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Glocalization, Globalization and Migration: The Case of Scottish Football Supporters in North America

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Abstract: The concept of glocalization is used to analyse the ways in which social actors construct meanings, identities and institutional forms within the sociological context of globalization, conceived in multidimensional terms. This article seeks to advance the sociological grasp of glocalization processes through a fieldwork-rooted study of particular migrant, culturally defined social groups: North American-based supporters of the Scottish football teams Celtic and Rangers. The authors examine four features of glocalization in regard to the migrant experience: the transplantation of the original local culture to a new context; subsequent intracultural identities and practices; intercultural identities and practices; and the potential for the reproduction of 'glocal' identities. Further, they consider projects of glocalization that are attendant upon each of these features. A model is developed that facilitates future comparative and critical investigation in regard to the glocalization projects of social groups that are defined variously by ethnicity, migration or popular culture.

Keywords: football ♦ globalization ♦ glocalization ♦ migration ♦ popular culture ♦ Scotland

Wandering among lunatic fans, gangster owners, and crazed Bulgarian strikers, I kept noticing the ways that globalization had failed to diminish the game's local cultures, local blood feuds, and even local corruption. In fact, I began to suspect that globalization had actually increased the power of these local entities – and not always in such a good way. (Foer, 2004: 4)

Glocalization: Conceptual Bearings

In a recent book, the American journalist Franklin Foer set himself the task of explaining the relationship between globalization and football. Foer's peregrinations took in the Balkans, Britain, North and South America and the Middle East, and resulted in some vivid and curious interpretations of how different cultures understand the game. Nevertheless, Foer's basic

conclusion, as set out in the extract above, is surely a correct one: in football at least, globalization is not characterized by global cultural uniformity, but rather by the construction of diverse cultural practices, institutions and identities.

This general thesis is developed here by examining how particular football cultures construct specific 'local' forms of identity within the context of globalization. By way of clarification, our use of the term 'construct' encompasses processes of diasporic adaptation. Our research findings derive from fieldwork with those supporters of Scotland's two biggest football clubs (Celtic and Rangers) who are based in North America (Canada and the US). We advance a voluntaristic perspective that is very much alive to empirical variations and changes in processes of globalization. Our analysis is underpinned by the theory of glocalization, as advanced by Robertson (1992, 1995, 2003a; Robertson and White, 2004), which recognizes that globalization in part features the critical construction and reinvention of local cultures vis-a-vis other cultural entities. The term 'glocalize' has primarily been derived from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, meaning 'global localization', or, more accurately, 'indigenization' (Robertson, 1992: 173; 1995).

Glocalization processes have significant implications for consideration of 'the local'. We assume that local cultures do not simply mark themselves off from each other. Rather, glocalization also includes the *construction* or the *invention* of local traditions or forms of particularity (Robertson, 1995: 29). We consider that this process is analogous to such conceptions as the 'invention of culture', the 'invention of tradition' or the creation of 'imagined communities' (Wagner, 1975; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Anderson, 1983; cf. Robertson, 1995: 35). These forms of particularity can be articulated through specific 'ideologies of home' that have strongly nostalgic or melancholic themes (Robertson, 1990, 2003c). In more cultural-political terms, some senses of distinctiveness may be cemented through a 'deep particularism' or 'search for fundamentals' wherein local identities are accorded more historically profound, distinguishing meanings (Robertson, 1992). In cross-cultural terms, glocalization does not simply produce or reproduce random forms of cultural heterogeneity. It also registers the 'standardization of locality' so that various localities may possess very similar structures, reference points, symbolic textures or contents (Robertson, 1995: 30–1). The local is globally institutionalized (Robertson, 2003c). In this perspective, glocalization is also characterized by patterns of isomorphism, such as the influence of 'world-societal models' in shaping national identities, practices and structures, as persuasively identified by Meyer et al. (1997).

Other scholars have utilized 'glocalization' to advance similar conceptual points from different disciplinary positions. For example, Swyngedouw (1992, 1997) relates glocalization to transformations in international political economy and urban geography. Glocalization describes the parallel shifts towards global *and* local scales of political relationship, such as in the rising influence of the EC and the G8, on the one hand, and the proliferation of local economic initiatives and partnerships, on the other. The urban anthropologist García Canclini (2001: 58–60) discusses glocalization in relation to the 'constant interaction' of the agricultural, industrial and service sectors; and to the role of large metropolises and world entrepreneurs in connecting the local, the national and the international. Thus, for both analysts, glocalization is marked by social actors' fluid and critical engagement with, and reconstruction of, local and global phenomena. The collection by Howes (1996) contains this kind of approach as demonstrated through studies of cross-cultural consumption.

Glocalization has some connection with other concepts such as 'indigenization' (Friedman, 1999: 391), 'creolization' (Hannerz, 1992: 264–6), 'vernacularization' (Appadurai, 1996) and 'hybridization' (Pieterse, 1995). Each of these concepts registers the agency of quotidian social actors in critically engaging with and transforming global cultural phenomena in accordance with perceived local cultural needs as well as values and beliefs. We stress the definite differences among the respective proponents of these ideas, even though space considerations preclude discussion of such here (Holton, 2005).

One of the earliest but continuing arguments regarding glocalization concerns the homogenization–heterogenization problem. Homogenization arguments crystallize, somewhat ironically, in a variety of theories such as those relating to cultural imperialism, synchronization and Americanization (Schiller, 1969; Tomlinson, 1991; Hamelink, 1983; Robertson, 2003b; Ritzer, 2004). They share the premise that social actors and their local cultures are orchestrated into passively absorbing or otherwise reproducing the cultural products, practices and predilections of the world's most powerful corporations and nations. However, substantive research on social groups, even in the more peripheral cultural settings, tends to confirm the creative vitality of local cultures – indeed the resisting characteristics of the latter. This is notably the case at the present time with rapidly increasing reflexivity concerning the complicity of the local and the global. An elementary point regarding our Scottish football supporters is highly instructive: here we have a categorical case in which social actors from a relatively peripheral sporting culture (Scotland) do not homogenize or assimilate entirely in relation to far more powerful cultural forms (North American sports); rather, these migrants prefer to transplant

their old cultural allegiances and identities into this new territory, while typically cultivating little or no serious interest in the indigenous sporting culture.

The concept of globalization has particular sociological purchase when we consider migrant groups. The post-Second World War period has been characterized by the creation and cultivation of complex diasporic cultures (which is not to say that this is an entirely new development). The resultant construction of polyethnic 'world spaces' has served to refute old presumptions regarding the cultural or ethnic homogeneity of 'local' or 'national' places (Balibar, 1991; McNeill, 1986; Robertson, 1992: 97–114; Robertson and White, 2004: 19). Rather, the cultural, ethnic and national frameworks through which identities are constructed have undergone intensive deterritorialization. It makes more sociological sense now to consider the local in *non*-territorial terms. We prefer to think of the local as a bundle of social relations that is anchored in common ethnic or cultural identification and sentiments of shared fate. Glocalization projects thus frequently involve migrant groups who are constantly relating these mobile local identities to their new cultural milieux.

