



SPORTING IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR EFFECT  
ON SPORT GROWTH AND POPULARITY  
IN A CULTURE: A CASE STUDY  
IN CZECH BASKETBALL

*(SPORTOVNÍ IMIGRANTI A JEJICH VLIV NA ROZVOJ SPORTU A POPULARITY VE SPOLEČNOSTI:  
STUDIE ČESKÉHO BASKETBALU)*

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## STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This dissertation represents the original work and contribution of the author, except as acknowledged by general and specific references, and has not been submitted for a higher degree at this or any other university.

Prohlašuji, že jsem disertační práci vypracoval samostatně a že jsem uvedl všechny použité prameny a literaturu.

Signature

Date

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In 2002, Yao Ming opened a potential market of 1.3 billion people to the NBA by becoming the first Chinese player to play in the NBA. The same year Jiří Welsh opened a potential market of 10 million people to the NBA by becoming only the second player from the Czech Republic to play in the NBA. News of Welsh's basketball experiences filtered into the Czech Republic daily through newspaper, television, and satellite. At the time of Welsh's departure to basketball's most prestigious league, there were 18 foreigners playing in Czech's highest basketball league. In 2010 there would be 45 foreigners playing Czech's highest league and 93 other Czech's playing outside the borders of the country. While Welsh and Ming expanded the NBA brand in their home countries through media exposure, there is very scant media coverage of the immigrant athletes playing in the Czech basketball league. Several studies have sought to show the correlation between the exportation of talent such as Ming and Welsh to the most prestigious leagues and the growth of their sports in their home culture (Goldiner, 2003; Klein, 1991a; Larmer, 2005). However, little has been done to study the correlation of immigrant athletes in receiving countries and their internationally less prestigious sporting leagues.

Although this practice of sport migration has been going on for over a century, it has grown considerably over the last 25 years. There is a noticeable and well researched trend of athletes immigrating from countries with a wealth of talent in a particular sport to countries with weaker talent pools due to the popularity of the sport in that country. This can be evidenced by the presence of Canadian hockey players in many countries across the world and even naturalized onto national teams (Maguire, 1996). There is a converse trend which has been researched much more widely of talent being siphoned out of the countries lacking wealth and power to countries that have the wealth and power to create or participate in a monopolistic league (Harvey, Rail, & Thibault, 1996; Hoffer, 1994; Maguire, 2005; Miller, Rowe, McKay, & Lawrence, 2003; Shukert, 2002; Wendel, 2005). This can be evidenced in the migration of Latin American baseball players to play in North America's Major Leagues (Klein, 1991b).

Basketball is a relatively weak sport in terms of popularity in the Czech Republic, where hockey and football (soccer) are overwhelmingly dominant. Athletics (track and field) and tennis are clearly the next sports in the sphere of Czech popularity, followed by cross country skiing, basketball, team handball and volleyball. The best Czech hockey and football

players have exited the country to play in countries where they can ply their trade more profitably.

The Czechs are multiple world champions and Olympic medalists in hockey and almost the entire national team is composed of NHL players plying their trade in North America. The Czech football team is consistently highly ranked in FIFA polls, and all but several of the national team members play for the wealthiest clubs of Europe beyond Czech's borders. The Czech tennis presence on the world scene has been noticeable for three decades with the likes of Martina Navratilova, Ivan Lendl, Petr Korda, and Martina Hingis. Not only do the best Czech tennis players of today pursue their trade on the ATP circuits, which operate outside of the small Czech nation, but the best of yesterday chose to emigrate to ply their trades more fruitfully.

Basketball however holds a lower position in the hierarchy of Czech sport popularity and thus only three Czechs have made it to the prestigious NBA, and a rapidly growing number play elsewhere in Europe. However the guardians of the game in Czech have chosen to rely on a second tier of immigrants to build the game of basketball at home in the Czech Republic. This second tier is composed of immigrant athletes who are not high enough quality to play in the North American NBA or the less prestigious FIBA Euro-League, yet they are talented enough to be the stars of the Czech basketball league.

During the 2009-2010 season there were 45 foreign players in the Czech men's first division basketball league. These 45 immigrant athletes were primarily from the former Yugoslav Republics (11 players) and the USA (24 players). The first Yugoslav players appeared in the Czech basketball leagues in 1980. The first American players arrived 10 years later in 1990, just months after the Czechoslovak Velvet Revolution brought an end to the communist isolation that had held the Czech lands for 40 years.

These 45 immigrant players represent over 25% of the total players in the Czech men's first division of basketball. The teams at the top of the league have the most foreign players with five and the ones at the bottom have the least with one and zero. Foreign players dominate the top end of the statistics for Czech basketball. It is clear that 32 years after the arrival of the first immigrant basketball player in Czech, that the Czechs have decided to follow the model of building the sport of basketball through the use of immigrant athletes. In the spring of 2005, the Czechs naturalized their first foreigner for the purpose of national team play. American Maurice Whitfield became the first black Czech to wear the national team jersey just in time for the qualification rounds of the Euro 2005 basketball tournament where he lead the team as the playmaking point guard.

Yet the question remains does the use of immigrant athletes build the popularity of a sport in a culture? Is the sport of basketball more popular today in the Czech Republic than it was 32 years ago before the entrance of immigrant athletes?

There seems to be an observable pattern that sport leagues follow in their beginning, growth, reasoning, and legislation regarding the use of immigrant athletes (Bale & Christensen, 2004; Maguire, 1996). Teams bring in immigrant athletes to gain a competitive edge over the competition who are almost exclusively relying on national, or home grown talent. Other teams thus follow suit in an effort to not lose the competitive advantage. Teams justify this expense, at relatively high cost initially, with claims of maintaining competitive equity; fostering talent growth among young players through exposure to better players; and bolstering game attractiveness to fans. This leads to larger numbers of the Czech athletes leaving the country to play outside their borders.

While foreign player presence has increased over the last 12 years, the league has established not only non-national athletes roster limitations but limits to the number of foreign players allowed on the field of play at any given time. This results in national players who stay home demanding higher wages, and often becoming even more expensive than their foreign, and often times more athletically talented counterparts.

The next step in cultural acceptance of this process of importing immigrant athletes is the naturalization of foreigners in order to allow them to play on national teams in international competitions (Galily & Sheard, 2002). Similar justifications, growth and legislation are thus enacted for international competitions as previously occurred at the national league levels.

#### Statement of the Problem

*This study will examine the influence that immigrant athletes have on attendance and youth development in the Czech basketball league.*

This study is a **descriptive, non-experimental, longitudinal case study** in the genre of **globalization** in sport. This study examines the use of immigrant athletes to build non-primary sport popularity at the micro level (team, club, entity) and macro level (league, federation and nation).

#### Purpose of the Study

This study is being undertaken to evaluate the practice of using immigrant athletes in the Czech basketball league as a cornerstone of the club business plan and sport growth. The long-term growth of the sport both to be consumed and to be partaken needs to be examined

in light of the globalization which is taking place. Increasing knowledge of these trends in the Czech basketball league may provide insight into the effects of immigrant athletes on sport popularity in other receiving cultures.

### Significance of the Study

This study is a descriptive, non-experimental, longitudinal case study in the genre of globalization in sport. While addressing the question of sport migration from the vantage point of a receiving country may appear to be a pragmatic question as to the sustainability of a relatively new business model, the question is in fact significant to the overall growth of sport in the culture. Sport clubs or sporting entities need to see not only business success from the top teams in their clubs (in terms of fan following and sponsorship revenue), but also growth in numbers of participants on their youth teams in order to secure their future competitive position. Thus as a sociological problem the use of immigrant athletes must be examined by both the clubs and sport federations in a receiving culture.

While much has been written assessing the global exchange of athletes from the vantage point of effects on the sending countries and powerful receiving countries (Maguire, 2005), little has been written assessing the effects on sport growth on less powerful receiving countries. This study seeks to fill that gap by studying the effect of immigrant athletes on less powerful, receiving countries such as the Czech Republic. Team owners and federation officials need their non-primary sports to grow to increase market share. This study strives to assess the validity of the model employing immigrant athletes to increase sport popularity in non-primary sports. Following a model that does not achieve growth in sport popularity in the long run could potentially be detrimental.

### Research Questions

1. What is the correlation between usage of immigrant athletes on a team in Czech basketball and fan attendance?
2. What is the correlation between usage of immigrant athletes on a team in Czech basketball and the numerical growth of youth registered to play within the federation?
3. What are the demographic characteristics of those who come to play in the Czech basketball leagues? (Country of origin, age, race, playing experience.)
4. What is the extent and general nature of media coverage of the immigrant athletes playing in the Czech basketball leagues?
5. What is the extent the receiving teams in the Czech league use immigrant athletes in their marketing efforts?

## Hypothesis

As the number of foreign players increase (to some limit), are utilized in marketing, and covered in the media, the popularity of the sport, as measured by the number of fans, youth in the system, and media coverage, will also increase.

