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Forms of Glocalization: Globalization and the Migration Strategies of Scottish Football Fans in North America

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ABSTRACT

The concept of glocalization has the potential to advance sociological understanding of globalization with reference to social agency and cultural differentiation. In this article, we develop a four-fold typology of glocalization projects, with reference to relativization, accommodation, hybridization and transformation. We illustrate and elaborate this typology through substantive reference to specific migrant cultures, namely the North American-based supporters of two Scottish football (soccer) clubs. We advance a theoretical model that may be utilized and applied to account for the glocalization projects of different migrant communities in other domains of popular culture.

KEY WORDS

football / globalization / glocalization / migration / Scotland

Introduction: Glocalization – Constructing the Local

The term ‘glocalization’ has become a prominent keyword in social scientific explanations of globalization. In social theory, glocalization was initially deployed and developed by Robertson (1992, 1995; Robertson and White, 2003, 2004, 2005); other theorists to elaborate the concept include Ritzer (2003,

2004), Roudometof (2005), and Tomlinson (1999). Glocalization has been applied to explain such diverse social phenomena as Argentinian riots, Japanese film, German environmentalism, and Asian beauty pageants (e.g. Assayag, 1999; Auyero, 2001; Brand, 1999; Yomota, 1999), while a recent collection in Italian focused specifically on glocalization as a key cultural and political facet of contemporary globalization (Sedda, 2004).¹

The word glocalization derives from the Japanese term *dochakuka*, meaning 'global localization' or, in micro-marketing terms, the tailoring of global products and services to suit particular cultural tastes (Robertson, 1992: 173–4, 1995). Sociological usage of glocalization highlights the simultaneity or *co-presence* of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies in globalization; that is, the commonly interconnected processes of homogenization *and* heterogenization (Robertson, 1994; Robertson and White, 2005).

Theorists of glocalization typically challenge the assumption that globalization processes always endanger the local. Rather, glocalization both highlights how local cultures may critically adapt or resist 'global' phenomena, and reveals the way in which the very creation of localities is a standard component of globalization. There is now a universal normalization of 'locality', in the sense that 'local' cultures are assumed to arise constantly and particularize themselves vis-a-vis other specific cultures (Robertson, 1994). The related concept of 'relativization' helps to detail the increasingly reflexive contrasts that arise between 'local' cultures, bringing these entities into sharper comparative focus and forcing them to respond to each other in an ever-amplifying manner. The 'glocalization projects' of these local cultures are characterized by intensified differentiation in terms of meaning and identity (cf. Robertson, 1992: 29), as well as in the increasing significance of quotidian comparison among socio-cultural units.

Popular culture provides many acute illustrations of these glocalization projects. In international sport, for instance, supporters of clubs and nations establish intensive forms of mutual particularity on a translocal basis. The relativized construction of particular identities possesses strong symbolic and discursive components, such as through the use of team colours, and the production of narratives relating to the history and lore of the favoured side.

In this discussion, we seek to provide a more precise and empirically grounded theorization of glocal processes than has been proffered hitherto. To that end, we develop a typology of glocalization strategies that relates particularly to migration and popular culture. The typology draws upon substantial fieldwork with specific migrant groups in North America: namely, the supporters of two Glasgow-situated Scottish football (soccer) teams, Celtic and Rangers.

The analysis of migrant groups indicates that 'the local', rather like 'a culture', is not a geographically fixed entity, but an aspect of mobile cultural particularity (Clifford, 1997; Tomlinson, 1999: 28–30). Migration promotes the intensive 'deterritorialization' of the local, as reflected in football by the international appeal and supporter bases of leading clubs. The inter-relationships of migration and popular culture have strongly informed empirical work by other analysts of cultural globalization, notably Appadurai (1996) on Indian expatriates, García Canclini (1995: 233–41) on Tijuana's 'border' culture, Friedman

(1994: 157–62) on Congolese *sapeurs*, and Hannerz (1992: 228–31) on Nigerian ‘beentos’. Our discussion extends earlier joint work on globalization, football, migration and transnational connectivity (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2004, 2006). The article develops in part themes relating to sport and diasporic identities (cf. Burdsey, 2006), and spectator identity and consumption.² More importantly, alongside the sociology of globalization, our discussion contributes to diaspora studies, particularly to the thesis that diasporic ‘sport’ is much more than a ‘merely specific’ feature of migrant socio-cultural life. Rather, we contend that sport, considered anthropologically, is – in conjunction with religion – an elemental fact (in the Durkheimian sense) of human life. Our resulting theory – middle-range in explanatory scope – invites critical exploration within future studies of globalization, migration and popular culture.

Analytic Framework

We interpret our selected migrant research groups with reference to four categories of cultural glocalization. Each category represents a particular kind of glocalization project that is developed by these social agents vis-a-vis two cultures: the ‘local’ one associated with Scottish football that forms their cultural cargo, and the ‘host’ one that is encountered in North America. The glocalization projects are:

Relativization: here, social actors seek to preserve their prior cultural institutions, practices and meanings within a new environment, thereby reflecting a commitment to differentiation from the host culture.