The mass media have come to play a crucial role among diasporic groups in facilitating richer modes of global imagination. Global internet links and transnational satellite television programming hold ambiguous consequences for the reproduction of old forms of collective identity. On the one hand, the mass media provide migrant groups with an electronic proximity to their 'home' culture, and so create the informational and social resources for cementing deterritorialized 'communities of sentiment' (Appadurai, 1996: 8). On the other hand, the mass media complicate the reproduction of these diasporic identities by providing young people and later generations with many, alternative cultural resources. The resulting mixed and fluid identities of the second and third generation stand in symbiosis or contradistinction to the ethnocultural projects of their parents (Appadurai, 1996: 43).¹ For example, in popular culture, we find communities of first-generation migrants who bring reggae, ska and 'calypso cricket teams' to England from the Caribbean, but whose children may turn to English football and North American hip-hop and R&B to ground their identities culturally. Or in North America, we find first-generation migrants from Asia's subcontinent who establish cricket teams, but whose children are drawn to the international marketing of the NBA, the NFL, the NHL or football (soccer).²

Glocalization, Football and the Old Firm

Glocalization projects are pivotal to transcultural constructions of world football. In terms of global homogeneity and heterogeneity, it is a matter of form and content (see Ritzer, 2004). Homogenization is indicated by the global diffusion of football *qua* sociocultural form in terms of rules and basic playing procedures. Heterogenization is apparent in two basic ways. First, many societies (not least those in North America and the Indian subcontinent) have maintained other national sports traditions. Second, following the game's adoption, football is interpreted according to local customs and needs, thereby giving rise to different ways of imagining, playing and celebrating the game.

Football's organizational and social aspects serve to promote both the 'invention' and 'standardization' of locality. At the elite levels, football's governing bodies organize and order clubs or national teams into national and international competitions. Football clubs all have standardized team colours, home grounds and club crests. These emblems provide the symbolic currency through which intensive relativization occurs. Various supporter songs and forms of dress, different styles of play in the team, idiosyncratic ground features, unique club social histories and specific club-supporter bonds, all of these particular aspects of a local football culture are referenced by fans to distinguish 'their' club from its rivals. A nostalgic 'ideology of home' is evidenced in club memorabilia and supporter narratives that recall the glories of former teams and players. It is evidenced too in the topophilia of fans in relation to their 'home stadium'.³ Among some sections of a club's support, we may find a 'deep particularism' or 'search for fundamentals', as manifested, for example, through intense rivalry with particular opponents or through linking the club's historical meaning relative to broader political, ethnic and religious identities. Meanwhile, the officials within a football club may practise glocalization in its commercial sense, by micro-marketing its identity to suit particular audiences: for example, emphasizing club traditions to supporters at home while projecting certain players as celebrities to attract new markets overseas.

All of these forms of glocalization are relevant to the rivalries between Scotland's most successful and popular football clubs, Celtic and Rangers. The two clubs have 'home' stadiums in Glasgow that inspire strong topophilic attachments among supporters.⁴ The clubs have football's oldest and most notorious rivalry along ethnoreligious (or 'sectarian') lines.⁵ Celtic were founded by a Marist priest (Brother Walfrid) in 1888 as a charitable body for Glasgow's poor. The club has strong Irish-Catholic traditions, and its core support retains a significant, deep particularism in its sympathy for Irish nationalist politics. Rangers were founded in 1872 and have strong Protestant, Unionist and Loyalist traditions. Until the late 1980s, Rangers refused to recruit

Catholic players, but the fans' most voluble songs at fixtures still contain anti-Catholic phrases. Both Celtic and Rangers fans sing anthems, such as *The Fields of Athenry* or *Rule Britannia*, that are strongly nostalgic and which advance strong collective claims upon their respective national 'homes' (Ireland or Great Britain).

Celtic and Rangers are known collectively as the 'Old Firm' in Scotland because, it is argued, they profit substantially from stoking a mutual sectarian rivalry. The two clubs have been recognized by FIFA, football's global governing body, as having the oldest 'derby' (intra-city) rivalry in the world.⁶ These fixtures have lost little of their emotional and cultural intensity, despite the greater international cosmopolitanism of Scottish football fans (such as in watching more European games on television) and the fact that most players are now non-Scottish.⁷ Celtic and Rangers attract 45,000–60,000 fans to home fixtures, and they have been numbered among the world's top 20 clubs in terms of annual revenues, despite receiving far lower television income than their European competitors. The two clubs have numerous overseas supporters' clubs, notably across the British and Irish diasporas in North America, Australasia, South Africa and the Far East.

Supporters' Clubs, Migration and Ethnicity in North America

The supporters' clubs in North America (or NASCs) are distributed across different cities and states, and convene in designated social clubs or pubs to watch live television coverage of Old Firm football fixtures. NASCs receive these fixtures from the Setanta television company in return for collective fees that are reckoned according to each NASC's membership. To recoup costs, NASC officials charge individual viewing fees from those who watch each game. Most NASCs were founded after live televised fixtures became available regularly in the mid-1990s.

Celtic have 76 NASCs and Rangers have 42, and these are organized respectively into the North American Federation of Celtic Supporters' Clubs (NAFCSC) and the North American Rangers Supporters' Association (NARSA). Both umbrella bodies organize annual summer conventions; Celtic's annual gathering in Las Vegas attracting over 3000 supporters. While Celtic have a larger North American support than their Glasgow rivals, Rangers clubs have more members in and around Toronto. Celtic's profile has been favoured by their participation in regular pre-season fixtures in North America in recent years.

Most NASC members are first-generation male emigrants who left Scotland between 1960 and 1980. They are mainly aged in their mid-40s and over, and have a manual employment

background in skilled trades or construction, although a sizeable minority are self-employed. Depending on ethnic profiles in their neighbourhood, most NASCs have varying minorities of members born in North America or Ireland (North or 'South'). Individual NASCs also sponsor great former players from their team, usually those who played during the 1960s and 1970s, to attend the annual conventions, reflecting in part these fans' senior age profile.

The strongest NASCs are located in cities and regions with the most extensive modern history of Scottish and 'New Irish' emigration. The largest NASCs are in Ontario, boast over 300 members and rent large premises to house their own social clubs.⁸ Many NASC members are long-term expatriates who gravitated towards developing locations such as Brampton and Scarborough to be near their workplaces and to acquire better family housing. Other strong NASCs are in Hamilton, London and St Catherines-Niagara. Accordingly, Canada-based supporters are more influential within the continental associations, in holding executive posts or organizing annual conventions. The relevance of ethno-religious politics in these contexts has declined markedly since the mid-20th century. Certainly, Canada had long held greater attraction than the US to many British Protestants, and the Orange Order had controlled civic powers and jobs in many cities, but such political leverage has been seriously eroded by processes of migrant assimilation, secularization, democratization, intermarriage and the entry of diasporic cultures from developing nations (Fitzpatrick, 1989: 219–21; Lipset, 1990: 183).