Theory followed by individual teams and the Czech Basketball Federation (CBF):

- The teams with the largest budgets and youth development systems will over time be the most successful on the court.
- Larger budgets will lead to an increase in number of foreigners in order to win sooner and be competitive with other teams in the Czech and European leagues.
- Better individual team results will result in:
  - more fans attending games
  - more youth in the development system
  - more media coverage (specially if the team advances to a top European league)
  - increase in sponsors and increase in sponsorship revenue (even larger budget and the purchase of better foreigners)

## Delimitations

1. Czech basketball teams in the first league of Czech basketball from 1998 to 2010.
2. Fan attendance as garnered from the game by game records of the Czech Basketball Federation.
3. Youth team membership on registered Czech basketball teams from 1998 to 2010, using the records of the Czech Basketball Federation.
4. Media coverage as measured by number and type of articles written on immigrant basketball players in the popular press and specific basketball periodicals.

## Limitations

1. Length of time immigrant athletes played for first league Czech basketball teams, regardless of number of games played. Exceptions will be noted and considered in drawing conclusions, but not eliminated.

2. Differences in financial resources, facility quality and marketing efforts among first league basketball teams. The relatively wide disparity among teams will be noted and considered, but not controlled in choosing which teams to measure.

### Definition of Terms

Several terms need to be defined to progress with this study. The terms defined below are discussed and applied throughout the following text.

*Globalization:* One of the first orders of business is to define what is and is not globalization. The definition of the term globalization depends greatly on the assumptions and commitments of those defining the term. At its' simplest level, one can say globalization means that more and more people are involved with more than one culture. However, the term globalization takes on many meanings. For instance the International Monetary Fond defines globalization as "simply an extension of economic freedoms beyond national boundaries" (Prakash, 2007). The Cato Institute refers to globalization to refer to "the diminution or elimination of state-enforced restrictions on exchanges across borders and the increasingly integrated and complex global system of production and exchange that has emerged as a result" (Palmer, 2002). Others less favorable toward the term or idea of globalization define it differently. Joseph Stiglitz, an economist and winner of the Nobel Prize defines globalization as " the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world ...brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and people across borders." (2003) Thomas Friedman defines globalization in terms of paradigm shifts (Friedman, 2000).

Cvetkovich and Kellner (1996) define the term globalization to describe the ways global economic, political and cultural forces are rapidly penetrating the earth in the creation of a new world market, new transnational political organizations, and a new global culture. Rowe et. al (2003) define globalization in their book *Globalization and Sport* as a process through which space and time are compressed by technology, information flows, and trade and power relations, allowing distant actions to have increased significance at the local level. Globalization involves systematically overcoming distances of space and time resulting in the emergence of new international forces and institutions to govern them.

However one decides to define globalization, we must include each of the four dimensions affected as identified by Harvey, Rail and Thibault (1996), the political, economic, cultural and social dimensions. Much of the globalization literature has focused on

the economic dimension. The Groupe de Lisbonne (1995) identified two dimensions of this economic dimension: the globalization of finance and capital (primarily the deregulation of markets and the movement of capital), and the globalization of markets and strategies (internationalization of firms). Many factors have been identified that have led to this economic globalization which we will not delve into here; however, we can summarize them as international capital and transnational corporations. However, it must be noted that both in the wider globalization literature and in sport globalization the focus is *negative* primarily on the economic dimension and *positive* on the political dimension. This positive aspect is most commonly related to the mobility of athletes, which in reality touches all dimensions (and in truth is not always viewed so positively by sociologists and anthropologists).

*Sport migration:* The movement of athletes, coaches and those attached to sport for the purpose of playing sport. While this definition is simplistic, it is important to understand that when authors use the term migration, they do not mean immigration and emigration in the classic sense of giving up one's nationality and taking on a new national identity. However we will see that sport migration has its origins in this form of immigration and emigration, and it remains evident as a prominent form of sport migration. Global sports migration occurs on at least three levels: within nations, between nations located within the same continent and between continents and hemispheres. This migration affects the sporting landscape on an additional three levels: that of the sending nation, the receiving nation and the residual global landscape of said sport. Further, these receiving and sending nations can be broken down into those with money, infrastructure and power and those without or still gaining in such power (Maguire, 2005).

*Primary and Secondary Sport:* We will define primary sports as those sports which receive the predominant media attention and which the majority of people most closely associate with national identity. We will define secondary sports as those which are contested at a professional level throughout the country and have high levels of participation within the general public. These definitions are consistent with those used by Maguire, Lanfranchi, and Giulianotti among others. Determining which sports are primary, secondary, and fringe in a culture is a very subjective task. Many authors have debated whether a sport is classified by media coverage or participation. For the sake of this research we have chosen to use primary as defined by most followed in the media, but within the ranking of secondary sports have taken into account participation. Without doing so it could be argued that football (soccer in America) is a primary sport in America due to the high number of youth that participate in it

each year. Yet rarely is football televised in America and when it is the viewership is relatively low. We could make similar observations in many countries, for example, in Croatia the sport of netball is statistically the most participated sport. Yet it is only played by women and rarely covered in the newspaper, much less on broadcast media. Secondly in every society there are large pockets of followers of secondary sports who would view their sport as a primary sport.

*Core, Semi-periphery and Periphery Countries:* Several authors have examined the sport globalization motif and found parallels between general globalization categories of countries and those in sport globalization (Maguire & Pearton, 2000). These are either categorized as core and periphery or core, semi-periphery, and periphery based on political, cultural and economic conditions. Maguire and Pearton place Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand as core sporting countries. They place former socialist countries, some South and Central American countries and several emerging nations such as South Korea at the semi-peripheral level. And finally they place most Islamic countries and the majority of African and South Asian countries on the outer peripheral (Maguire & Pearton, 2000). Thus for the sake of this study the Czech Republic is classified as a semi-periphery country.

*Sport Consumption:* We need to define and classify the people involved in the consumption of sport. We will define and compare sport fans, sport spectators, sport consumers and highly identified fans. Wann et al. define *sport fans* as individuals who are interested in and follow a sport, team, and/or athlete (2001). Further they define *sport spectators or sport consumers* as those who actively witness a sporting event either in person or through some form of media. So the differentiation between these two categories lies in the issue of identification. Sport consumers or spectators may not be fans if they do not identify with the team or individual which they witness. The category of sport consumers is thus divided further into direct (those who attend a sporting event) and indirect (those who only consume via some form of mass media). Thus for our research purposes we are interested first and foremost in direct sport consumers of Czech men's extraleague basketball games. Finally, researchers have spilled much ink on the delineation between levels of identity which fans have with a team or individual (Crawford, 2004; Davis & Upson, 2004; Hugenberg, Haridakis, & Earnhardt, 2008; Jones, 2000; Oppenhuisen & Van Zoonen, 2006; Wann, Grieve, Zapalac, & Pease, 2008; Wann et al., 2001). It is outside the focus of this paper and research to examine this categorization beyond its potential effect on sport participation.

*Sport participation* has traditionally been defined in terms of sport commitment. While many studies define sport participation at some level of frequency for the purpose of their study, there is not a uniform level of frequency studied in terms of sport socialization. Rather those studying socialization through sport speak in terms of an individual's commitment to a sport. Sport commitment is defined as "a psychological state representing the desire and resolve to continue sport participation in a particular program, specific sport, or sport in general" (Scanlan, Russell, Magyar, & Scanlan, 2009).

*Socialization*: Calhoun defines socialization as, "the process through which one becomes a participating member of society" (1987). Further on he says that "socialization is the process by which we acquire personalities as functioning members of society" (Calhoun, 1987). Slepíčka states that sport is a particular cultural phenomena which is a part of the overall cultural development (Slepíčka, Hošek, & Hátlová, 2006). He further states that the study of sport as a social phenomena uncovers important information about social values, social structure, and individual value orientation and place in the culture. The process of socialization has many facets; Calhoun outlines this process in terms of roles (1987). Specifically he emphasizes how sport internalizes roles which are expected out of individuals in society. For example sport teaches and solidifies gender and authority roles. Coakley says that sports are sites where people create and learn "stories" which help them make sense out of their world and their lives (2003a). He further says, these socializing stories, "are culturally important because they identify what is natural, normal and legitimate and therefore give priority to ideas and orientations that tend to privilege some people more than others, some interests more than other interests" (2003a). This aspect of the socialization process leading to the gaining and maintaining of power in a society has been emphasized consistently throughout the history of sociology and even in sport sociology. For example Maguire has examined the globalization of sport in terms of zones of prestige, emulation and resistance and framed the discussion sport migration in this context (2005).

*Social Theories*: Because globalization is an issue of sociology, it is necessary to define the social theories which have been predominantly used in the study of sport migration. Coakley, in Chapter 2 of *Sports in Society* (2003b), outlines five theories: functionalist, conflict, interactionist, critical and figurational. The use of functionalist theory is virtually non-existent in sport migration studies, so we will not take the time to define it in this section. However, we will state that though functionalist theory is not represented in sport migration literature, it is worthy of attention in this context in that it accents that everything in

productive practical function is “respectable”. Meaning any form of sport migration (including that of primarily economic reason) is acceptable.

*Conflict Theory:* Conflict theory operates on the assumption that social life is based first and foremost on economic interests. Thus people use their economic power to coerce and manipulate others in society to view their view of the world as proper. Thus these researchers believe that change in a society can only occur when those without money, and therefore power, realize their disadvantage and take action against those above them. The critical theory perspective is based on the teachings of Karl Marx and is most concerned with class relations. Conflict theorists tend to focus their research on the alienation and oppression that occurs within society. They tend to be most concerned with the injustices that occur as a misuse of money and power. Those studying sport from a conflict theory perspective are most concerned with how those with money and power use sports to promote attitudes and relationships which enable them to maintain power and privilege.