Accommodation: here, social actors absorb pragmatically the practices, institutions and meanings associated with other societies, in order to maintain key elements of the prior local culture.

Hybridization: here, social actors synthesize local and other cultural phenomena to produce distinctive, hybrid cultural practices, institutions and meanings.

Transformation: here, social actors come to favour the practices, institutions or meanings associated with other cultures. Transformation may procure fresh cultural forms or, more extremely, the abandonment of the local culture in favour of alternative and/or hegemonic cultural forms.

The categories allow us to register sociologically the glocal shifts in the cultural practices, identities and meanings of these migrant social actors. Importantly, no single category defines in entirety the culture of an empirically specified group of supporters. Rather, the four analytic types are located within a property space defined by different kinds of glocalization project that are available to any modern migrant group.

Our typologies are broadly conversant with social scientific explorations of globalization, migration and culture (cf. Appadurai, 1996; Cohen, 1997; Eriksen, 2003; Hannerz, 1996). Two categories – relativization and hybridization – are

reformulations of existing keywords in the social scientific analysis of globalization (cf. Pieterse, 1995; Robertson and Chirico, 1985), while ‘accommodation’ has significant continuities with more societal notions of ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ in the sociology of migration.

In discussing each category empirically, we utilize four common sociological criteria to organize our analysis:

Cultural (sport) receptivity: we consider such issues as how supporters relate to aspects of North American sports vis-a-vis Scottish sporting cultures.

Socio-spatial characteristics: we discuss these supporters’ favoured meeting places and their forms of social connectivity across North America.

Social rituals and collective habitus: we examine the supporters’ popular symbols, match-day practices and group identities with comparisons to Scottish-based fans.

Patterns of association: we examine social relations within the North American Supporters Clubs (NASCs), and the members’ links to football club officials.

Before advancing our systematic discussion of the four glocalization categories, it is necessary to provide a brief historical contextualization of the research groups.

Research Groups

Celtic and Rangers, otherwise together known as the ‘Old Firm’, are Scotland’s most successful football clubs. Based in Glasgow, the two clubs and their supporters have a long history of ethno-religious (or ‘sectarian’) rivalry. Rangers have strong Protestant, Unionist and Loyalist traditions, and a large following in Northern Ireland. The club refused to recruit Catholic players until the late 1980s. Celtic have strong Irish-Catholic traditions in Scotland, a sizeable support across Ireland, and backing among some core fans for Irish nationalist politics. Both clubs attract 45,000–60,000 fans to home fixtures, and have numerous overseas official supporters’ clubs.

Both football clubs have official supporters’ clubs (NASCs) in North America (Canada and USA). Celtic’s 76 NASCs are overseen by the North American Federation of Celtic Supporters’ Clubs (NAFCSC); Rangers’ 42 NASCs by the North American Rangers Supporters’ Association (NARSA). Both umbrella bodies organize annual summer conventions, with Celtic’s gathering attracting over 3,000 supporters. The largest NASCs, in Toronto’s suburbs, have over 300 members and private social clubs. Each NASC meets in a designated social club or pub to watch their football team live on television. The umbrella bodies pay the signal provider, Setanta television, a collective fee to receive fixtures; each NASC pays into these funds according to its stated membership, and charges admission fees to those who watch games.

Most NASC members are aged 45–65, have blue-collar employment backgrounds (though some are self-employed or now white-collar), and are first generation male emigrants who left Scotland between 1960 and 1980. Due to the restructuring of North American immigration policies, younger fans are fewer numerically, and more likely to have white-collar employment. Most NASCs have small minorities born in North America or Ireland (North or South), depending upon club location.

Research was undertaken during the 2003–4 football season through fieldwork and structured interviews with 110 NASC members in Ontario, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Boston, Florida and Louisiana. All interviews were recorded and, with 11 exceptions, located in the ‘home’ premises of the relevant NASC. All but six interviewees were male, and most were aged over 50. Brief participant observation was undertaken, notably by attending NASCs during social times, chatting informally with club members, and watching live football fixtures.

Our research groups were extremely hospitable and welcomed the opportunity to discuss their teams, football, and the lives that they had carved out overseas. Before travelling to North America, Giulianotti contacted supporters’ club representatives by email to arrange interviews. These gatekeepers subsequently organized meetings, advised on travel arrangements, and recommended times for conducting interviews. Many of the proposed questions were emailed to representatives in advance; the questions confirmed implicitly to supporters that the research was not concentrated on sensitive issues such as sectarianism, and enabled interviewees to give informed consent to interviews. In general, research access to these supporters was far more methodologically orthodox than with earlier studies of very different kinds of football fans (cf. Giulianotti, 1995).

Categories of Glocalization

Relativization

In general terms, relativization involves NASC members transferring, sustaining and cultivating their core identities, practices and institutions within North America.