In the US, the Scots American Athletic Club in Kearny, New Jersey, founded in 1932, was an early focal point for gatherings of Old Firm fans. Thousands of Scots had settled in Kearny since the late 19th century, but after the 1960s other ethnic groups (notably Portuguese) and established Americans became increasingly predominant. In New York and Boston, the high numbers of Irish migrants, along with Scottish Catholics of Irish extraction, ensure that Celtic NASCs are more numerous and populous (up to 150 members) than their Rangers counterparts. Old Firm fans have also established a cluster of NASCs in Florida to accommodate Scottish expatriates, notably retirees, small businessmen, white-collar employees, construction managers and workers, and northern 'snowbirds' on winter vacation. The more ancestral 'Scotch-Irish', whose origins lie among the 17th- and 18th-century settlers, have a negligible impact upon the NASCs.

Postwar immigration legislation in Canada and the US has undermined the entry of new Scottish migrants, producing more multicultural and less Anglophone migration patterns.⁹ Canada's Immigration Act of 1976 was particularly generous to applicants claiming family ties or refugee

status, and undermined the Eurocentric and the by-and-large racist measures that had excluded immigrants from developing nations (Avery, 1995: 188–97). Having dominated the migrant stock for almost two centuries, UK nationals now constitute only 2 percent of Canada's annual intake of immigrants.

Similarly, in the US, the Immigration Act of 1965 controlled Western European migration and facilitated the 'Second Great Wave' of migrants, this time from East and Southeast Asia and Latin America (Daniels, 2004: 134–8; Graham, 2001: 147–8). Only around 2.7 percent of all immigrants in 1980s hailed from the British Isles, around one-quarter of the level during the 1950s (Lipset, 1990: 186). Consequently, the Scottish-born US population fell by over half between 1960 and 1990 and has undoubtedly further declined.¹⁰ Conversely, the 'New Irish' have resisted the smaller entry of Western European migrants, with their presence bolstered somewhat by illegal migration, often on tourist visas.

Canada and the US are commonly contrasted regarding their respective receptions of ethnic minorities. The idea of a 'Canadian mosaic' implies that ethnic differences are facilitated and fostered, while the so-called 'American melting pot' suggests that assimilation and Americanization prevail (Lipset, 1990: 172–3). However, this binary opposition is almost certainly exaggerated. Indeed, American social scientists have rightly demythologized and criticized the somewhat absurd metaphor of the melting pot since at least the mid-1960s (Glazer and Moynihan, 1965). Both Canada and the US have experienced an intensification of ethnically defined particularism since the 1960s, and forms of political backlash against such diversification (Joppke, 1999). More importantly, when considering the waves of migration from developing nations since the 1960s, it would be premature to rule on whether the subsequent generations are taking on assimilated or mosaic identities. In any case, we consider that the issue of migrant assimilation or particularization is better understood in terms of the diverse and processual interpenetration of the local and the global, as encapsulated in the concept of glocalization.

Research Methods and Context

Research with the NASCs was conducted during the 2003–4 football season in New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Boston, Louisiana, eastern Florida, Toronto and the surrounding Ontario region. A sample of 108 Old Firm supporters were interviewed face-to-face using structured and follow-up questions; two additional telephone interviews were held. All interviews were recorded and, with the exception of 11 interviewees, took place in the 'home' premises of the relevant NASC. All but six interviewees were male; over two-thirds were aged 50 or over, with less than

one fifth aged under 35. Further research was undertaken through short participant observation in these NASC premises, notably attending during social times, chatting informally with club members over a drink and watching live football fixtures.

Fieldwork among the Old Firm fans of North America is intended to open some new paths for the sociological investigation of sport. Other social analysts have forwarded insightful histories on sport's global diffusion (e.g. Guttman, 1994; van Bottenburg, 2001), critical studies on the construction of national and celebrity identities through globalized sport (e.g. Archetti, 1998; Mangan, 1996; Andrews and Jackson, 2001), and analyses of the broad interrelationships between sport and globalization (e.g. Miller et al., 2001). The globalization of football has been given explicit theorization in our previous work (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2001, 2004), and more implicitly elsewhere (e.g. Giulianotti, 1999; Sugden and Tomlinson, 1998). Analysis of global migration in relation to sport has been more restricted (e.g. Cronin and Mayall, 1998) and, concerning football, has tended to provide social histories of international player transfers (e.g. Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001; McGovern, 2002).

While migration is a central component of contemporary studies of globalization, sociologists have given little substantial consideration to the sporting cultures and identities of migrant communities. Some historical and comparative research has been undertaken into immigrant football teams in North America (Day, 1981; Pooley, 1976; Walter et al., 1991). However, the increasingly complex interrelationship of transnational sporting identification, diasporic identities and globalization remains relatively unexplored, excepting the notable if intermittent comments by Appadurai (1996) on cricket and identity in the Indian subcontinent. Part of our aim here is to contribute towards filling that lacuna.

Three important observations should be made here regarding how the North American context impacts upon supporters' identity. First, NASC members generally resist suggestions of cultural assimilation. The vast majority state that they are solely 'Scottish' in identity, even if Canadian or American citizenship has been secured; the notion of hyphenated or hybrid nationality is similarly discarded. Sport provides obvious illustrations of how Scottish rather than North American popular culture is favoured. Football is the dominant game, so that most NASC members are keen on watching English and European teams as well as the Old Firm; many fans have participated in coaching, organizing or playing for local football teams. North American sports do not obtain the same volume or quality of engagement although heavily mediatized city teams are backed (e.g. hockey sides in Canada), while the children of first- and second-generation

migrants typically compete in local games. More generally, the collective entertainment favoured by NASC members seems largely resistant to assimilation. NASCs hold 'traditional' functions that attract expatriates, such as the hosting of Burns Suppers or hiring Irish entertainers. Live performances by touring Scottish and Irish comedians or DVDs featuring Scottish comedy shows are highly popular. In terms of language, excepting those who migrated in the 1950s and early 1960s or those raised from childhood in North America, the NASC members have largely retained their Scottish accents and dialects (Giulianotti, 2005).

Second, we should also make some preliminary observations regarding the important issue of gender in relation to football in North America and Scotland. Since the late 19th century, Scottish football has been dominated by working-class males, with a set of popular masculine ethics that put varying emphases on individual skill, neat teamwork, fast play, 'honest endeavour' and courage in physical exchanges. Women have become more prominent among Scottish football supporters since the late 1980s but remain a relatively small minority presence, usually 10–15 percent of fans at fixtures. Similarly, only 4000 women are registered players in Scotland, although that represents an immense advance in recent years.