*Interactionist Theory:* Interactionist theory operates on the assumption that every person must make choices based on how they define reality. This definition of reality is based on the interaction they have with other people. This group of researchers assumes that choices are truly choices and not automatic responses. These choices are conditioned by our perception of how the choice will affect our lives, those we value and the world we live in. Interactionist theorists tend to focus their research on particular groups of people or subsets of culture. Interactionist theory focuses on meaning, identity, social relationships and subcultures in sports. As they research they try to view life through the eyes of those within the group or cultural subset. Their research is often ethnographic or anthropological. Those studying sport from an interactionist perspective are most concerned with the experience of those involved in sport and how it shapes/ shaped their reality. They are most concerned with how those involved in sport define and make sense out of their sport involvement.

*Critical theories:* Critical theory operates on the assumption that society is built on the struggle between culture, power and ideology which occurs in everyday life. Further they assume that there are many sites in society, sport being one such site, where culture is produced and reproduced. These sites make and shape culture, rather than reflect culture. This is perhaps the most widely used theory for those who study sports in society. Critical theorists tend to focus their research on where power comes from, how it operates in the society, and how it shifts and changes based on human interaction. These researchers value

diversity and do not look to find a universal explanation from which to explain all of social life. Thus their research focuses on specific groups of people in society as they strive to identify issues and problems. Critical theorists tend to call for action and policies which make life more fair, democratic and open for the subgroup their research focuses on. Those studying sport from a critical theory perspective are most concerned with systems of power and deal with popular notions held in relation to gender, race, sexual orientation, economic success or failure. They focus their research on how sport produces or reproduces privilege or disadvantage in society. Similar to those using interactionist theory the critical theorist tries to place themselves in the shoes of those experiencing conflict through sport in society; thus they use many narratives and images in their research work.

*Figurational Theory:* Figurational theory operates on the assumption that people are “more or less dependent on each other first by nature and then through social learning, through education, socialization, and socially generated reciprocal needs” (Elias, 1978). Norbert Elias was the originator of this theory in the 1970s and it is most common in Europe. This theory is based heavily on historical interconnections between people. Theorists using this theory study the long term processes which develop as independent people and groups act and make decisions which influence and constrain other people and groups. There is an emphasis on the complexity of societal interaction based on the constantly changing political, economic and emotional dimensions of social life. Figurational theorists tend to focus their research on the historical processes which have lead to the social framework within which we live. As a result of the long term scope of their research they tend to identify both intended and unintended consequences of the actions and regulations of individuals and groups. They also focus on the constant change or dynamic nature of society and its processes. Those studying sport from a figurational perspective are most concerned with global sports. This theory has proven itself especially useful for global studies as it takes into account economic, political and social processes which contribute to the global issues of sport.

It is necessary at this point to state something about the researcher. The topic of immigrant athletes is of interest to me on several dimensions. As a foreigner who has lived long-term (15 of the last 19 years) in another culture I believe I offer a unique perspective. Additionally, as a part of my primary employment I have been engaged in bringing foreign sportsmen into the Czech Republic as a part of traveling teams (over 100 to date) and as athletes on contract to play a sport. I am not a licensed sport agent and do not receive financial gain from the athletes and teams which I bring in. By way of reference it should be noted that during the 12

years being researched by this study I assisted 10 North American male basketball players in obtaining roster spots on 7 teams.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this literature review we will progress from a review of concept to theory to case studies in sport migration. Thus we are beginning broad and narrowing in on the topic at hand, the effect of sport migration on the popularity of a secondary sport in a semi-periphery country.

#### Globalization in Sport

In this section we will first give an overview of the issues typically defined as composing globalization in sport. We will then attempt to examine the correspondence between the issues currently being dealt with in general globalization and those dealt with in sport globalization. Finally, in this section, we will address the question of whether or not sport globalization is a new phenomenon.

Sekot has outlined the dimensions of globalization which are specific to sport as follows (Sekot, 2003):

Technological – pursued by big corporations and government agencies.

Migratory – encompassing international sport tourism oriented to sporting events and recreational sport opportunities, and playing host to immigrant athletes.

Economic – orientation to rapid flows of money and sport products and their equivalents on the global level.

Medial – reflecting the rapid transmission of information and ideas created and mediated through radio, television, video, the internet and via globally interconnected communication cables.

Ideological – spreading identical ideas and values (mostly oriented on success and victory and embodied in admired careers of sport celebrities) across the boundaries of states and nations.

We can broadly state that those studying sport globalization have concentrated on the issues of governance, media, movement of people, and the loss of national identity. Sport sociologists have generally examined these issues from a negative viewpoint and identified the source as money and power. A few have examined issues of ecology in sport (Eriksen, 2007), and/or human rights in sport (Giulianotti, 2004), while many have studied the global institutions of sport and their governance.

At this point we will move from the specific issues currently being dealt with in sport globalization, to a comparison with the larger issues being addressed by general globalization studies. As has been previously stated, much of what is referred to as globalization has to do with the environment and human rights issues. These issues, while certainly present in sport, have not yet been examined extensively. However, the common areas of governance and cultural transformation have great correspondence with the current trends of study in sport globalization.

One of the primary concerns or arguments made by those who focus on economic globalization is that transnational corporations have become bigger and more powerful than nation-states. This is an issue of governance or power. While examples of this can certainly be found in corporations such as Microsoft, McDonalds (some have even used the term McDonaldization instead of globalization), Starbucks, Disney or Toyota, the reality remains that this pool of genuinely transnational corporations remains relatively small. Most companies are based nationally and trade multi-nationally on the strength of a major national location of assets, production and sales. There appears to be no major trend towards the growth of truly international companies. The concern, which certainly touches sport as well, ought to be more properly placed not on the power of the corporation per se, but on the reality that the bottom line financial interests of said corporation actually remain centered in its country of origin. So when Toyota sponsors Sparta football, while it does put money into Czech football and thus the Czech economy, its bottom line profit motive still remains in Japan. Thus Czech and Czech football are not so dependent on a foreign corporation as on a foreign economy. However, if globalization were to continue in the manner which many say (and fear) it will, then this economic dependency on global economies would be spread out or diversified to such an extent that the risk becomes largely negated. We will see this reality played out in both the origins and the globalization of the sport of basketball.

One of the great concerns in globalization is the disintegration of the local to make room for the global. This is an issue of cultural transformation. We see the small shops disappear due to their inability to compete, while the large hypermarkets increase in number. The large hypermarkets are typically owned in another culture and little effort is assimilate it to the new cultural context, thus we become more global, or more like everywhere else. In sport this is evident as large sport clubs are acquired by large foreign corporations with headquarters outside the teams' local environment. The argument typically goes along the lines of: as we lose the local, then we also lose cultural identity. This cultural identity includes and is often most easily defined as national identity. As we begin to discuss which national identity is being lost, however, we enter an intellectual quandrum where we are made

painfully aware of the alternative traditions and histories, the layers of local cultures which are suppressed as a result of this globalization phenomenon (Featherstone, 1990). It becomes impossible to talk about a common culture in the fuller sense without talking about who is defining it, within which set of interdependencies and power balances, for what purposes, and with reference to which outside culture will have to be discarded, rejected or deconstructed in order to generate a sense of common cultural identity. This is speaking about the place where we are striving to define culture; in addition we must discuss the time period with which we are associating this culture. Many who are concerned about the loss of the local culture would lead us to believe that local cultures are eternal, that they have been static for almost indefinite periods of time before their current disruption. Research proves that this is inherently false. The local can only be viewed as a fluid and relational space, defined by and through its relation to the global (Morley & Robins, 1995). Particularly as we discuss the globalization of sport, we must keep in mind that organized sport has only permeated much of western society since the rebirth of the Olympic movement under Pierre De Coubertin. The local games that are being displaced in reality lost their foothold 70-100 years ago. That a vestige of these local games has been held onto ought to be celebrated for sure, but it is a grave, and unfortunately common, misnomer to define a culture by a “national game” which was introduced at the beginning of the industrial revolution when people began to have more free time for games and then peaked 70 years ago when more global games that suited the masses and not just the bourgeois were introduced to local cultures. The defining of culture must take into account the time and place that is being defined as well as the background of the person doing the defining.

Globalization, as has already been alluded to, is not an entirely new phenomenon. It is rather a speeding up and spreading out of the old concepts of imperialism or colonialism. There have been global networks of power and imperialist empires for centuries, accompanied by often fierce local resistance by the local entities. The transnational corporations that dominate today’s global economy only represent the current manifestations of the expansions initiated by the rise of merchant capitalism in the seventeenth century. This expansion, as many before it, must permeate into the new local culture first, before flowing back out and finding its way to another untapped local culture. Each time and in each direction the flow must pass through local, regional, national, continental and even dialectical domains. Robins has said, “globalization is about the organization of production, and exploitation of markets on a world scale” (Morley & Robins, 1995, p. 25). While Morely & Robins are stating this in economic terms, which is most certainly the motivator behind this process, the process affects, and has always affected, more than simply the economy. The spread of football

occurred initially along British imperial lines as it entered new nations. The popularity of football has long drawn sporting immigrants from new and untapped markets. The same can be said of the spread of the game of basketball and its currently increasing popularity, albeit starting 50 years behind football. Football was spread through the English colonial/industrial expansion (Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001). Basketball is spreading primarily through the technology and media flow originating in the USA (Melnick & Jackson, 2002). As world markets shift to Asia, we see growth beginning in new sports such as sumo flowing into the continental and national levels by media and capital.