In terms of *cultural (sporting) receptivity*, relativization has arisen among *all* NASCs in three crucial ways. First, to *sustain the cultural form* (football), expatriate fans evaded full assimilation into North American sports like baseball or hockey, in part by founding neighbourhood football teams and NASCs. In turn, expatriate fans favourably differentiate their football culture from the quiet crowds and excessive commercialism of North American sports:

Other sports are like tiddlywinks compared to football. I went from watching Celtic play in Barcelona to see the [New York] Yankees play [baseball] at home and it’s so limp. You go from baying for blood to a few bits of clapping – there’s a huge difference there.

I went to see the [New York] Jets play [American football] for the first time in twenty years. It was a good game, the Jets were really moving up field, then suddenly

it all stopped. The television companies had called for commercials for a few minutes. I was stunned. You don't get that in soccer. (Celtic fan, New York)

Second, in *sustaining cultural/institutional allegiances*, NASC members maintain support for 'home' clubs over North American teams. One former Scottish professional footballer, and later coach and broadcaster in Canada, told us that these core allegiances resist deconstruction, partly for technical or aesthetic reasons: 'the expats won't come to see Canadian teams because they're not good enough' (Graham, Toronto).

Third, in *sustaining core cultural meanings*, NASC members interpret football matches in characteristically Scottish ways, sometimes disparaging alternative, North American viewpoints. As one Rangers fan in New Jersey stated, 'Some of the comments you hear them [Americans] make in here, you won't believe it. Not got a clue.' Others criticize the football knowledge of North American commentary teams on some televised fixtures.

Socio-spatially, some NASCs are based in *national neighbourhoods* with strong Scottish histories. For example, Kearny in New Jersey hosts the Scots-American Club, founded in 1931, which aired live coverage of Old Firm fixtures several years before Setanta emerged (cf. Harper, 1998: 142). The Toronto suburbs of Bramalea and Scarborough host the largest NASCs in North America, notably in regard to Rangers clubs. Moreover, some NASCs retain *cultural congruity* by establishing bases in institutions that suit the popular habitus of their supporters. For example, Celtic fans favour Irish social clubs and pubs; and Rangers fans often meet in themed British bars, or Veterans and Masonic clubs.

The *social rituals* and *collective habitus* of NASC members sustain two kinds of relativization. The *maintenance of collective memories* involves the wholesale transfer to North America of supporter songs, team emblems and folklore. NASC social clubs are proudly decorated in club colours, and feature pictures of team icons past and present. When matches are televised, the NASC members talk, dress and act as if they are at the game – wearing the team colours, singing songs and cheering goals and fine play by their players. Older fans purposefully pass on the club's lore to younger supporters, while many NASC members ensure that traditional Scottish match-day food is available. NASCs' social clubs also provide weekend entertainment for members, offering traditional British working-class pastimes like bingo, dominoes and dance nights.

Second, as in Scotland, *internal relativization* occurs whereby the NASCs engage in some cultural differentiation from each other, such as along the lines of ethno-religious views and social backgrounds of supporters:

On the one hand some fans want the Orange Lodge to be celebrated as part of the Rangers' lore and history, on the other hand there's a group of us that would like to keep it strictly soccer. . . . In one city, for example, we have one club that is based in an Orange Lodge, but the other isn't and it split up from the Orange Lodge because of the politics. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

This pub here is for everybody to use. This is not like the other Celtic club round here. There might be a new breed of supporters coming out from the UK, the

younger guys might want to sing rebel songs³ and have rebel bands on, but we don't. I wouldn't allow it here. (Celtic fan, Eastern US)

In regard to their *patterns of association*, NASCs maintain strong 'home' attachments in three particular ways. First, in *sustaining internal sociality*, many members believe that NASCs would sustain strong crowds even if live fixtures became easily available to residential viewers:

The guys come here mainly for the social thing after the game. If you stay at home and watch the game, you'll miss all the patter. That's why they come in here. It's the same as any bar in Glasgow – the bullshit, the hangovers, the ball-breaking. (Rangers fan, Eastern USA)

Second, NASC members sustain the ideal of the football club as an international *imagined community or family* that always welcomes unknown cousins:

I just want to say one thing. I walked in here and didn't know anyone or anything about the place. But these gentlemen have treated me royally. That's what it is to be Scottish, to be a Rangers supporter. (Rangers fan from Toronto, visiting Florida club)

Celtic fans are exactly the same wherever you go, exactly the same If you go to a Chicago Celtic bar, you walk in, and all of a sudden you're in a big family, that's the great thing about being a Celtic supporter. It doesn't need to be in the US – you can go to Sweden, Australia, anywhere. (Celtic fan, Florida)

Third, many supporters *maintain their national self-identification* as Scots, including those who have changed citizenship in North America for purely pragmatic reasons. Even the notion of hyphenated national identity is dismissed:

The thing about this mixed identity, like being Afro-American, is a load of pish. We're Scottish, that's it. My kids are all Canadian, they were born here so they're Canadians; they're not Scots-Canadian. I'm Scottish. My grandmother was Irish, but I'm Scottish. I'd say all the other club members here would see themselves as Scottish and not Canadian. (Celtic fan, Ontario)

To sum up, *relativization* involves social actors consciously safeguarding their old cultural cargo. Core cultural forms, allegiances, and meanings are maintained within these new environs. Close ties arise where fellow nationals are populous, and in public spaces that have congruent cultural histories. Collective cultural memories, symbols and practices are sustained, while some forms of internal differentiation are imported. Pleasurable group sociality is prioritized, as actors imagine themselves within a deterritorialized community or 'family', while sustaining popular national identifications.

Accommodation

Accommodation involves NASC members pragmatically engaging and absorbing aspects of North American and other cultures, primarily to maintain prior cultural elements.

In terms of *cultural (sporting) receptivity*, accommodation has three noteworthy dimensions. First, some supporters have utilized North American sports culture as a *practical substitute* for unobtainable aspects of their home football culture:

I was a season ticket-holder with the Metrostars [New Jersey soccer team] for two years, and I used to be a massive hockey fan. But not now, I couldn't tell you what's happening in the sport. There are too many other things going on, the internet keeps us up to date with things at home. And with the [Celtic] games being on [live television], it's brought us much closer to back home, so it's Celtic all the way now. (Celtic fan, Eastern USA)

Second, some expatriate supporters develop pragmatic support for specific North American sports teams by *ironically grounding 'new' allegiances according to prior cultural values and identities*. For example, some NASC members jokingly differentiate North American teams according to the popular logic of Scottish football, with reference to ethnic imagery or team colours:

The Scottish guys here will watch some sports like hockey or baseball. As for the New England Patriots: their name is OK but their colours are a problem (laughs).⁴ (Celtic fan, Boston)

Alan: The only reason I'm into Syracuse is they're the Orangemen, and when they play Notre Dame . . .

Bob: It's Rangers and Celtic (laughs).

Chris: It's all kidology.

Alan: David and I are just like that. If Syracuse, that's their nickname – the Orangemen – if they're playing Boston College, well they're Fenians, and if they're playing Notre Dame . . . That's how we go, we get a game.

Chris: That's being very negative, gentlemen (laughs).⁵ (Rangers fans, Eastern USA)

Third, some NASC members deploy *practical cross-cultural comparisons* when interpreting football and North American sports. Comparative issues include the perceived biases of sports commentators and the high levels of athlete salaries. For example, during one live game, Rangers fans in a Toronto bar considered the bias of one Scottish football commentator, concluding that it was 'almost as bad' as the pro-US sympathies of some North American hockey commentators.

Socio-spatially, some NASCs display *pragmatic reterritorialization* in making practical use of neighbourhood spaces. North American pubs that are willing to receive the satellite feed for televised fixtures are then customized with team emblems by NASC members. However, some NASCs switch these bases regularly, as North American publicans fail to meet the fans' basic cultural needs, for example by arriving late to open bars and switch on games.

In regard to *social rituals*, NASC members *pragmatically recontextualize their routine cultural practices*. Most weekend Scottish matches are played during North American mornings, thus many supporters forego the old rituals of pre-match drinking and turn to a breakfast of coffee, cakes and donuts. After games, some fans resume their North American recreation, such as taking children to

play or watch local sports. In Scotland, rival Old Firm fans discuss fixtures for weeks, but in North America such ritual interchanges are rare.

In terms of *collective habitus*, NASC members pragmatically accommodate the cultural differences between their old and new loci. First, the *banal cosmopolitanism*⁶ of North American life is contrasted with the ethno-religious animosities of fan identity in Glasgow:

We're a much more politically correct society in Canada than back home. There is a clear human rights culture here, all policy is about inclusiveness. We all work where we see diversity, where multiculturalism happens. (Rangers fan, Toronto)

Second, some NASC members interpret their *cultural political standpoints through fresh comparisons* with North America. Some members glean fresh empirical evidence from their international location to embellish earlier variants of their cultural politics. For example, one Celtic fan compares Irish rebel songs to North American folk songs:

We're not bigots, we're not sectarian. Any of these songs is true. The songs are our folklore. If you ban them, you can ban all the songs about black people's struggle in the US. They're songs of freedom, songs of redemption. There are lots of songs like that. If you listen to the early Pete Seeger songs, you'll find the same. Every nation has these songs. Are they sectarian? It depends how you define sectarian. What is sectarian? (Celtic fan, Toronto)

Many Rangers fans argue that 'bigotry' and 'sectarianism' are not exclusive to the largest communities in any one society, but are prevalent in all social groups, including minorities. That argument is extended beyond Scotland into critical comparisons with North America:

In the US, sectarianism is seen as being only one way, whites towards blacks. But blacks can be the same. You can have a black producers' union, or a black writers' union, and so on, but you can't have a white one. Why is that? Blacks say it's OK because they've been held down all these years, but sectarianism is sectarianism, no matter how you cut it. (Rangers fan, Eastern US)

In terms of *patterns of association*, accommodative glocalization functions in three ways. First, televised fixtures provide supporters with *surrogate cultural experiences* to actually 'being there' at live games. Second, NASC members *traverse fresh impediments* in order to meet and view games. The time of fixtures can clash with work and family commitments, but some fans find practical solutions:

For people with young families, it's a problem getting to games. Kids play hockey early in the morning at weekends so it clashes with the televised matches. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

For some boys, believe it or not, being free for games is a stipulation or clause in their contracts. One boy works in a food institute, and at the interview they're asking him about certain things they need, and he said, 'There's certain things I need from you. Obviously I get the weekend off here, but my soccer team sometimes plays on a Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday afternoon, with kick-off at 2.45, I need to be there for that game.' And they work round about this. (Celtic fan, Florida)

Third, supporters accommodate *new social contacts and inter-relations* to sustain their football identities. Until the late 1990s, many fans had to drive long distances to one of the few North American venues that screened fixtures. In smaller cities, NASC memberships remain low, thus local pubs become bipartisan, housing both Celtic and Rangers fans, in order to screen Scottish fixtures.

To sum up, *accommodation* involves social actors utilizing their new culture pragmatically to maintain old identities. Local and new cultures are linked through practical comparisons and, at times, some joking connections. The local culture is sustained further through the pragmatic reterritorialization of new social spaces, and critically interpreting the banal cosmopolitanism of the host culture. Where important aspects of the local culture are missing, cultural experiences nearer to hand become surrogates. Social relations within these groups are maintained by surmounting practical problems and engaging in new forms of sociality according to circumstance.

Hybridization

Hybridization involves the dynamic synthesis of local and other cultures to engender distinctive, creolized cultural practices, institutions and meanings.

In terms of *cultural (sport) receptivity*, NASCs possess *hybrid organizational forms*. Their distinctive umbrella organizations – NARSA (Rangers) and NAFCS (Celtic) – provide supporters with unique platforms for communicating with their Scottish club and the television networks. Unlike other Old Firm supporter networks, NARSA and NAFCS hold well-attended annual summer conventions.

The umbrella bodies highlight the *distinctive organizational practices* of NASC members. For example, NASC members have systematically lobbied television networks to beam live coverage of fixtures involving Scottish clubs in European competitions.

Hybridized glocalization has three notable *socio-spatial* aspects. First, in establishing *social spaces with unique atmospheres*, some NASC members highlight how markedly different experiences arise, compared to Scotland, when rival supporters share pubs:

When we first started getting the games, Rangers and Celtic fans all used to go down to a pub called The Highlander. It was a great atmosphere in there. You knew them all in there, there was never any trouble. Then we moved to another pub called Anr's, and it was the same thing – watching Cup finals, meeting before and after the game, all the colours on, but never any trouble. But then, as the games got more accessible, Rangers fans went one way and they went the other. It's good now, but it wasn't bad before. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

Second, some NASCs establish *hybrid social spaces* for their gatherings. In Ontario, NASC social clubs are housed in large industrial units far removed from any suburban location. Many members must drive several kilometres, rather than walk along or take public transport, to reach these clubs.

Third, NASC social clubs have *distinctive socio-spatial characteristics*, for example in how décor relates to membership. The Rangers Toronto Number 1 social club in Scarborough, for example, contains numerous player pictures, framed player jerseys, and supporter memorabilia that relate to the 1970s and 1980s. Meanwhile, in the Bramalea Celtic club, internal spaces are playfully named after favourite players or sections of the team's stadium.

Hybrid supporter *rituals* and *collective habitus* are evident in three particular ways. First, NASCs produce their own *hybrid names, emblems and material products*. Club names fuse North American location with team affiliation (e.g. Kearny Rangers Supporters' Club, New York Celtic Supporters' Club) although some names celebrate other cultural historical figures (e.g. the Molly Maguires Celtic Supporters' Club in Philadelphia).⁷ Most NASCs produce crested merchandise, notably badges, polo shirts and t-shirts. The crests mix North American and team motifs: for example, the New York Celtic crest combines Scottish, Irish and American flags; and the NARSA crest integrates the Rangers crest and club motto with the Canadian and US flags. The NASCs' hybrid merchandise is not produced for profit, but meets a strong social demand in North America and overseas.

Second, a *redefinition of socio-cultural oppositions* can arise in North America, notably in undermining 'sectarian' animosities between Old Firm rivals:

We've a lot of pals in the Celtic social club, and if we run out of beer, say we run out of Guinness in here, we'll ring them up and they'll send us over a crate, so we've got good friendships . . . The whole attitude's different. You still get the oddballs, the real bigoted individual, but I don't think it's nearly half as bad as it is back home. (Rangers social club official, Ontario)

Extensive social relationships between Celtic and Rangers NASCs are rare, but positive sociability and cultural reciprocity are common. Rival supporters have played sports together and NASC officials often organize collections for opposing fans struck by personal tragedy.