In marked contrast, the remarkable rise of US women's football has been driven particularly by young white females at high school and college levels. Nationally, there are over 7 million women football players, who make up around 47 percent of all high school players, 40 percent of all across the US and 20 percent of all female players across the world.¹¹ When the US women's national team won the 1999 World Cup, hosted in the US, individual games drew huge crowds of up to 92,000 and 11.4 million domestic television viewers (Markovits and Hellerman, 2004: 20–2). Women's soccer in Canada, while making great strides, has experienced less spectacular development, constituting 42 percent of all registered players, to give nearly 350,000 female footballers, despite few opportunities for elite play outside of college (Hall, 2004).¹²

NASC members are highly cognizant of the rise of women's football in North America, and a few do contribute through assisting their daughters to play or in coaching capacities. Overall, however, regarding gender culture, NASCs tend to be glocalized in more Scottish than North American terms. The social aspects of most NASCs are traditionally masculine and working class in culture, with a strong focus on football and other sports (such as golf outings), having a drink and enjoying bar 'banter'. With the exception of one large Rangers club that does not allow women to join, most Old Firm fans insist that their NASC is non-discriminatory but that it can be difficult to raise female membership beyond the 5–10 percent mark. Female viewing of

televised matches is uneven, more often comprising those below middle age. Early kick-offs, traditional domestic duties, alternative leisure interests and severely inclement weather all contribute to low female attendance at matches. Consequently, with occasional exceptions, males control the offices within NASCs and their umbrella organizations. Women are much more fully involved in the non-football social events – such as ‘Ladies Nights’, dances, bingo sessions – hosted by NASCs, particularly those based in licensed premises. Such activities demonstrate that these clubs, over and above sporting allegiance, are often important community resources for those of Scottish or Irish extraction.

Third, a crucial opening observation concerns the way in which these Old Firm supporters explain their club allegiances within the migrant context. Many NASC members argue that their true supporter identity is no different to that of Old Firm fans in Scotland. Moreover, these supporters categorically differentiate themselves from other transnational fans who are perceived to possess a more fickle, consumerist penchant for ‘glamour’ teams like Manchester United (Giulianotti, 2002):

Here you have plastic Man United fans, but you’ve got diehard Celtic fans.
(Celtic fan No. 31, Kearny)

Rangers are a global club, 100 percent. The fans are committed here, there’s a strong undercurrent. . . . Rangers fans here have the heart, we don’t have to win, we don’t care how many shirts we sell. . . . Even in the really bad times, there’s always a good two dozen in this club watching every game, and the rest come back when Rangers pick up. (Rangers fan No. 19, Ontario)

Manchester United will sell plenty shirts around the world, but having the shirt means nothing, they’re not real supporters. They’re not true fans, they’ll just buy a strip. It’s like getting a Beatles haircut years ago. Celtic can sell strips too, but to be a supporter you have to take on what the jersey represents: the Brother Walfrid thing for a start.¹³ (Celtic fan No. 7, Ontario)

There are few signs to date that Celtic or Rangers are ‘micro-marketing’ themselves in different ways in North America compared to the UK. For example, neither club has a global, Beckham-like celebrity with whom to woo the cosmopolitan, merchandise-buying football *flâneurs* from overseas. Rather, established club supporters and their offspring still represent the Old Firm’s key North American markets. Thus, one important sociological issue concerns how these supporters reproduce or otherwise construct their ‘local’ football club identity within a fresh cultural context. To put it another way, how are the identities of Old Firm fans ‘glocalized’ across North America?

Hence, we turn now to the major part of our discussion, to consider the glocalization projects of Old Firm supporters in North America. In general terms, we argue that the glocalization projects of any migrant culture will possess four crucial sociological elements. First, there is the adaptive process of *transplantation* wherein adherents to a local culture enter a different cultural environment. Second, there are *intracultural identity* processes regarding how social actors within the local culture sustain shared forms of identification, such as through ethnicity or nationality. Third, there are *intercultural identity* processes regarding how social actors relate to other cultures, particularly those groups that had been categorized previously as 'other'. Fourth, there are questions of *cultural reproduction* regarding how the local culture is sustained, amended and transformed, as current and future generations of social actors engage with other cultures.

We discuss the glocalization projects of Old Firm fans with reference to these four sociological elements. First, we consider the *cultural transplantation* of Old Firm supporter identities to the North American environment. Second, we address the issue of Old Firm supporters' *national identity in the context of intensified cultural cosmopolitanism*. Third, we examine how migrant Old Firm supporters *recategorize their others*. Fourth, we consider the long-term *cultural reproduction* of Old Firm support in North America. Our analysis develops prior empirical elaborations and theorizations of football and globalization (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2001, 2004). We propose that our findings regarding Old Firm fans provide instructive insights into the glocalization projects of other migrant cultures.

Transplanting Local Cultures: Revitalization and Integrative Hybridization

To begin, we identify two key aspects of glocalization in how Old Firm fans have transplanted their identity into North America. First, strong cultural *revitalization* is evident in the supporters' substantial cultural labour and their use of social and technological resources. Before the advent of satellite television, gaining news on the Old Firm required significant technical improvisation and a strong reliance on established social and kinship networks:

I left Scotland in the mid-'50s when I was 10. When I first got here, the thing that we missed the most was going to Celtic games. One of the first things that my father did was buy an old Grundig Majestic short-wave radio, and every

Saturday around 11.30 in the morning I'd watch him getting it in order, fiddling around, tuning it in somehow to get the football scores. Two minutes later, the phone would always ring: his pals would be calling to get the results. And back home my gran would be bundling up the papers to send them out to us. Sometimes it took ages for them to arrive, even a month after the game.

But so long as there was a steady batch, it kept you going. (Celtic fan No. 43, Eastern US)

Large groups of Scots congregated in particular destinations and stoked sufficiently large market demand for Scottish products (notably in foodstuffs and beverages) that the print media needs of fans could be accommodated. Several NASCs were established in these ethnic enclaves during the 1960s; meetings and informal gatherings occurred, enabling fans to exchange football news:

You relied on phone calls back home, getting the newspapers, and that was basically it. You'd go and buy the British newspapers when they came into Toronto on the Sunday night. You had Glasgow papers, Scottish papers, you usually had Rangers covered in the *Observer* so I used to go over to one store every Sunday night and get that. . . . I remember playing football up in Bramalea [a Toronto suburb], where they've a strong Rangers support, this was back in the '70s, and they'd have a place where everybody met and it was basically about exchanging newspapers that they'd got from people back home during the week. (Rangers fan No. 37, Toronto)

On rare occasions, flights home would be chartered and quickly filled by fans heading home to see Scottish Cup Finals or the traditional fixture between Celtic and Rangers on New Year's Day.