Each of these processes germinated in some form in the nation state of their origin before they began to flow globally. Similar to the new global locations receiving them, these processes, and the culture they carry with them, were developed in a time and place; they were not eternal. Trade and the exchange of capital that the industrial revolution sparked in the UK was not previously a cultural commodity in this form. It flowed out and brought with it another portion of the culture at that time: football for the bourgeois. Cronin and Holt credit the British with spreading football across the globe via merchants and clerks in their global empire through the development of the European and South American railways in the 1860s (2003). They further credit the British with spreading rugby to New Zealand, Australia and South Africa via imperial educators, soldiers and civil servants (Cronin & Holt, 2003). Finally they trace the spread of cricket as it spread the British values of fair play and gentlemanly behavior to Australia, South Africa and then on to the West Indies and India (Cronin & Holt, 2003). France added to this British sport expansion with the development of international sport organizing bodies such as the IOC, FIFA and IAAF, as well as the world-wide events these bodies promoted. As imperialism declined, these world-wide sporting bodies and events grew and became the vehicles of sport diffusion across the world. The French began the Tour de France in 1903 to promote French culture, but by the mid 1900s it was being regularly won by non-French. The race has been international since its inaugural year, but it has not been won by a Frenchman since 1985.

America was not a mass media culture before the development of color television. As this media has grown and come to dominate American culture, it has progressively been exported to the world and carried with it many other current cultural forms (the TV shows *Baywatch*, *Beverly Hills 90210*, and *Married with Children* for example). These are not long-existing cultural artifacts being exported from America, but the current culture. Similarly the culture that basketball or *Baywatch* are displacing are not long-existing cultural artifacts in their new host cultures. The collective memory of culture is relatively short.

So we can appropriately say that in the realm of sport, globalization is not new in its spreading of ideas and displacement of local culture. But with regards to the speed and extent of diffusion of this spread there is a certain, definite increase.

The scope of and responses to sport globalization

In this section we will define the scope of sport globalization and the role of economics on this broadening scope. We will then outline the three typical responses to globalization which researchers have identified.

Westerbeck and Smith have done a masterful job dividing the diffusion and growth of sport into three time periods, and identifying significant markers in each time period (H. Westerbeck & Smith, 2002). (See Table 18 in Appendix 1) Their work is based off earlier works by Dutchman Dejonghe (2001) and Frenchmen Bourq and Gouget (1998). Though some may argue the exact division of time periods these two Australian researchers have chosen, the actual progression of sport as a business serves as a great illustrator of globalization in sport.

We can begin by noting that they choose as a starting point the year 1850, or immediately preceding the rebirth of the modern Olympics. Many have identified the start of globalization in sport as this Olympic rebirth. This effort also illustrates for us a broad spread of sporting ideals, customs, modes and finances already in the second time period from 1918-1980. The major change we see between the second and third time periods is the enormous growth in the diffusion of sport. This is exemplified in the doubling of the number of international competitions, the tripling of the number of Olympic participants, and the explosion of television viewers.

Most sport sociologists concur that the increase in the rate of diffusion of sport in recent years can be singularly traced to the growth and spread of media (Allison, 2006; Andrews, Carrington, Jackson, & Mazur, 1996; Bale & Christensen, 2004; Jay Coakley, 2003; Cronin & Holt, 2003; Donnelly, 1996). Where the spread of sport through the years of imperialism or colonialism generally required the movement of people, now sport, and its associated appendages, can be diffused across cultures without any change of venue. It thus becomes understandable that games which have been created or developed since this media revolution can spread faster and farther than the games which they are replacing. And as those games are packaged in the countries which have the economic resources to most fully utilize these vast media resources, they can be sent out through the visually superior product to receiving countries. An example of this is that British Premiership football reproduced

through television by American Rupert Murdoch has overtaken table tennis as the most-watched sport in China (Barrie Houlihan, Tien-Chin Tan, & Green, 2010).

If we trace the globalization of sport through the last 100 plus years, we will see that economics has always played a significant role. Whether we look at the beginnings of sport where sport served as purely a recreational outlet for the rich and powerful (which we will find to be true at the beginning of sport across every culture), or the current ability of countries to compete in world events like the FIFA World Cup or Olympic Games, we see the role of money at work. Sport spread from one culture to other cultures on the wings of commerce. Football was exported to the world as a fringe recreational activity of the British colonizers (Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001). We see football introduced in Africa and Asia by British merchants and soldiers. Baseball was spread to South Africa and Asia by North American business enterprises and soldiers as a recreational activity (Chiba, 2004). As countries became more free of their colonial ties or military oppression, they exercised their independence with membership and participation in the FIFA World Cup or the Olympic Games.

Now that we have outlined the scope of sport globalization and the role of economics in broadening this scope, we will examine the three responses to sport globalization which researchers have discovered. Harvey, Rail and Thibault (1996) have sketched a web model to aid in the study of the globalization processes in sport. (see Figure 8 in appendix 1) They emphasize that in order to understand the impact of globalization on national sport policies or organizations, we need to identify the issues at both the global and national level. At the global level they outline four dimensions: political, economic, cultural and social dimensions. The same four dimensions are outlined at the national level, but ramifications take on very different flavors and are not homogenous between nations. They conclude that the global pressures are inducing a process of homogenization of sport into Western forms. Second, they conclude that the receptivity and permeation of dominant sport forms at the national level creates different reactions of conformity or opposition. (We will equate their terms of conformity and opposition to the terms commodification and rejection used by Klein (1994) later.) They do not seek to examine the factors that contribute to these different reactions between states. This figurational sociological approach is necessary in understanding the deeper, intertwined tensions between the local and the global.

Sport globalization places pressure toward homogeneity on the national or local level. Some of this pressure is in the form of introducing “new” sport to a culture, and some of it is in the form of rule changes that change the games themselves over time; but much of the global pressure is really on the commodification of sport. The pervasiveness of what is

mainly a distinctly American style of business practice in a range of exported sports such as American football, basketball and baseball has forced people in other more indigenous sports such as soccer, rugby and European ice hockey to align themselves to this model. Failure to do so would jeopardize their place within the hierarchy of the global media-sport marketplace (Maguire & Poulton, 1999). This is evidenced most readily in the use of media and the marketing of sport events, but is also evidenced in the changes to global sport events such as the Olympics. This follows closely the observed patterns from more general globalization study.

In Klein's discussion of the cultural relations between industrial and developing nations, he states that at their core, these relations are based on qualitative and quantitative power differentials (1994). Klein defines the issues in terms of remaining colonialism: there remains a gap in production, distribution and consumption between industrialized nations and those still attempting to industrialize. This view of globalization as neo-colonialism focuses on the homogenization of sport at the expense of the states with less power and benefiting only the new colonial powers. This neo-colonialism is said to be rooted in a Euro-North American domination. The central questions for those representing the colonialization viewpoint surround the issues of concern for national identity, under-development and dependent development. Klein (1994) represents these cultural responses to globalization as acceptance, rejection or commodification. Houlihan (1994) however takes a more figurational approach and examines the differing flows of globalization and outlines six distinct patterns.

Houlihan has classified the response to globalization into six categories based on the notions of reach and response. He views the globalization process as a participatory process that has impact on both the sending and receiving cultures, rather than a one-way process of homogenization. The reach of globalization within a sporting culture might be total or partial, while the response might be passive, participative, or conflictual (Houlihan, 1994). A passive response generally implies either an enthusiasm for the sending culture or an inability to challenge the global culture. A participative response implies a process of negotiation, bargaining, and accommodation and suggests sufficient control over resources to provide the receiving culture with leverage. A conflictual response implies not only sufficient resources to resist, but also values that lead to rejection or attempted rejection of the global culture (Houlihan, 1994). These categories help us make sense of the conflicting reactions to sport globalization within cultures.

## Sport migration: A contextualized example

One of the instances of globalization studied in sport is that of sports migration. We will outline what has been written on this theme as it pertains to globalization before we attempt to further develop this issue in such a way as to help define the scope of globalization which may or may not be represented in individual cases of sport migration. It is important to discuss sport migration in the context of globalization before exploring specific examples or individual cases.

Global sport migration patterns have been defined using Maguire and Pearton's distinctions of core, periphery and semi-periphery. Discernible national patterns can be identified with regard to the recruitment and retention of migrant athletes in sports such as American football, basketball, cricket, ice hockey, track and field and soccer (Šálek, 2000). This true exchange of athletes in immigrant fashion can be differentiated over and against the cosmopolitan athletes in golf, tennis and Formula One who jet-set between nations influencing sport at the global level, but rarely settle long enough to influence the national landscape of their sports (Šálek, 2000). These sports have become ruled by their respective global sport bodies, and then in the case of golf and tennis maintain a strong grass-roots recreational foundation. However, at the national level the governance is truly subsidiary to the global (Rowe, 2003).

