian men the opportunity to participate in the sport without discrimination (Burdsey, 2004, 2006a, 2006b; McGuire et al., 2001). These trends are not limited to British-Asians in association football, and several sports, including cricket and basketball have become the focus for new leagues and tournaments designed to offer marginalized ethnic groups the opportunity to compete (Burdsey, 2006a, 2006b, 2009). For example, similar trends have been observed also amongst afro-Caribbean groups in association football (Burdsey, 2009) and amongst groups of Eastern Europeans in the United Kingdom such as Lithuanians in basketball (Piggott and Evans 2013). In such cases, conscious adoption of acculturation strategies can be problematic and dependent upon the skill sets and employment of migrant groups. In some cases, particularly when migrant groups are part of an unskilled workforce or are members of involuntarily displaced groups, cultural, economic and spatial marginalisation from indigenous communities can occur. For example, it

has been demonstrated how sport has been used in an Australian context to help young refugees to 'settle well' into Australian society, and sport has been shown to build trust, act as an entry point into wider interactions, to maintain health and wellbeing, to provide a way in which migrants can build skills and as a diversion. At the same time however, sport could be a site of conflict and tension in this context and it was recognized that sport alone did not empower this group to selectively utilise specific acculturation strategies; sport was not a 'cure' to many of the ongoing problems faced by such marginalized groups of migrants, including poverty, lack of transport and cultural dislocation (Olliff, 2008). It was not for this group of young refugees to adopt an acculturation strategy through sport therefore; decisions about sports provision were made elsewhere. Similar trends have been examined amongst enforced migrants in regions such as Italy (Sterchele & Saint-Blancat, 2013) and Bosnia (Sterchele, 2013). For such individuals, sport can represent a place where racism could be escaped and cultural heritage can be celebrated, but often in ways which depend upon provision by host communities.

Inquiry into such examples has also begun to uncover how sport can represent different values for different migrant or ethnic groups, and also how these values change over time as migrant sojourns become migrant settlements (Adair & Rowe, 2010; Burdsey, 2004, 2006b, 2009). Some impacts have been very positive. For example, all-Asian football clubs in Britain have been shown to enable social interaction and integration between migrants from across the country, whilst acting as a platform both for the integration of players into British society whilst allowing the maintenance of a sense of identity and upholding of traditions, particularly in terms of religion and national identity (Burdsey, 2009). On the other hand, amongst young black men football represented one of the few public leisure activities where they were sanctioned to participate in large numbers thanks to racist stereotypes associated with crime and repressive surveillance (Burdsey, 2009; Carrington, 1998).

On the other hand, it has also been outlined how in some cases resistance towards cultural assimilation by migrant communities can produce discourses focusing upon 'threat' and 'fear' amongst host communities (Burdsey, 2006b). In some cases these stereotypes can intersect with gendered discourses of crime, particularly amongst men, to produce spatially negative stereotypes about the areas migrants inhabit migrants. Such trends can lead to the 'racialization of space,' which Cohen (1996) describes as the 'color-coding' of neighborhoods. These trends can turn relative population densities into absolute markers of racial division which are often articulated through images of confrontation, such as 'no go areas,' and give rise moral panics focusing upon 'invasions' and the like (Burdsey, 2006b). Such rhetoric can create a reaction amongst host communities in sport, and in some cases this gives rise to ideas of a monocultural history in which nation and race can sometimes fuse, and which can ideologically exclude some communities from some sporting cultures (Burdsey, 2006a; Cohen, 2008).