During the 1970s and 1980s, some satellite technology became available for obtaining signals to live fixtures, and some of the largest NASCs pooled their resources to take advantage:

We very rarely used to get the odd game on television, so to get matches we had to get a truck with the big dish on it, and park it outside the Masonic hall where we were. On one occasion, we only had one TV in the house, but I took it out with me, and another boy did the same so the boys could see the game better. (Rangers fan No. 5, Ontario)

Second, *integrative hybridization* arose as the emergent NASCs adapted to their fresh cultural context. Integrative hybridization relates to the building of cohesion within a social formation in ways that reflect the particular characteristics of the surrounding area. Many fans are conscious of how each NASC is glocalized with reference to its surrounding neighbourhood:

The clubs all come in their own shapes and sizes. Each one has its own personality. Each club is like what it is in the local area, they're all different in their own little ways. It'll take on the personality of the area that it's in. (Celtic fan No. 38, New York)

For example, among Celtic NASCs, the proportion of Scottish-born to Irish-born members can vary markedly according to club location. Some Canada-based NASC members believe that they are more likely to retain their Scottish identity than are US-based Celtic fans. In cities with a

relatively small base of team supporters, such as Rangers fans in Boston, the NASC membership will hold diverse socioeconomic profiles and be hewn from a wide geographical area.

In loci that have experienced mass Scottish or Irish immigration, striking variations between NASCs can arise in terms of membership size, demographic profile, cultural habituses and modes of association. In Toronto, for example, compared to the large suburban NASCs, the city-based clubs tend to have a smaller, younger profile with members more likely to work in the centre. The large suburban clubs are marked by stronger *gemeinschaftlich* relationships; they have a relatively affective membership, with diffuse kinds of internal sociality. These NASCs have their own social clubs, which host weekend social events throughout the year. The clubs are typically decorated and furnished by skilled members free of charge. One club – the Rangers Toronto #1 – produces regular newsletters, which carry information concerning social events, personal news regarding members and offers of open support to those suffering illness or distress.¹⁴ Similar messages of support are passed on to unfortunate members through the internet mail-lists of both Celtic and Rangers NASCs.

Outside their common football support, the city NASCs have more affectively neutral, *gesellschaftlich* relationships. The members are more likely to have specific fan-rooted, match-day ties than to have diffuse relationships as close friends, workmates or partners in sport. These NASCs meet in specific pubs to watch games; after the final whistle, the members tend to leave immediately. Hence, social events are rarely organized despite the best efforts of club officials:

The people who come here for the games don't care about all the preparation that's gone on to make it happen. They just want to show up, see the game, and then leave as soon as it's finished. . . . We've tried to put on social things to get people involved, but they're not interested and you can't force them to enjoy themselves at gunpoint. It might be an age issue, maybe the younger ones are not that committed. The bar owner has had plenty of ideas for keeping people entertained, but they don't follow them up. It cost him \$5000 to put in the television system for the games, but nobody has come up and thanked him or put in five bucks to help with it. (Celtic fan No. 55, Canada)

The 'new middle class' membership within these NASCs is relatively more predisposed towards a critical engagement with international popular culture. Their NASCs are more likely to have contemporary graphic designs on club merchandise (rather than the standard polo-shirt with club crest), and have been known to put on the occasional theatre-and-dinner night out. Alternatively, the suburban NASCs organize traditional Scottish working-class events for members, notably bingo evenings, dances, quiz nights and golf outings.

National Identity and Cultural Cosmopolitanism

Migration to North America provokes important issues regarding how Scottish fans orientate themselves towards symbolic representations of Scotland and Scottishness. Many NASCs have ethnically diverse locations, thereby promoting routine experiences of cultural cosmopolitanism for their members compared to Scottish-based supporters. Three issues arise here regarding national identity and cultural cosmopolitanism.

First, there are significant contrasts between expatriate and Scottish-based fans regarding their *selective identification with cultural representations of national identity*. This has particular relevance to how NASC members interpret Scotland's national football team and other cultural representations of Scottishness.

In Scotland, it is generally accepted that, since the mid-1980s, Old Firm fans have become markedly less interested in the Scottish national team. There are several reasons for this trend, including the declining standard of Scotland's national team, the cost of following the Old Firm to more overseas fixtures, the dearth of Scottish-born players at either Celtic or Rangers and the 'fundamentalist' preference of some Celtic and Rangers fans for the Irish or English national teams respectively. Moreover, both sets of Old Firm fans nurture grievances towards the Scottish Football Association (the SFA), which controls the national team. In contrast, Old Firm fans who have established themselves in North America are more openly favourable towards the Scotland national team. NARSA's official website declares a collective pride in Rangers' Scottish history, which is substantiated by the comments of members:

We are more pro-Scotland out here than back home. That's fair comment. I feel a wee bit opposed to following Scotland because of the way the SFA have treated some of our players. But I think most people out here are not like that. (Rangers fan No. 34, Toronto)

Many North American Celtic fans differentiate themselves more from the Irishness of their team, in some contrast to fellow supporters based in Scotland:

I think if you took all the members here, and put a game on, Scotland v Ireland, I think all the members here would cheer for Scotland. Well I would anyway. (Celtic fan No. 63, Ontario)

For some expatriates, the intense cross-cultural commingling in North America can lead to fresh confirmations of national particularity. As one fan reported:

I'm actually more of a Scottish fan out here than I was back home. I always wanted to be Irish when I was back home in Scotland, but when I met the Irish out here I realized I was really Scottish. (Celtic fan No. 11, East Coast US)

In this instance, more testing forms of cultural relativization forced this supporter to recognize his 'real' Scottish identity at the expense of an imagined Irishness.

Among most fans a personal 'ideology of home' remains strong. Typically, they talk of 'going home' when returning to Scotland on vacation. But outside football, many NASC members distance themselves from invented 'Scottish' rituals. The little-known Tartan Day parade in New York attracts few participants from Old Firm NASCs. For many first-generation expatriates with lived identities in urban Scotland, such 'Scottish' events are full of empty bucolic, touristy symbolism:

We've been to the Scottish festival here just the once – with our Celtic tops on of course. To be honest with you, it's not really a Scottish thing at all. It's for people out here who might have some Scottish ancestry, but they've not really got a clue. (Celtic fan No. 51, Florida)

In contrast, many Celtic fans, notably in the New York region, celebrate St Patrick's Day. Around 500 members of Celtic NASCs march each year, displaying their team colours and bearing their three representative flags: the Irish tricolour, the American stars and stripes and the Scottish cross of St Andrew (also known as the 'saltire').

Old Firm fans can critique these national rituals to categorize their rivals negatively. Some Rangers fans differentiate Irish and Scottish rituals according to perceived national habituses. The Scots, it is argued, favour an understated, lived national identity that may be differentiated from the perceived *faux* 'Irishness' of St Patrick's Day:

We don't need to keep patting our backs to reassure ourselves of our identity. We know who we are. We don't need a stupid pub that's owned by some Russian guy, and called Molly Malone's, to reassure ourselves of our identity. I'm comfortable. I don't need to drink blue beer and dress up like Mel Gibson to know I'm Scottish.¹⁵ (Rangers fan No. 39, Toronto)

Conversely, some Celtic fans disparage the staidness of Scottish events compared to the easy-going atmosphere at Irish festivals.