Third, some fans report a *redefinition of oppositional rituals and institutions*. Songs and social movements associated with the Irish Question acquire more neutral meanings and functions in North America.

People here have a different perspective on Irish songs to people in the UK. The American Irish think nothing of so-called rebel songs. Your third or fourth generation guys out here, they hear the Irish songs as just that: Irish songs. There's no sectarianism or segregation to them, they're just part of people's history, their ancestry. (Celtic fan, Eastern US)

The Orange presence here is very different to Scotland. My grandfather grew up in a farming community, and the smaller communities always had the Orange presence more as a social club. They'd have square dances and so on. That was the big social scene, so he was an Orangeman. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

Many of these fans implied that they were less interested than supporters in Scotland in constructing a 'deep particularism' that connects football fandom to a broader politico-cultural habitus (cf. Robertson, 1992: 164).

In terms of hybrid *patterns of association*, some NASC members argue that, despite geographical distance, they are 'closer' to their favoured club than in the past or compared to Scottish-based supporters. This *deterritorialized, intensified proximity* is reflected in three ways. First, *media connectivity* enables many NASC members to comment that they can see more 'live' games than television viewers in Scotland.

Second, in *moments of physical proximity*, and despite their North American location, many NASC members can 'get closer' to their team's players and officials than would be possible in Scotland. There are always legendary ex-players in attendance at the supporters' annual conventions, notably Celtic's 'Lisbon Lions' or Rangers' '72' players, thereby providing social privileges rarely enjoyed by Scottish-based fans:⁸

We had a convention in 1997, and it happened to be on the night that Diana was killed, at our party the whole Rangers team was there. You ask any of the supporters' club people at home [in Scotland] how many players turn up for their dances, and they'll tell you: none. We get lots of players through NARSA for our conventions. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

The Lisbon Lions, when they come out to the conventions, they sit for hours and hours talking away. I can't say enough for them. Probably if you were in Glasgow you wouldn't want to approach them, you know, not bother them – it's kind of strange when they're here. They're easily accessed; it's different. (Celtic fan, East coast US)

Third, *intensified connectivity through contemporary flow channels* arises among NASC members. Inter-state flights and internet connections enable fans scattered across the continent to stay in touch and meet up regularly. NASCs in major tourist destinations (particularly Florida and New York) regularly host visiting fans, enabling new social friendships to be established.

To sum up, *hybridization* involves social actors establishing distinctive organizational forms and practices. Hybrid spaces are characterized by unique atmospheres and distinctive characteristics relative to local or other cultures. Hybrid names, emblems and material products emerge, alongside new rituals and relationships towards established 'others'. Deterritorialized yet intensified senses of proximity with old cultural institutions can arise, marked by exceptional levels of physical proximity to iconic figures. New channels of intensified social connectivity are permitted by mass air travel and contemporary electronic media.

Transformation

Transformation involves the favourable reception and adoption of alternative or fresh cultural practices, institutions and meanings.

In terms of *cultural (sport) receptivity*, two inter-related transformations arise. First, NASC members *conceptually relocate their local culture within a global cultural ecumene*.⁹ Members interpret their favoured club in more comparative, international terms, often contrasting their large supporter numbers

with the handful of North American fan organizations established by 'global clubs' like Manchester United. However, NASC members routinely comment that competing in Scottish rather than English football serves to undermine the attraction of new followers in North America or Asia.

Second, transformation is marked by *critiques of the international praxis of local cultural institutions*. Specifically, some NASC members are frustrated by their club's failure to capitalize on North American markets, in large part through poor marketing and dialogue with existing supporters. NASC members lament the apparent failures to exploit distinctive human resources overseas. For example, North American sports are viewed as instilling excellent catching skills, thereby indirectly producing some talented goalkeepers, but expatriate supporters criticize the failure of their Scottish clubs to recruit these players. The recruitment of North American players, fans argue, would also assist overseas marketing.

Issues of *socio-spatial* transformation arise over the *future impact of new streams of virtual electronic mediation*. Despite other optimistic voices, many fans believe that NASCs will be endangered when live fixtures are easily available to residential consumers:

What will hurt our club, and it's sure, is that pay per view will come, and folk can wake up and crawl through to see the game on their couch. That will kill the clubs. (Celtic fan, Eastern US)

If broadband was to come in, with live television coverage at home, it would be catastrophic. It would be the death of NARSA. It would kill off the supporter clubs, but it would cut off the nose to spite the face. If you lose the clubs, who's going to buy the team's merchandise, or keep the fans interested? I hope I'm not around to see it. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

In terms of *rituals* and *collective habitus*, glocalization *qua* transformation has three key prongs. First, *different ritual exchanges with others* tend to take place since the NASC pubs and social clubs, in contrast to Scottish football grounds, rarely play host to significant numbers of opposition fans on game day. Hence, at key games, NASCs do not witness the collective ritual exchanges that routinely occur between rival fans inside Scottish stadiums.