Examples of intercontinental movement of immigrant athletes on the migrant level can be seen in Brazilian athletes dominating European soccer teams and Dominican baseball players in American baseball teams (Klein, 1991a). Intra-continental migration of athletes is evident in athletes from the Ukraine and Georgia moving about within the former Soviet Union, or the migration of Eastern Europeans into Western European soccer, volleyball, basketball and ice hockey (Duke, 1994).

## Origins and Spread of Basketball

Thus far we have addressed globalization in general and sport migration as an aspect of sport globalization. As aforementioned, in order to understand the globalization of a sport and how it is affected by the phenomena of sport migration, one must first understand the origins of that sport and how it has grown. Thus at this point we will turn our attention to the origins and spread of the sport of basketball. It is important as we discuss sport migration as a phenomenon of globalization to remember that each sport being globalized now, also spread from its point of origin as a form of globalization at some time in the past. Current research lacks a more in depth historical analysis than many of today's scholars have given when they begin with globalization resulting from the media spread of the NBA, or the impact of the

USA Dream Team from the 1992 Olympic Games. To posit the NBA as the pinnacle of basketball in today's world, or that the Dream Team alone changed basketball and the NBA into what it is today would be naïve. The game of basketball is given a date of origin of 1891 in the USA, by a Canadian. However, by 1911 it was already said to be wildly popular in Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Italy and Spain (Wolff, 2003). It was present as a demonstration sport at the 1904 Olympics, but was not introduced as a full Olympic sport until 1936. By 1918 it was being played in Japan and China. Today the Euroleague is strong enough that a number of players have chosen to leave the NBA to ply their trade for more money in Europe. The Philippines have two professional leagues which pay just below the NBA (Shirley, 2007). Basketball is truly an international game which is both influenced by the world around it, and influencing the world around it. This being said we will interestingly notice that while many nations have adopted the game of basketball, the cultural flow through the sport has largely come from its nation of origin, the USA.

Canadian Dr. James Naismith is credited with creating the game of basketball in 1891 in Springfield, Massachusetts. Dr. Naismith was trying to create a game that would be “interesting, easy to learn, and easy to play in the winter and by artificial light” (Naismith, 1996). The original game was played with peach baskets as the goals and had only 13 rules; the first seven rules established guidelines for a non-contact game. The first game ended 1-0 after one hour of play. The game was originally played with a soccer ball, with today's basketball not being developed until the late 1950s. Basketball spread quickly around the world after its inception in the USA. FIBA, the International Basketball Federation, was created in 1932 with Czechoslovakia as one of its eight founding members. By 1934 there were 17 member countries, and by the 1936 Berlin Olympics there were 32 member nations (Araton, 2005). Today there are 214 member nations.

One often cited reason for the rapid spread of basketball is that Dr. Naismith was employed at the international training center of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). So as the YMCA trained Christian missionaries to go around the world with their Bibles and religion, they also took with them the original 13 rules of basketball (Larmer, 2005b; Naismith, 1996). In fact Lamar cites YMCA missionaries teaching basketball in the city of Tianjin, China only a month after the game's creation in Massachusetts (2005a). The YMCA international training center became Springfield College shortly after Naismith invented the game and was host to many international students who helped spread the game. Among those students were some of the founders of FIBA, William Jones, Ferenc Hepp, and Ed Steitz (Naismith, 1996). Thus we see even at its origins that the game was being used by

those in the western core countries, specifically the USA, to carry a portion of their culture, muscular Christianity, to the periphery and semi-periphery world.

### Measures of Sport Fandom

At this point we turn our attention to the effects of sport migration. However, we must back up and examine the concepts and theory underlying these effects. Globalization is a sub category of socialization. The process of socialization through sport can lead to sport participation and/or sport observation, both crucial elements in defining sport popularity. Since we are concerned with the effect of sport migration on sport popularity, we must first examine the components of sport popularity. Sport participation and sport observation both have various theories which attempt to explain what socialization processes contribute to them. We will examine these theories and models of causality as they relate to the popularity of sport within a culture. It is our hope that by identifying the elements which lead to the socialization of individuals through sport in a culture, we will be better able to identify the elements which need to be taken into consideration in order to influence the popularity of a sport within that culture. Throughout we will also examine other theories from a more marketing, or business perspective, which have been shown to contribute to the causality of individuals partaking in and spectating sport. In the end we are concerned with the processes which contribute to youth taking up and continuing to play the secondary sport of basketball in the Czech Republic. As well we are interested in the processes which lead a person in the Czech Republic to choose to regularly attend extraleague basketball games. Finally we are interested in examining, on a theoretical level, whether or not the use of immigrant athletes at the highest level of Czech basketball contributes to these two processes.

One of the key questions asked about sports by sociologists is do sports socialize people, and if so how. Coakley answers that unequivocally yes, sports do socialize. He states, “sports are social activities which make up our everyday lives. We see them as settings for our social relationships, and as activities that influence our ideas about social life, including our expectations about how social life should be organized. Sports are settings in which people have experiences which inform their own sense of who they are and how they are connected to the rest of the world. The idea that sport participation is related to processes of identity development is central to the study of sport.” (Coakley & Donnelly, 1999)

Sekot states that the sport socialization process of children, primarily boys, has begun already by the preschool age (2006). Though this process is most influenced by parents and family, they cannot completely control this socialization process. He states that the process of sport socialization increases through the years as boys begin organized sport and then begin to

notice, watch and follow high level sport. Sekot states that this process occurs in boys to the point that it is perceived by the culture as a necessary part of the development and maturity of boys to men (Sekot, 2006). Further he states, “socialization is not a onetime social action, but a lifetime process, brought about through a range of strong social relationships to the accepting of life models in the context of basic living” (Sekot, 2006, p. 48). Ingham and Dewar make the case that contact sports in North America serve as a setting in which honor and shame are used to reproduce a form of masculinity in which power over others and the ability to dominate are primary bases for status and prestige (Coakley & Donnelly, 1999). This research incite from the sending nation of North America will become significant when we examine later the impact of the slam dunk on socialization in Czech basketball.

Pigeassou uses Durkheim’s theory of development to delineate between socialization to sport and socialization by sport (Slepičková & Slepička, 2000). He proposes a useful argument based on age and development, which differentiates the positive aspects of socialization to sport, from the negative aspects of socialization by sport. Socialization by sport causes a person to behave as though the world exists only for the individual and results in sporting behavior which is not acceptable in normal society (Slepičková & Slepička, 2000). Eventually this behavior begins to be carried out in normal society outside of sport and we are reminded of the negative effects of sport on a person. Coakley uses functionalist theory to delineate these processes as the process of becoming an athlete and being accepted as an athlete (Coakley, 2003). The majority of research carried out today on sport socialization focuses on this side of sport socialization. This is primarily due to the predominance of conflict and functionalist theory used by sport sociologists. It is also heavily influenced by the role of the media in covering deviance in sport and by sportsmen. This socialization by sport is the dominate theme of professional, elite or high level sport. However, these negative socializing aspects can also be seen today in youth sport as it is dominated by a win at all costs mentality (Boxill, 2003; Coakley, 2003, p. 131; Feezell, 2006). Examples of the results of these negative processes are seen daily in the media. While the positive side of sport socialization, socialization to sport, has fallen out of favor in recent years among sport sociologists, thankfully this process is still at work. The ideas and values of teamwork, hard work, self-realization, respect for rules and authority and a healthy lifestyle, are all positive results of socialization to sport. Much research exists which shows how socialization to sport plays a positive role in character building and protection from the evils of society. The important thing is to understand that sport, in and of itself, does not bring these results, but rather that it can be a good tool for such results. For example Slepička illustrates that sport is one use of free time which shows a tendency to protect Czech youth from drug use and

experimentation (2000). We will examine the socialization processes which lead a youth to begin and continue doing sport, then the socialization processes which lead a person to become a fan who regularly attends sporting events.

### Theories of sport participation

As stated previously many have studied the socialization processes which lead to a person choosing to begin sport participation, continue sport participation and end sport participation. Coakley states that most of the research on these areas is done from a functionalist perspective (2003). These researchers primarily use quantitative research in the form of questionnaires to determine 1) who or what might influence an individual to play sports, and 2) what social development results as a result of sport participation. We are most concerned with this first question, who or what might influence an individual to play sports. Most authors define sport participation in terms of degree of commitment to the sport. Scanlan et al. define commitment as the psychological construct reflecting the desire and resolve to persist in an endeavor over time (2009).