Second, Scottish expatriates experience *banal relativization* far more intensively than do their fellow Scots at home. In introducing the concept of banal relativization, we seek to develop Billig's (1995) useful theory of 'banal nationalism' but within a more polyethnic or culturally

diverse context. Banal nationalism refers to the mundane way in which images, symbols and other references to nationality and national identity are constantly encountered. Accordingly, within the context of increasing global compression, banal relativization becomes more useful, in describing how social groups are constantly surrounded by everyday significations of ethnic and more general cultural difference, such as in food, language, nationality, dress and popular cultural tastes. Social groups are thereby provoked into responding towards such diversity, and can engender a self-critical, comparative reflexivity. For example, in the ‘mosaic’ Canadian context in particular, some Scottish expatriates perceive themselves as different to other national minorities in terms of weaker cohesion and interpersonal trust:

We’re not like the ethnic groups out here. The Greeks or the Germans, they get together and they build up big clubs. But Scottish people are leery towards one another. If you put a hundred of them in one room together, they’ll be watching each other, you know, ‘I’m not keen on him or him’. If you try and set up a club or get some money in to do something, people are thinking, ‘What’s in it for him?’ Religion has a lot to do with it as well. (Rangers fan No. 22, Ontario)

The social clubs set up by NASCs usually attract only fans of their football team. NASC officials typically observe that, despite having ‘good relations’ with opposing fans in their neighbourhood, few Old Firm fans socialize regularly in rival social clubs. Moreover, the strong geographical segmentation of ethnic groups, notably in Ontario, tends to preclude any routine social interaction with non-Anglophone cultures within the NASCs’ social clubs. Thus, for Scottish expatriates, banal relativization can serve to cement social endogamy, which in turn places financial and survival pressures on their formal institutions.

Third, banal relativization in North America does germinate *alternative trans-local associations*, compared to the UK. Within football contexts, some NASCs, notably those based in the most central locations, can play host to ‘rival’ nationalities far more regularly than would supporters’ clubs in Scotland. No formal segregation is imposed when these venues become trans-local spaces:

As a club we accept everybody. . . . When Rangers played Panathinaikos [of Athens] in the Champions League last year, we had more Greeks in here than Rangers fans. We were outnumbered, I think, 22 to 20. It was a fabulous time, they liked the fact that the beer was cheap, and we were all sitting interspersed with each other, it wasn’t as if there was segregation. At the European games you do get that. (Rangers fan No. 37, Toronto)

This place is fantastic when it’s crowded. We’ve got tellies upstairs and downstairs here. When Liverpool played Celtic, we were contacted by a

Liverpool supporters club which is based downtown, and they wanted to know if we were putting the game on. We said, 'Aye, come on, you're more than welcome', so we watched the game upstairs and they watched it downstairs. It was a great atmosphere, and after the game, Celtic won as you know, and they were all brilliant, they came up and shook our hands and had a drink. (Celtic fan No. 43, New York)

The international labour market in football players, and the long-term migration of supporters, can coincide to produce some remarkable transcultural social exchanges. If a North American player joins Celtic or Rangers, his relatives can make use of the nearest NASC to watch him play. For example, when Claudio Reyna, the former captain of the United States football team, joined Rangers, his father visited the nearest NASC in Kearny to watch live games. In this way, trans-local associations tend to endure only for finite periods, thereby contributing to the banal relativization rather than fusion of national and cultural identities within polyethnic contexts.

Recategorizing the Other: Ethnoreligious Difference and 'Sectarianism'

Migration to North America has required Old Firm supporters to reconceptualise their ethno-religious identities and differentiation from their Scottish 'others'. NASC members advance three kinds of argument regarding this glocalizing of ethno-religious identities within a North American context.

First, most commonly, *migration entails more amicable relations with those previously defined as other*. NASC members routinely observe that they have tolerant or good relations with rival supporters in their neighbourhood, as contrasted with the distinctive bipolarity of supporter relations in Scotland. Many NASC fans now return regularly to Scotland to visit friends and family, and to watch games. For some supporters, readjusting to these 'bitter' and sometimes violent relations with rivals does not come easily:

When I go home, I'm more astounded than anybody – I can't believe it – does this still happen? One time, I was in a pub not far from Ibrox [Rangers' stadium], after an Old Firm game, the place was packed with Rangers supporters drinking, nice day outside. I turned round one time, and the pub was emptying all of a sudden. A group of Celtic fans were outside attacking the pub, so everybody had gone out to chase them. I was like, 'Fuck, this is just daft' You forget about all that sort of stuff. Over here, you see the game on telly, watch it, have a drink. You forget there's people got to get out of the stadium, and get home safe. That aspect still shocks me. (Rangers fan No. 16, Ontario)

Both sets of Old Firm fans report that they feel safer in North America than in Scotland in regard to football allegiances. Several Celtic supporters argued that Old Firm fixtures have regularly resulted in the murder of Celtic fans in and around Glasgow. While some sociologists dispute these claims statistically (Bruce et al., 2004), the expatriate fans' perception of increased personal security in North America has real consequences for their self-identities and public conduct.

Second, the NASCs display some noteworthy *internal variations in their search for fundamentals*. It should be emphasized that the vast majority of NASC members insist that there is 'no problem' in terms of ethno-religious sectarianism, particularly when compared to Scotland. However, a small minority of NASCs on both sides favour a deep particularism founded upon ethno-religious difference, whereas the majority heavily prioritize football allegiances. Among Celtic fans, for example, the differences are set out by one fan critical of deep particularism:

Listen, if anybody phones me and they say, 'I'm going to city X in North America, where do I go to find a Celtic supporters' club?' I say to them, 'What's your preference, do you prefer to go with just a bunch of guys who are out to enjoy themselves and watch the game and see Celtic and sing along? Or do you want to go in where there's barbed wire and men behind the wire?' 'Oh, don't send me there.' 'OK, you're not going to that other Celtic club then.' (Celtic fan No. 31, Ontario)

Some Rangers clubs in North America also cater to deep ethno-religious particularity, with reference to staunch (British) Loyalist and anti-Catholic politics. NASC members who have been raised in North America are apt to advocate their indigenous value system against the importation of ethno-religious animosities:

This is where my Canadian upbringing differs from being raised in Glasgow. We tend not to have the same Protestant and Catholic thing, our family and friends are so mixed, I find it somewhat foolish for that type of thing to be maintained here, bringing the old hatreds across. (Rangers fan No. 32, Ontario)

When NASC members do seek to legitimize deep forms of ethno-religious particularity, they tend to prioritize the traditional functionality of 'sectarian' songs in building 'atmosphere' and galvanizing players into greater team efforts at crucial games. Before games, some NASCs play tapes of songs that contain strong ethno-religious themes, to lend cohesion to the assembled fans. Some argue that prohibiting these popular anthems will produce excessively sanitized atmospheres. As one Celtic fan in Eastern USA put it, in defence of his NASC, 'This club is much better than the other one. The other one is like going to church, there's no noise.' Moreover, some Rangers fans claim that their club songs are not invalidated by the fact that

most players come from outside the UK; this cosmopolitanism, it is argued, should simply make the songs inoffensive to players who can't understand the words.