Second, aspects of transformation arise when NASCs witness the *rise of the host society's values, identities and institutions*. For example, the meaning and social significance of religion in North America provides for radically different experiences among NASC members:

Religion over here is not the same as back home. Once you're over here you start to change. The attitudes are different – you start to follow Canadian attitudes. There's a big influence here from other parts, especially Asia. You mellow down when you're here. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

We're all here to make money, that's the main thing, look after your family, make a living. Religion is nothing over here – if you want to go to church, go to church; if you want to be a catholic, be a catholic; if you want to be a protestant, be a protestant. But it's never discussed here. (Celtic fan, East coast US)

Supporters' national identity can sometimes be transformed. Some Canada-based supporters believe that their US-based counterparts are particularly quick to assimilate:

Some of the other supporters' clubs, like in Florida, seem very American to me. It's maybe easier for them to become Americans than it is for us to become Canadians. I call them 'Scottish cowboys'. It takes us longer to lose our identity in Canada compared to the US. (Celtic fan, Ontario)

Notably, the NAFSC website has carried a fulsome 'Tribute to America' page that the Canadian-based membership has not matched. However, only very rarely do first-generation immigrants purposively switch their sports allegiances, to back US or Canadian national teams against Scottish or British sides.

Third, NASCs must confront the *specific participation (or otherwise) of later generations*, that is, the children and grandchildren of expatriate fans. Supporters on both sides, but particularly Rangers, are pessimistic about the double impact of reduced migration to North America and second-generation apathy over football:

We're going to die out, there's no future generations coming through. Massive workforces used to come over from Scotland with a big football interest. We don't have that now. (Rangers fan, East coast US)

Celtic are a global club but that's mainly because of us, the first generation to move away from home. Once we die out, Celtic will have to do their marketing to get the kids interested. They need to get people with no interest in football. But Celtic's romance is there, and they can feed on that. (Celtic fan, East coast US)

NASCs regularly debate how they might attract younger members. Some younger expatriates argue that the umbrella organizations are too inflexible and disinclined towards revitalization:

The NARSA executive is too resistant to any kind of change. They seem to still think we are in 1965, but we're not. We need to do something to get new people interested otherwise the Rangers support in North America is just going to die off. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

In turn, other supporters believe serious social problems will beset any 'open door' policy towards prospective members:

We've spoken about what to do to attract them, but we're unsure what we'd get if we put on functions for them. A problem with drugs might happen, you might get too many kids just turning up at the door, getting gang fights, and that would put the whole club in danger. It's hard to say what would happen, except you'd lose control. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

In terms of *patterns of association*, three kinds of glocal transformation are evidenced. First, NASC members enjoy *different social networks* compared to many UK-based supporters:

Here we have our social club, so you can have two sets of friends, the friends at your local pub, and your friends here. So you've got a balance there. It's not like back home where the club is run out of your local pub and it's the same people in them both. (Celtic fan, Ontario)

Second, many fans engage in *cultural proselytizing*, often taking North American friends ‘to a game’ in neighbourhood pubs in order to mould new club supporters.

Third, compared to Scottish-based fans, many expatriate supporters adopt *alternative views of critical cultural politics*. NASC fans are typically keen to preserve good relations with their football club. They are less receptive than ‘home’ fans to systematic criticism of their club’s management and to the foundation of ‘supporter trusts’.¹⁰

I think the Rangers management and players are impressed by the more laidback aspect of fans in North America. Fans at home are more likely to be much more demanding, placing demands on the club and players, whereas fans out in North America see it more as a privilege to have Rangers out there rather than on a twenty inch television screen. (Rangers fan, Ontario)

To sum up, *transformation* involves social actors generating a conceptual relocation of their local culture within a global cultural ecumene. The supporters were notably reflexive in assessing the impact of new electronic technology while critiquing their club’s international strategies. Categorically different kinds of ritual exchange take place with ‘others’, while notable values, identities and institutions of the host society are internalized in part. Alternative social networks and strategies of cultural proselytizing are worked out, but the future participation of younger generations remains problematic. These supporters also developed some cultural political stances towards their club that differed from those among Scottish-based fans.

Conclusion

Through this discussion of North American Old Firm supporters, we have mapped analytically the glocalization projects explored by social actors in relation to migration and popular culture. The different categories of glocalization project evidenced by migrant Scottish football fans are presented in Table 1.