The extent of this exclusion has been shown to vary according to the racial and ethnic stereotypes attached to specific ethnic identities. For example, Burdsey (2009) describes how minority ethnic men's experiences of association football in the UK are influenced by an interweaving of dominant sports narratives with often racist narratives that stereotype specific groups. Such narratives can influence the manner in which groups utilize acculturation strategies and are often framed by a white, male journalistic gaze (Burdsey, 2006b; Van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004). This hegemonic gaze can

caricature ethnic groups according to 'trivial, off-field issues, such as players' occupations of the frequency of a common surname within a playing squad at a particular club' (Burdsey 2009 p. 706). Furthermore, female players from minority-ethnic groups receive even less attention of any kind. As a consequence, research into the sporting experiences of minority ethnic players must seek to overcome the 'silencing' of the players themselves (Burdsey, 2009). Similarly, the assumed link between association football and 'White' Englishness has meant that many South Asians in the United Kingdom have been reluctant to support the England Football Team, whereas when 'British' sports teams compete in other sports, the same groups are more likely to identify with them due to the more 'inclusive' connotations of the British identity (Burdsey, 2006a).

Conversely, the identification of migrant communities with sports teams representing a shared past in a country of origin, can facilitate the creation of an 'imagined community' because it allows the forging of a symbolic link to past traditions and feelings of belonging with the place from which they or their forebears migrated, without the sense of alienation that might be felt from a host community (Anderson, 2006; Burdsey, 2006a). The concept of Diaspora, or of the reference to group inhabiting different nation-states but who share a common identity that crosses territorial boundaries is helpful when considering the factors which influence acculturation through sport in migrant groups (Anthias, 1998) because the concept enables the relative situation of places or origin and settlement. Diaspora exist locally, but imagine themselves on a global scale – often without a fixed ideology of 'return.' The traditions and culture associated with both origin and host locale can intersect at the level of the individual both transnationally, and also transethnically (Anthias, 1998; Burdsey, 2006b). Such studies have therefore highlighted the dynamic, fluctuating and fragmented nature of migrant identities in relation to sporting affiliation; social identities are continuously 'in process,' (Hall, 1990), contextually specific and the produce of numerous different and oft-times contradictory influences (Burdsey, 2006b). The interplay between Diaspora, space race/ethnicity and identity in sport is therefore fertile ground for further studies of acculturation in a range of sports cultures. It is with an examination of potential future directions in sports acculturation research that this chapter concludes.

Concluding Comments: Future directions in Studies of Acculturation in Sport

This chapter has outlined a number of approaches to understanding the impact sport has upon migrant identities and acculturation. Several areas of research have been covered, including studies which examine the scope, duration, intensity and direction of 'flows' of athletic talent around the globe as well as the experiential elements encountered by athletic migrants. These flows are influenced by globalizing processes and are temporally and spatially contoured by geopolitical, economic and socio-cultural factors, including the manner in which migrants are received in a host country and the choices and motivations individual migrants have. Similarly, the role of sport in identity formation and affiliation with sports cultures amongst migrants has implications for the interaction of migrant and host communities. The influences upon interactions between migrants and hosts have been conceptualized in relation to national, racial and ethnic identities that are manifest in inequalities in sporting representation, opportunities to participate and in some cases the production of moral panics and stereotypes that can stigmatize communities and the spaces they inhabit.

This spatial element of acculturation has been the focus of several recent studies. The idea that ethnic identities are influenced by a sense of place and the existence of bodies in space reintroduces the notion that global space can be defined as more than just a backdrop against which generalized projections of global 'flows' operate (Ray, 2007; Tomlinson, 1999). As argued by Bude and Durrschmidt (2010, p. 483) there is a growing recognition that 'globalization theory has lost track of the idea of 'limits' (p. 483) and has lost sensitivity to the 'cultural thickness' of everyday territoriality (Bude & Dürschmidt, 2010). Furthermore, there is a growing recognition of how individual migrants and migrant communities resist the 'ostensibly homogenizing tendencies of globalization' (Weedon 2011 p. 3) by their long-term engagement with socio-cultural and spatially contextual practices such as sport. In short, sporting cultures reflect local identities that are influenced by global ideas about what sport is, how it should be contested and how it is represented. Local sports spaces can become the focus for resistance against oppression or economic domination through sport. For example, cricket can become the symbol of south-Asian resistance to European colonialism, (Burdsey, 2006b), whilst baseball can represent a re-affirmation of local identities in the Caribbean in resistance to the economic and cultural domination of North American sport (Klein, 1993). The spaces where sports events occur can also become expressions of local identities. For example, Croke Park in Dublin has become synonymous with Irish Nationhood and until recently did not permit 'British' sports to be hosted (Bairner, 2003), whilst international competitions can often be conceptualised as competitions between 'nations' and in which considerable significance is placed (Bairner, 2001). The sporting spaces where such events occur therefore become imbued with shared memories of events, results and rituals that are contested, changed and reproduced over time and which can have an impact upon the shared memories of communities locally and globally (Bairner, 2012). This is because sports spaces are connected physically, historically, ephemerally, and also through the 'imagination' of the communities who inhabit them (Evans & Stead, 2012). Consequently, the influence of temporal and spatial sports histories upon acculturation strategies and shared memories within groups remains an area in which future research into acculturation in sport would add considerable insights into the manner in which communities interact with one another.