Third, there are *negotiated forms of binary differentiation in the core rituals* of these expatriate groups. Many fans observe that they are less likely to hear 'sectarian' songs at the annual NASC conventions than at supporter gatherings in the UK:

At the convention when the '72 team were there, one afternoon we took over the whole top deck of this massive pub, and we had a sing-song. It was all people from the clubs getting up, and I got up for our one, and I sang *Every Other Saturday*, the next guy got up from a Canadian club and he sang *The Blue Sea of Ibrox*. Not one person got up and sang a sectarian song, everybody sang a Rangers one. You're talking about a couple of hundred guys in a bar, who'd been drinking all day, and not one sang anything like *The Sash* or *Derry's Walls*, and it was great. . . . I can imagine if you had 200 Rangers supporters back home and filled them with drink, put them in a room and said, 'Sing anything you want', it might be a wee bit different. (Rangers fan No. 2, Eastern US)¹⁶

There have been attempts by convention organizers to ban 'party songs' with ethno-religious overtones. Many fans define these anthems as inherently offensive, and the desire to promote the club to new audiences helps to legitimize prohibitions:

We have a couple of songs banned from the convention, absolutely. No one can sing that song, *Go on Home British Soldiers*.¹⁷ We're trying to promote Celtic. If I've got three or four Americans coming in with their kids, saying, 'You're a happy bunch of people, great bunch of people', and they're really enjoying themselves, and then I've got 10 clowns jumping about singing, 'Have you got no fucking homes of your own', well, that's a blow right away. They take their kids and walk away. There goes your promoting the team that you love. (Celtic fan No. 31, Ontario)

An important aspect of the social code among NASC members is that, even for those who do sing them, the 'party songs' should not be aired when the football club's players or officials are present. In part, this is intended to protect the club's public profile by avoiding any prospect of negative reporting by sensationalist Scottish media. However, at supporter-only gatherings, there is greater scope for airing songs with potent political lyrics:

If you were here for the nights at the convention when they have the flute bands, you'll hear people singing 40 or 50 songs that you've never heard of. And you've got a hard-core of people that know every song that these bands are playing: Ulster songs, Rangers songs, distinct anti-papist advice. . . . This is what tribalism is all about. When you get us in a hothouse atmosphere, you

begin to blend, people are jumping up and down. This is hard-core stuff.
(Rangers fan No. 36, Ontario)

Future Constructions of Glocal Identities

Old Firm supporters in North America face the pressing problem of how to reproduce their institutional forms. In the short term, the supporters are concerned that a change in the mode of televising games would undermine the *raison d'être* of some NASCs. In the medium term, there are serious doubts over the reproduction of NASC memberships; questions arise over the likely 'glocal' football identity of future fans. Thus, three key issues arise over the future construction of NASC glocal identities.

First, *dependency upon mediated culture can jeopardize as well as facilitate communities of globalization*. Many NASCs rely upon their exclusive access to live television coverage of Old Firm fixtures in order to maintain membership numbers and income. If the platform for that mediation were to change, so that residential viewers might access live coverage directly, many supporters believe the NASCs would not survive:

The future of satellite feed is a big worry. Will I be watching the game here or at home? I live half an hour up the road, and if the game's on at 7 a.m., I might have been on nightshift or had a good drink the night before. I've got to get up to come to the club. Or I might say, 'I'll watch the game, then go back to my kip'. It's great for guys who live well away from clubs, but even for us it's tempting. (Rangers fan No. 15, Ontario)

Second, a compound concern relates to the *problematic reproduction of cultural identification among future generations*. NASCs struggle to attract the North American-born children and grandchildren of existing members; even when the next generation do attend, their levels of personal engagement are questionable:

It's a definite struggle to get them to come along. We've run out of ideas as to what to do. It's one of the big questions that our association has to face up to – how to inject youth into the clubs. (Rangers fan No. 44, Ontario)

The kids are dragged along! No, they get taken along, they have their Celtic tops on, they're told this is what they should wear. But you can count on one hand how often they look at the game on the screen, they're more interested in their game-boys. (Celtic fan No. 3, Eastern US)

Some officials at the large Rangers NASCs have considered offering more hybrid entertainment to attract the second and third generation, for example by having the social clubs stage more

North American music nights. However, these innovations are resisted for practical and cultural reasons: security might be problematic, and incomers might not mix well with existing members.

Third, there are signs that *future generations construct alternative glocal understandings of local cultural institutions and practices*. These differential interpretations indicate that some tensions arise between the respective habituses of the parent culture and its offspring. For example, some NASC members believe that second-generation supporters 'glocalize' the meaning of Scottish football fixtures with reference to North American sporting values. Younger fans, it is argued, favour North American-style sporting aggression, in contrast to the older generation's appreciation of football's historical and aesthetic dimensions:

You see the second- and third-generation guys in here for the Old Firm games. They like to see a bit of a war going on, a bit of dirty play, but you don't see anything bad going on between them when the game's on. Hockey here is a tough game, almost a violent game. I think the young Irish-Canadians and Scottish-Canadians like to see a bit of that in soccer. (Celtic fan No. 56, Ontario)

There are no clear signs that these alternative, hybridized interpretations of football will crystallize to the point where a distinctive, self-identifying subculture may be established among young, North America-based Old Firm fans. Given the uncertainties surrounding future mediation of Old Firm fixtures, the construction of some kind of fresh, glocalized identity among the younger generations would seem to be essential if many NASCs are to continue operation.

Concluding Comments

In conclusion, we consider glocalization to be a highly fruitful concept for analysing the sociocultural dimensions of globalization (see Robertson and White, 2003). We have focused here on the social construction of 'the local', as understood in deterritorialized terms, with reference to the interplay of cultural identities. The sociological problem of migrant groups and communities acquires special magnitude when we explore how cultural particularities are reconfigured within alternative global contexts. The mass media and cross-generational relationships serve to underpin the glocalization projects of these migrant groups. Major forms of popular culture, such as football, provide crucial spaces within which migrant groups operationalize their glocalization projects.

Migrant groups face the four kinds of problem that we have considered analytically with respect to these Old Firm fans in North America. First, they must *transplant* and *adapt* their particular culture within the new environment. Second, they formulate *intracultural* understandings of their national identity within increasingly cosmopolitan circumstances. Third, they must establish fresh *intercultural* understandings particularly with regard to their categorical others, in this new environment. Fourth, they must facilitate some kind of *reproduction* of their cultural identity.