Although middle range in initial scope, the model should help to register the particular kinds of glocalization project that are most prominent among research groups. The model confirms that the theory of glocalization is not simply associated with processes of cultural heterogenization or transformation. Rather, even among migrant cultures, glocalization registers the potential for strong trends towards cultural continuity, as illustrated here through the categories of relativization and, in part, accommodation. This argument might be explored more comparatively through research into the complex cultural institutions, practices and tastes of other migrant communities, such as Asians in the UK, the British in Spain, and Turkish groups in Germany. A research focus on fields other than sport – such as music, religion, cuisine, fashion and sexuality – would demonstrate how migrant groups sustain significant elements of their ‘local’ culture while critically engaging with particular aspects of their host society.

Table 1: Typology of glocalization projects

	Cultural receptivity	Socio-spatial characteristics	Rituals, habitus	Patterns of association
Relativization	Sustain core cultural forms, allegiances, meanings	National neighbourhoods; cultural congruity	Group memory, practices, symbols; internal relativization	Internal sociality; imagined community; national identity
Accommodation	Practical substitutes; comparisons; joke allegiances	Pragmatic reterritorialization	Banal cosmopolitanism; cross-cultural comparisons	Surrogate experiences; new impediments and social relations
Hybridization	Hybrid organizational forms and practices	Unique atmospheres; distinctive characteristics	Hybrid products, names, emblems; redefine oppositions	Deterritorialized proximity and connectivity
Transformation	Location in global ecumene; critique local re the international	Critical reflexivity on new mediation	Alternative ritual exchanges and habituses; role of next generation	Alternative social networks and cultural politics; proselytizing role

Evidently, for our specific NASC groups, relativization is prominent in sharpening and legitimizing their collective (football) identities, and in reducing the prospects for wholesale hybridization and transformation in regard to the host society. One notably counter-intuitive finding is that, despite their geographical distance, some NASC members have senses of intensified proximity to the key institutions of their local culture.

Three issues regarding the cultural politics of contemporary glocalization arise as a consequence. Each of these questions relates to how the NASCs might deal with a potentially glacial shift away from relativization and towards hybridization and even transformation.

First, in regard to their long-term survival, the *internal* cultural politics of the NASCs will acquire greater acuity. As we noted, significant debates arise within some NASCs over how internal reforms may attract new members.

Second, *symbiotic* cultural politics arise between these supporters and their football clubs. We may recall that 'glocalization' originally referred to the reformulation of goods and services to suit regional markets. 'Global clubs' like Real Madrid or Manchester United do 'glocalize' their identities.¹¹ We might ask how, in the longer term, the Old Firm might 'glocalize' to reach North American and Asian consumers; and, how might NASC members and other expatriate supporters respond to these comparatively fresh and potentially radical kinds of glocalization?

Third, there are the *external* cultural politics of contemporary glocalization to consider. Migrant groups such as these supporters depend heavily upon electronic media to maintain their symbolic proximity to, and identification with, their old cultural institutions. How might the NASCs survive and thrive when live coverage of Scottish fixtures is domesticated for residential viewers?

How these questions are answered will only be clarified through future empirical research. In the meantime, the glocal projects within these NASCs will continue to highlight sport's sociological importance when migrant identities, practices and institutions are negotiated within the context of contemporary globalization.

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Notes

- 1 See also Swyngedouw (1997), García Canclini (2001: 58–60).
- 2 On spectator identities, see Giulianotti (2002). See also King (1997) and the potent critique by Smith (1999/2000). On 'race' in English football, see Back et al. (2001).

- 3 Songs associated with Irish republicanism and nationalism.
- 4 The Patriots play in blue, white and red – the team colours of Rangers.
- 5 Alan and Bob are jokingly associating American college sports teams with Irish politics: Syracuse with the Orange Order, and the Boston and Notre Dame sides with Irish-Catholicism. Syracuse's nickname is 'the Orangemen', but for purely secular reasons; Notre Dame's American football team is known as the 'Fighting Irish'. The 'Fenians' were a 19th-century Irish independence movement; the term is used by many Rangers fans to refer negatively to Celtic fans.
- 6 This term has significant continuities with 'mundane cosmopolitanism' (Tomlinson, 1999) and 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995). It denotes how cultural cosmopolitanism permeates the everyday social and cultural experiences of people in North America, and is routinely flagged in the mass media.
- 7 The Molly Maguires were a secret labour movement with Irish roots in north-east Pennsylvania during the 1860s and 1870s. Twenty of its leaders were convicted of murder and executed on very weak judicial grounds.
- 8 The 'Lisbon Lions' were the Celtic team that won the 1967 European Cup final in Lisbon. The '72 team' is the Rangers side that won the 1972 European Cup-Winners' Cup final in Barcelona.
- 9 For Hannerz (1989: 66), an ecumene is 'a region of persistent cultural interaction and exchange'; the term effectively describes quotidian forms of global connectivity.
- 10 Supporters' Trusts operate at over one hundred UK football clubs; Rangers have one of the largest. Trusts promote supporter representation within clubs, notably through share purchases.
- 11 This is achieved, for example, by building Asian markets through high-profile exposure of celebrity players rather than by alluding to club histories or traditions.

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