It should be stated again that what we are ultimately interested in this review, is the relationship between sport fandom and sport participation. Does sport fandom lead to sport participation? Does the use of foreigners in Czech basketball result in an increase or decrease in the number of children playing basketball in Czech? While many authors have researched this causal relationship, it should also be noted that the notion that observation leads to participation is a very difficult one to substantiate in many elements of a culture. Many sport researchers have an a priori belief that sports spectatorship will influence sport participation. This is reflected in much of the literature regarding hooliganism and its social concerns. But as Guttman points out, “although it is unusual to denounce museum-goers for not painting still-lives and bad form to fault concert audiences for not playing the violin, it is quite common, even for those who are enthusiastic about sports to criticize spectators for athletic inactivity” (1980, p. 275). Hemphill carries the criticism further in stating, “it would be absurd to insist that all spectators become players, just as it would be absurd to insist that everyone should stop reading books and start writing them, that ballet audiences should take up dancing, that movie goers should make their own films” (1995, p. 52). These criticisms should be well-heeded as there is a definite expectation placed on sport spectatorship as a socializing tool leading to sport participation. However, it should also be noted that particularly in the European club model of sport this expectation is partially the goal. A motivation for a sport club to field a professional team is the visibility this gives them among youth and the resulting expectation that these youth will become participants. So while the

warning issued by Guttman and Hemphill embodies an element of truth, the opposite expectation from those offering sport is also noted.

Most of the studies about becoming and staying involved in sports emphasize the importance of relationships in this process. Of first priority in this process is family (Côté, 1999), then peers (Donnelly & Young, 1999). Researchers have consistently found that those who stayed involved in sports had established a significant portion of both their relationships and identity through their sport participation. These two factors of relationships and identity are interconnected and interdependent. How one views oneself has a direct relationship to the relationships one has and how significant people relate to you. It has been found that over time these significant relationships shift in importance from peers to significant authorities such as coaches and older players (Coakley & White, 1999; Côté, Ericsson, & Law, 2005; Crone, 1999; Lau, Fox, & Cheung, 2004). Stevenson found that children start sports due to peer relationships and parental input, then they continue sports due to their potential for success and supporting relationships (primarily from coaches and family) (1999). Of particular interest is that Stevenson notes this complex process which keeps them in sports is ongoing and thus decided day after day. Carpenter and Scanlan take this notion further with their development of the Sport Commitment Model (1993). Their model hypothesizes that “the more athletes enjoy playing, the more they have invested in their sport, the more opportunities they feel their involvement offers, the more constrained they feel to continue playing, and the less attractive their alternatives to involvement, the greater their commitment” (Carpenter & Scanlan, 1998). So for example, an athlete will remain in a sport as long as he continues to get playing time, support from his friends and family, and does not have other opportunities he views as more valuable. Overall, sport enjoyment, personal investments, social constraints, involvement opportunities, and social support are hypothesized to increase sport commitment, while involvement alternatives are posited to decrease sport commitment.

Lau et al. further expand and quantify the Sport Commitment Model by trying to predict which children will participate in sport. (Figure 10 in appendix 1) Lau set out to measure how much of a person’s identity is formed by their level of sport commitment and from this extrapolate to predict which youth were most likely to become highly identified with sport. They used regression analysis to discover that sport identity is the strongest predictor of sport participation in children. They propose that family, peers and school sport experience begins the socialization process which forms a child’s sport identity. They strive to combine psychosocial and socio-environmental approaches to create a theoretical model from which they can predict which children will endure in their sport participation. The

variables which they include are achievement goal orientations, intrinsic motivation, perceived sport competence, school sport orientation, family sport orientation, peers sport influence, and accessibility to sport. The first three variables mentioned are the psychosocial ones; the next three variables are socio-environmental and then the variable of accessibility to sport they label as only environmental.

Finally, Casper et al. have applied the sport commitment model to adults (particularly adult tennis players) (2007). (Figure 11 in appendix 1) Not only have they used the model to try to explain adult sport participation through frequency of participation, but how this relates to the purchase of related sport products. While the purchase of sport related products does not equal the consumption of sport as a spectator, it does begin to give us a framework from which to begin our search for this correlation as well. This model adds further evidence of the predictive power of commitment in explaining behavioral involvement and purchase intention.

Raymore uses the terms facilitators and constraints to explain commitment to an activity (2002). He defines facilitators as “factors that enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage or enhance participation” (Raymore, 2002, p. 39). Constraints on the other hand, inhibit or thwart interest and participation in leisure activities. Raymore says facilitators and constraints can be intrapersonal (individual traits and beliefs that result in predisposition to an activity), interpersonal (groups or individuals who encourage participation in an activity), or structural (intuitions or belief systems that promote an activity). This terminology is useful in classifying the elements which might contribute to a young person beginning or continuing participation in the secondary sport of basketball in the Czech Republic.

### Sport Participation in the Czech Republic

Before we turn our attention to sport fandom, it is important to gain an overview of sport participation from the Czech population. Slepíčková reports that in 2004, 456,999 children and youth were registered members of sport federations in the Czech Republic (2005). This represents only 4.3% of the population, but it includes only children and excludes those who participate in sport informally. Many more Czech children participate in team sports (308,810), than in individual sports (114,049), but participation overall has increased (though only marginally) since the 1989 revolution (Slepíčková, 2005). While these numbers appear low, they do not tell the whole story of sport participation. Seventy percent of youth recognize sport as important, and this is played out with 22.5% of youth indicating they participate in recreational sport and 25% reporting irregular sport participation

(Jansa, 2002). Czechs prefer to participate in football and ice hockey for boys and tennis for girls (Slepička & Slepičková, 2002). Most youth indicate health reasons as their primary motivations for sport participation (Jansa, 2002). Of particular interest for our research is the participation of Czechs in the sport of basketball. Slepičková reports an increasing trend in this sport (1980 – 15,300, 1988 – 18,066, 1997 – 14,451, 2004 – 21,460) (Slepičková, 2005). Further the Czech basketball federation verifies this trend as continuing to increase among Czech youth, reporting 23,325 youth as members in 2009 (CBF.com, 2009). These numbers pale in comparison to the number of youth participating in football (159,187), but are surprisingly not too much lower than those in ice hockey (25,922). The average Czech adult spends between 100 and 200 Kc on themselves per month for sport and 200-500Kc for their children (Slepička & Slepičková, 2002). In addition Czechs indicate that the primary barrier to participating in sport more is internal motivation, not financial barriers or availability of sporting areas (Slepička & Slepičková, 2002).

#### Theories of sport fandom

When discussing the process of socialization in sport fandom most research has concerned itself with the process from which fans learn and accept the values, beliefs, and attitudes of the sport fan culture (Wann et al., 2001). While this research is very useful, for our purposes it often misses the starting point of how one becomes a sport fan. McPherson (1976) proposes that there are four sources responsible for socialization, he calls them socialization agents. These agents are the individual's family, peers, school and community. It should be noted that these agents are the same for sport participation and fandom, though they may be weighted differently between the two phenomena. McPherson's quantitative study of Canadian teenagers measures the frequency and importance of sport consumption in the teens' lives. He defines sport consumption as a combination of three factors: behavioral, affective and cognitive. The behavioral factor measures the attending of games and choice to buy tickets. The affective factor measures team loyalty and mood changes which occur while watching sport. The cognitive factor measures knowledge of individuals, teams and the rules of the sport.

Wann et al. state that no other set of statistics reveals the pervasiveness of sport more than sport attendance figures (2001). They continue by stating that the second most important statistic which reveals the pervasiveness of sport in a culture is media coverage and they rank the primacy of media modes from television at the top to radio, to print media and finally at the bottom, internet. Those adhering to the theory of interpretive sociology would say that from a fan's perspective, support of a team is always a rational choice (Bromberger, 2004).

As Giulianotti expresses, this creates difficulty in analyzing fan loyalty because though fans view their loyalty as rational, their language betrays them as it is marked by exaggeration and falsely perceived distance (1999). This makes the use of sport attendance figures and media coverage particularly helpful. Slepíčka and Slepíčková refer to sport attendance as active fandom and watching sport through the media as passive fandom (2002).

Much research has gone into identifying the variables which influence direct sport consumption in the form of attendance at sporting events. This research is commonly referred to as demand research. The four primary categories of demand-based research include: 1) the effects of economic factors, such as ticket price, per capita income, substitute forms of entertainment, television, and competing local sport attractions on spectator activities; 2) the relation between socio-demographic factors, such as population, geography, and sport consumer activities; 3) the effects of promotions and special events, star players, team standings, and tournament qualification upon the attractiveness of attending a sport event; 4) residual preference studies which examine the effects of scheduling, fan accommodation, new stadiums, accessibility and weather on consumer behavior. While this line of research is useful and popular, many of the factors identified are not prominent in the context of Czech sport at a secondary level. However, it is useful to reference a number of the more researched influential factors. For instance, research indicates that weather and parking, ticket cost, promotional events, team success, attributions for team success, and the presence of star players all play a role in sport consumption decisions. As stated, many of these factors are not prominent in the Czech basketball context as a secondary sport, but some element of each does have a limited effect and thus they are aptly noted. As well the elements of team success and presence of star players will be studied in our research.

The factor which has been found to be most important in the literature is fans' levels of team identification. Team identification “signifies the extent to which a fan feels a psychological connection to a team, is involved and invested in the team, and sees the team as an extension of the self” (Guttman, 1980; Hirt, Zillmann, Erickson, & Kennedy, 1992). Several researchers have studied the importance of identification in attendance decisions (Wann, Melnick, Russell, & Pease, 2001).