Our analysis yields four concomitant kinds of conclusion regarding the glocalization projects of these social actors. First, to adapt their particular cultural identities to these new circumstances, the migrant groups must *revitalize* their local cultures (as Old Firm fans) through use of available social and technological resources. Adaptation to the new environment entails *integrative hybridization*, in terms of affirming core forms of collective cultural identification (as Old Firm fans), while registering the emergent structural and cultural differences between these communities.

Second, the glocalization projects of these migrant groups are marked by distinctive conceptions of national identity and experiences of everyday cultural cosmopolitanism. Expatriates show *selective identification with cultural representations of nationality*, for example in being empathetic towards Scotland's national football team while displaying critical distance in regard to 'Scottish' public rituals. Most members of the expatriate communities experience greater degrees of *banal relativization* in North America, which provokes in turn more critical reflections on their national identity vis-a-vis other ethnicities and nationalities. *Alternative translocal associations* occur in terms of greater sociality with other nationalities (in football contexts).

Third, *migration leads to more amicable relations with categorical others*; in this instance, Old Firm fans understand themselves to be more tolerant of each other. Some notable *internal variations in the search for fundamentals* are apparent, as migrants adopt different approaches towards grounding their identities with reference to more complex socio-political habituses. The key rituals involving these migrant communities possess *negotiated forms of binary differentiation*. It is usually in more private circumstances that some supporters engage in 'fundamentalist' rituals.

Fourth, the future of the institutional form (the NASCs) of these migrant cultures attracts substantial speculation. The *media dependency* of migrants can lead to communities of glocalization being jeopardized as well as facilitated. NASCs that are reliant on exclusive television rights will encounter serious problems if and when residential homes gain easy access to key fixtures. The *problematic reproduction of cultural identification among future generations* is apparent in the low

participation of the second and third generation within the migrants' institutional forms (NASCs). While there are indications that they produce *alternative glocal understandings of local cultural institutions and practices*, the younger generations have not formulated a distinctive subcultural identity that maintains strong allegiances to old cultural symbols (support for the Old Firm).

We consider that these generalizations are by no means solely applicable to specific groups of Scottish football fans in North America. They may be utilized to analyse the glocalization projects of other migrant groups.

Sport, and in particular the 'glocal game' of football, constitutes a particularly potent domain in which locality and cultural identification are intensively produced across a shifting global terrain. Sports teams provide migrant social groups with strong symbols of cultural identity that may connect to other, lived dimensions of personal biography or collective memory, most notably those associated with nationality and ethnicity. Forms of popular cultural identification, such as those associated with sport, can enable migrant groups to develop symbolic and institutional responses to their routine experiences of relativization within new cultural contexts.

Overall, the NASCs demonstrate a selective and critical engagement with their North American environment. It should be repeated that the existence and success of the NASCs are indicative of a highly potent sense of differentiation from the host societies. Most commonly, the glocalization projects do favour the retention of Scottish particularism rather than North American assimilation, for example in regard to gender relations and national identity. The host society's forces of homogenization are at their most potent in assuaging the social enmities between Old Firm fans. Yet even in this case, the inter-club rivalry remains collective and intense rather than diluted to the extent that one normally finds in North American sport.

As we have indicated, the pressing future issue for these migrant cultures remains the cross-generational transmission of cultural identities. Here, as elsewhere, the first generation must consider how it might radically glocalize its institutions and so bridge the divide with younger generations. How glocalization problems such as these are resolved at the everyday level should tell us much about the future interplay of culture, migration and globalization.

Notes

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¹ By ‘first-generation’ immigrants, we are referring to the migrant generation that uproots and settles overseas, as opposed to the North American usage which sometimes refers to the subsequent generation that was actually born in the new homeland.

² These acronyms stand for National Basketball Association, National Football League (that is, American football) and National Hockey League.

³ Topophilia refers to the ‘love of place’ or other positive emotional connections to the material environment. The concept has been deployed most substantively by Bale (1994: 120–1).

⁴ Celtic fans sometimes refer to their stadium as ‘Paradise’. In early 2004, Rangers fans reacted furiously to rumours that the club directors might consider selling their ‘home’, Ibrox stadium.

⁵ In Scotland and Northern Ireland, and despite its frequently ambiguous and loose usages, the word ‘sectarian’ usually refers to ethno-religious divisions and rivalries that are defined by the modern ‘Irish Question’. On one side stand different Protestant, British Unionist, Loyalist and Orange Order movements; on the other side stand different Irish-Catholic, Irish Nationalist and Republican movements.

⁶ See ‘Celtic vs Rangers: The World’s Oldest Derby’, *FIFA Magazine*, April 2001.

⁷ Celtic have always recruited non-Catholic players. Since the late 1980s, Rangers have recruited a large number of Catholics – a handful from Scotland and many from overseas, notably southern Europe, Germany and South America.

⁸ The 2001 Canadian Census reports that, in measuring non-Canadian ethnic origins, ‘Scottish’ and ‘Irish’ came second and third in Toronto, St Catherines-Niagara and Hamilton. In Ontario alone, 281,000 declared that they were solely ‘Scottish’, while over five times more respondents (1,561,000) claimed to have some Scottish ethnicity. See www40.statcan.ca/l01/ind01/l3_3867_1712.htm?hili_demo27

⁹ In the UK, ‘Asian’ usually refers to dark-skinned people of the Indian subcontinent, not East Asians from nations such as China, Japan and Korea. In the US and Canada, the term Asian refers mainly to the latter.

¹⁰ At: www.census.gov/population/www.documentation/twps0029/tab03.html

¹¹ At: www.americansportsdata.com/index.htm

¹² At: www.canadasoccer.com/eng/docs/2004_demographics_report.pdf

¹³ This supporter is arguing that Celtic fans and players should nurture specific ethics associated with the club’s founder, Brother Walfrid. These relate to making charitable donations, helping each other and being open socially and institutionally to all creeds and cultures.

¹⁴ The very name ‘Rangers Toronto #1’ possesses glocal characteristics: while its sporting allegiances are decidedly Scottish, the club’s location and numerical demarcation (by use of the # sign) are markedly North American.

¹⁵ On St Patrick’s Day in the US, green beer is available. Mel Gibson played the Scottish nationalist hero William Wallace in the film *Braveheart*.

¹⁶ The ‘72 team refers to the Rangers team that won the 1972 European Cup-Winners’ Cup final in Barcelona. *The Sash* and *Derry’s Walls* are songs that provide Ulster Loyalist views of the conflicts in Northern Ireland. *Every Other Saturday* and *The Blue Blue Sea of Ibrox* are pro-Rangers songs with no explicit ethno-religious content.

¹⁷ This song provides an Irish nationalist view of the conflict in Ireland.

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