Similarly, a second limit to globalization has been recognised as inherent within the embodied nature of migration. This idea has drawn increasing attention in recent years in terms of sport. As Evans and Stead (2012 p 7) outline, previously 'a sense of the embodied nature of global sports migrants has lacking.' This is because the migration of elite athletic talent is dependent upon the exchange of embodied skills and abilities of sports men and women during periods in a sportsperson's career that their physical capabilities are at an optimum level. Sport is certainly a field in which embodied identities are at the centre of experience (Allen-Collinson & Owton, 2012). In sports labor migration, for example, the temporality of migration has been outlined in relation to the body-related life cycle, which forces the migrant to structure their options into a final career trajectory that allows them to maximise their playing abilities at a specific point in time (Bude & Dürschmidt, 2010; Evans & Stead, 2012). In short, an athletic labor migrant has only a limited time window within which to sell their physical abilities abroad before age, injury or other motivations limit their choices and bargaining abilities. Nevertheless, whilst several studies of athletic migration have focused upon the experiences of male elite athletes in 'seasonal' sports, and great scope remains to examine the experiences of female athletes (Agergaard &

Botelho, 2010), athletes participating in sports with an annual 'circuit,' and athletes competing at non-elite levels.

Moreover, amongst more general migrant communities the embodied nature of migration plays a key part in contouring acculturation experiences. For example, embodied relationships do not always travel with migrants, whilst perceptions of place are also embodied. Bodies exist in space. Moreover, the spatial location of one's body places limits upon the extent of integration, assimilation, resistance and interaction between communities. Even amongst highly mobile groups of transnational migrants, for example, acculturation choices can be limited by proximity to an airport (Ley, 2004). The world experienced by migrants can therefore be relatively contracted around certain sites and the communities and local networks that inhabit them (Kennedy, 2004; Ley, 2004), despite the increasing prevalence of virtual networks made possible through technological advances in communication. The importance of personal links in influencing the migration experiences has been highlighted, and yet few studies have examined the impact that personal networks, including relationships with 'migrants by association' can have upon acculturation in sport (Stead & Maguire, 2000). Even amongst privileged, transnational sports migrants, the limits of embodied human perception can place have a strong influence upon acculturation. Perceptions of place can be global, but bodies exist locally. The impact of embodied experience according to a migrants' sense of space and place is therefore one further area in which studies of acculturation in sport may focus in the future, particularly in terms of how migrants perceive the relationship between the spaces of their sojourn with the place of their origin.

In sum, studies of acculturation and migration in sport presently exist in several interdependent but often divided areas of research. Sport represents a field in which several key areas relative to acculturation between communities intersects, including the manner in which globalizing processes are resisted and reproduced at the local level, the migration of elite athletes as a symptom of globalization and the complex and fluid relationships between national, racial and ethnic identities in terms of sporting affiliation, participation and community interaction amongst migrant and host communities. Although a multiplicity of approaches and theories have been adopted to illuminate these trends, there remains considerable potential for studies of acculturation in the field of sport, particularly in terms of investigating the spatial and temporal production of shared memories amongst migrant communities and also in seeking to outline how experiences of migration and sport can influence embodied identities amongst participants and sports fans alike.

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