One example of note to our study comes from an examination of National Basketball Association (NBA) fans. Pease and Zhang (1996) determined that team identification was the single best predictor of attendance. This strong correlation between team identification and fan attendance has resulted in theorists interested in explaining the factors involved in attendance decisions incorporating team identification into their models, and empirical testing has substantiated the inclusion of this variable (Laverie & Arnett, 2000). However, these

studies have been done on sports which were primary within a culture. Research has not yet been done showing that this finding also holds true of secondary sports. On the other side, several authors have noted that team identification is much stronger among European football teams than is found in the North American professional sports leagues (Birrell, 1981; Bromberger, 1994; Brown & Walsh, 2000; Cronin & Mayall, 1998; Williams, 2007).

The other disclaimer which needs to be heeded is that though sport has become big business, it is not run like normal business, nor is it susceptible to the normal demands of the market. Simply put, though games are about competition, the business of sport is largely devoid of competition. This is important to remember when we try to implement instruments of fan attendance measurement, or market research which aims to draw more fans. Kuper and Szymanski report that in 1923 England's Football League consisted of 88 teams, spread over 4 divisions. During the 2007-08 season 85 of these clubs still existed and 75 remained in the top four divisions (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009). A club which fails to keep up with the competition on the field or with their budget might get relegated, but it can always survive at a lower level. Some fans might lose interest, but the geographical roots of clubs keep most core fans. In business we call this moral hazard, which means that when an entity knows it will be saved no matter how much money it loses or its results, then you are free to lose money. This is important for those trying to understand fan behavior in order to market and promote sport. Traditional business models fall short in many attempts to analyze sport fandom. As Liverpool fan and Liverpool University professor, Rogan Taylor said, "Soccer is more than just a business; no one has their ashes scattered down the aisle at Tesco" (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009).

With that disclaimer in mind we will now turn to more business-oriented methods of studying sport fandom, which shift our terminology to sport consumption. When examining sport consumption, the motives of the sport fan in choosing to consume a particular sport are quite important and well researched. While the list of possible motives was limited to four categories above, Wann has expanded them to eight motives which have been identified as particularly common among fans: escape, economic, eustress, self-esteem, group affiliation, entertainment, family, and aesthetics (2001). This expansion to eight motives is useful as others have used the same eight, based on Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, to compare consumption and participation motives (McDonald, Milne, & Hong, 2002; McFarland, 2007; McPherson, 1976). Further these eight motives were used in the common measurement tool called the Sport Fan Motivation Scale developed by Wann in 1995. Wann developed a questionnaire containing 23 items divided into eight subscales representing the eight motives (2002). These eight motives have been further researched and expanded as explained below.

The escape motive involves the use of sport fandom and spectating as a diversion from the rest of one's life. The economic motive is identified in individuals who are attracted to the potential economic gains which can be obtained through sport betting which is far outside our current review. This motive is consistently found to be lower than the others in the research. The third motive is eustress (i.e., euphoric stress), which involves a desire to gain excitement and stimulation through sport. Fans with high levels of eustress motivation become involved because they enjoy the excitement and arousal they experience watching sport. The fourth motive, group affiliation, considers the social nature of sport spectating. The research appears to support the idea that fans display a clear preference for consuming sport as a part of a group. For some fans, the opportunity to spend time with friends is a significant motivator in their decisions to consume sport. Another important fan motive is entertainment. Many individuals become involved in sport fandom simply because it is perceived as an enjoyable pastime. In these instances, sport fans are motivated in much the same way as fans of other recreational pursuits, such as going to the theater, watching television, or reading books. A number of researchers have examined the characteristics of sporting events that are perceived as entertaining. This literature indicates that watching one's favorite teams succeed, watching a rival lose, and watching violent sports are viewed by many fans as entertaining. The family motive is similar to the group affiliation motive. However, rather than involving a desire to be with others, the family motive involves the consumption of sport because it provides an opportunity to spend time with family members. The final factor underlying fan consumption of sport is the aesthetic motive. This motive involves an individual's desire to participate in sport as a fan because he or she enjoys the artistic beauty and grace of sport movements.

Again it is important for us to try to understand how these theories of sports fandom are displayed in the Czech context. Slepíčka found in a study from 1991 that the majority of Czechs and Slovaks stated that sport spectating was “an important way to spend their free time in a pleasant way” (1991). While only 6.8% of Czechs indicate that they visit sport events one or more times per week, only 17% of Czechs indicate that they do not watch sport at all on television (Slepíčka & Slepíčková, 2002). In addition about 1/3 of youth indicate they follow sport in the printed media regularly (Jansa, 2002). About half of the population (46.8%) indicate that they do not go to sport events at all. Those who attend the most are men between the ages of 19 and 39 years of age (Slepíčka & Slepíčková, 2002). Kotlík et al. indicate that youth under the age of 18 make up 40.74% of all spectators at Czech football matches (Kotlík, Slepíčka, & Slepíčková, 2005). Kotlík et al. also indicate that about 28% of sport spectators in Czech are women, which is an increase from previous studies (2009). Czech youth indicate that their primary motivation for attending sporting events is to be a part

of a group (Kotlík et al., 2005). As with sport participation, ice hockey and football reign in both sport attendance and television viewing. So sport plays an important role in Czech society and particularly among Czech youth where only 17% indicate they do not attend sport events at all and only 8% do not watch sport on television (Kotlík et al., 2005).

Sport consumption is a complicated activity in which participation and fandom are often intertwined. The four most intertwined sport motivations between the two appear to be mental well-being, sport aesthetics, social needs, and fitness needs (McDonald et al., 2002). For our study we are most concerned not only with the causal link between motivations, but how the use of foreign athletes plays into this causality. Mental well-being includes self-esteem, stress reduction, risk-taking and aggression, which all rank highly as motivations for both spectators and participants. However, the only ones of these which are affected by the use of foreign athletes are perhaps self-esteem and aggression. Self-esteem will be addressed below more specifically as it is further broken down into the specific motivations of achievement and self-measurement. Aggression is affected by foreign players in that many of the foreigners playing in the top Czech league play a much more aggressive and physical style of basketball (similar to the difference between NHL ice-hockey and the European equivalent). Over time this more aggressive style of play is accepted by younger players as they are socialized by the play of the dominant, more successful foreign players. This aggressive, more physical style of play is initially rejected by the spectators, until the adaptation of young Czech players causes them to rise to an equal footing with the foreign stars, at which point spectators accept this new level of aggression within the sport. Maguire found similar results in the use of foreigners in ice hockey as did Olin in Finnish basketball (Maguire, 1996; Olin, 1984). That sport aesthetics has been found to be highly correlated between spectators and participants is of further interest to our current study in that McDonald et al. found artistry and beauty to be the highest ranked motivations in the sports of basketball and golf among spectators (2002). Given that beauty is traditionally culturally defined and medially driven, the increase in coverage of foreign basketball leagues on Czech television is expected to drive the expectation of a new form of beauty on Czech basketball on both young players and spectators. That foreign players reinforce this definition of beauty through their higher rate of success over the Czech player still using an older form of the beautiful game, will further drive this social change in defining what is aesthetically pleasing in the sport of basketball. The two remaining highly correlated motivations of social needs and fitness needs do not appear to be affected by the use of foreign players.

It has been suggested that the achievement motivation for fans and the measurement motivation for participants, as outlined by Wann (1999), takes the form of basking in and

dreaming of the “reflected glory” of the victorious team or the star player. This element of affiliation proved to be the most highly correlated for both spectators and participants in a study conducted by McDonald et al. (2002). However, this is most common when the composition of the team or the cultural-ethnographic make-up of the player is close to the fan or participant. The larger this gap, the less likely this reflected glory will be basked in, and even more, dreamed of. This poses a potential problem for the use of foreign players as stars in increasing fan attendance and youth participation. It does not eliminate this effect, but it does place some limit on it by virtue of cultural distance.

Thus far we have presented an overview of the socialization processes involved in sport participation and consumption, and begun to reflect on what this might mean in the secondary sport of basketball in the Czech Republic based on the element of the use of foreign stars. The remaining element which we will examine in this socialization process is the role of the athlete as a role model.

#### Roles of heroes / role models

Coaches, sports promoters, and the media regularly promote elite athletes as influential role models. As one prominent example, in his position as commissioner of the NBA, David Stern proclaimed that “you mimic behavior, good and bad, and what you see on televised games. Athletes need to accept that they are role models” (Sailes, 2001). We must begin by defining what we are speaking about when we refer to an athlete or any other member of society as a role model. Originally, in Merton’s classic sociological role theory, the influence of role models came from providing a reference point for the behaviors associated with specialized social roles – such as the physical aptitudes and talents associated with a particular sport (Merton, 1968). More recently, however, Addis argues that the role model concept has broadened from a focus on “role imitation” to an identification with a “comprehensive” set of characteristics that society associates with success (Addis, 1996). Thus, athletes are positioned as role models not only for sport skills and talents, but also for a comprehensive set of personal characteristics such as morality, citizenship, and wisdom. We find sport ethicist Randolph Feezell’s distinction between what it means to be a role model in a narrow sense (as was defined by Merton) versus in a broad sense (as expounded on by Addis) to be particularly helpful:

“To be a role model in a narrow sense is limited to a particular context in which some person or persons would attempt to imitate the behavior of the role model. In this sense, the emphasis is on the particular role or station in which the supposed role model is involved, whether it is as a teacher, lawyer, or baseball player. For example,

in athletics the more experienced members of a team are often called on to be good “role models” for younger members of the team in order to show what the coach expects when preparing for games, practicing, and playing the game: “Be on time,” “play hard,” “share the ball,” “do the little things,” and so on. Younger team members imitate experienced teammates. In the narrow sense, to “Be like Mike” is to play basketball like Michael Jordan.

In the broad sense, role models are significant not simply for how they typically act in a particular role they play in life. In the more global sense a role model shows us how to navigate our way through life in all sorts of situations. Broadly speaking, a role model is an object of imitation when we reflect on the larger ethical questions: How should I live? What kind of person should I be? In this sense, the significance of “Be like Mike” transcends basketball and extends to non-athletic areas of life.” (Freezell, 2005, p. 21)

Having defined what we mean by role models, we now turn our attention to the research on the type and scope of impact these role models really have. In one study of young men, Fleming et al. found that young rugby players in Britain tend to primarily identify technical skills and physical qualities as the important characteristics of athletes as role models; however, respondents also attended to personal qualities such as temperament, decision-making, and identity (Fleming, Hardman, Jones, & Sheridan, 2005). Thus we see Freezell’s narrow and broad sense of role models. When investigating a mixed gender sample of sports fans, Giuliano et al. found that the general public tends to select elite athletes as role models based on a mixture of professional and personal qualities including, in order of perceived importance: working hard, being a good person, being a team leader, and having self-confidence (Giuliano, Turner, Lundquist, & Knight, 2007). They also found that females were more likely than males to attend to personal rather than professional qualities in athletes as role models. The important dimension from such studies seems to be the degree to which people admire athletes as role models for their personal qualities in contrast to athletic prowess. This said there appears to be little scientific basis for the commonly held notion of causality between role models and sport participation. There is evidence for emulation of sport role models within sporting identities, but this does little to draw young people to sport or keep them in sport longer.

The foreign athletes who come into the Czech society represent a different kind of role model, which creates barriers to its adaptation into Czech society. Many of the basketball players who come to play in Czech are American. Bale, in his examination of foreigners

going into the American university sport system, states that American athletes “reflect high levels of achievement motivation, are generally aggressive, and display a high level of extraversion” (1991, p. 8). This is quite a contrast to the Czech athlete and potential fan. Hofstede states about Eastern Europeans as a whole as a collectivist culture, where the emphasis is on belonging and the ideal is to be a good member (Fernandez, Carlson, Stepina, & Nicholson, 1997; Hofstede, 2001). Hartmann argues that basketball “has become a crucial social space for the development of an African-American identity and aesthetic” (2000, p. 240). He is primarily studying sport as “contested racial terrain”, in which the development of racial identities is either nurtured or hindered (Hartmann, 2000, pp. 229–230). We can substitute cultural for racial in our context, and say with Hartmann that sports serve as an area for social and cultural acceptance or resistance. He claims that sport is one of the areas where race is defined in relationship to society, and that African-Americans consider basketball a forum for nurturing cultural identities, interests and meanings (Hartmann, 2000). Ogden and Hilt view basketball as a vehicle by which blacks in general express their rebellion against social and economic oppression (2003). Several authors have discovered that the sport role models portrayed in the media are predominately basketball players for black men. Thus black men who reach the level of playing professionally view themselves as role models and carriers of the black identity message.

Thus we return to our question from the outset, “How do foreign players affect the socialization which occurs through basketball in the Czech Republic?” Before we proceed too far into this question, it is important to note that Czech culture appears to be less enamored with sport idols than North American culture, where much of the research on role models has been carried out (Rychtecký, 2006; Slepíčka, 1996). But even if Czechs are less likely to form role models in sport, research indicates that those participating in sport are still highly affected by sport idols (Kotlík et al., 2005; Landa, 2009). Horne defines socialization as the process by which individuals learn to conform to social norms and learn how to behave in ways appropriate to their culture (1999). Thus we must ask the question which culture is the individual being socialized into? If it is the larger national culture, the behavior will be perhaps different, than if they are being socialized into the basketball culture. The reality is that individuals are being socialized into both cultures simultaneously, and the basketball culture is socializing into the Czech culture at the same time. Authors speak of primary socialization as that which occurs in childhood and is primarily influenced by the family and the school. The secondary socialization occurs later as the individual moves from childhood to being a member of society. Thus the primary socialization is more likely to be dominated by the Czech culture, while the secondary socialization may be more influenced by the

basketball culture depending on the level of identity which the individual finds within the sport. Kotlík et al. state that the opportunity to watch a famous sportsman increases the identification of youth with the sport idol, which leads to increased watching of matches, which can lead to increased motivation to practice the sport (2005). Jarvie and Maguire speak of the performance of embodied acts as an indicator of socialization (Jarvie, Mansfield, Bradley, & Maguire, 2002). In basketball the performance of the act of dunking the basketball is such an embodied act. We will use this socialized embodied act as a symbol of conflict between the Czech culture and the basketball culture.

This is all well and good in terms of understanding the role of the foreigner on the socialization of individual players within the game, but what about the role of foreigners in participation and spectating in the game of basketball. Ranc's study on the effect of the Bosman ruling on fan loyalty shows that players are not the only means through which fans attach to their clubs (2007). He concludes that the Bosman ruling has led some more traditional teams' fan loyalty to shift from being carried by players to being carried by a team president or manager. Ranc states, "The idea that the increase in the number of foreigners in football teams poses a threat to the possibility for football supporters to identify with clubs seems to result from a misapprehension of the phenomena of identification and symbolization of identity in football clubs" (Ranc, 2007, p. 199). Kuper and Szymanski say that English football fans' favorite scapegoat as per why England does not rule the football world anymore is the use of import players in the English Premier League (2009). The common argument given after England failed to qualify for the 2008 European Championships due to a loss to Croatia went along the lines of, "if our boys can barely get into a game in their own league, how can they hope to mature into internationals" (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, p. 14). Those opposed to the importation of players into national leagues rely on the economic concept of "import substitution". The idea is that if a nation bans or taxes a certain import, then the country will produce more of the product at a higher level themselves. This is the logic behind limits of the number of foreigners on teams in national leagues. UEFA president Michel Platini argues,

"It is my philosophy to protect the identity of the clubs and country. Manchester United against Liverpool should be with players from Manchester and Liverpool, from that region. Robbie Fowler was from Liverpool. He grew up in that city, it was nice, but now you don't have the English players." (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, p. 15)

The problem with Platini and others who argue this way is that English fans want to see teams full of foreign players. The premiership continues to draw record numbers of fans,

despite its record ticket prices. English football players played only 37% of the total minutes in the Premiership during the 2007-08 season (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009). Even if EU law could be suspended, so that English football, or other EU sport leagues for that matter, could go back to being dominated only by nationals, the inferior sport product would likely draw decreasing numbers of fans even though the games would cost less. Highly identified fans would remain loyal, but more casual fans of the sport itself would choose to follow the stars making up the best teams somewhere else. We see this phenomenon with Czechs often preferring Premier League football over the Czech Gambrinus league, or the many who follow the NBA, but do not follow their national basketball leagues. Thus the strong identity that does remain with local clubs does not appear to be primarily driven by identification with star players, though this motive does remain to some degree.

Bromberger has identified what he terms three primary means of symbolization from which fans find meaning and attachment to a team: the style of the team, its composition, and the support for identification provided by one player's personality (Bromberger, Hayot, & Mariottini, 1995). Ranc expounds on Bromberger's notion that fans identify themselves with a team through their players by examining the composition of the team (2007). He examines four football teams in France and the United Kingdom and discovers that, while the use of foreign players may draw an initial negative fan reaction, this response is short lived. An excellent example of this, which he mentions, is Rangers in Glasgow. When the traditionally Protestant club hired their first Catholic player in 1995, many fans expressed their broken loyalty by burning their season tickets in the streets. However, the number of season ticket holders returned to normal within a year and has risen every year since then in spite of continued use of Catholic players. It should be noted that Ranc is studying a primary sport in very multicultural societies.

One of the studies we have drawn heavily from in shaping our current research was conducted by Joseph Maguire. He is perhaps the most published researcher on sport migration with at least 15 journal articles and three books dedicated to the topic. Maguire uses different terminology to describe and examine sport fan motivation, but his findings parallel those of Wann. In one of Maguire's first typologies of the flow of sport between cultures he draws on Appadurai's model of ethnoscapas, technoscapas, financiescapas, mediascapas and ideoscapas (Maguire, 1993). While these five categories are closer to the four categories mentioned above than the eight motives developed by Wann, they are significant for our research as they, along with those developed by Houhlihan, are the most often cited in sport globalization literature. Houhlihan expounds on Maguire's model and does it perhaps more justice in bringing it closer to the larger body of demand research

literature and its foundation of Maslow's hierarchy (1994). However, Girginov and Sandanski remind us of some conditions which Appadurai originally placed on these cultural flows and expound them for sport:

“the diffusion of sport as a specific cultural product from one location to another, involves five interrelated key processes: (a) the transfer of values and concepts atypical of the recipient culture; (b) the penetration of a distinct form of organization (schools, clubs, rules and regulations) that may or may not necessarily accompany the transfer; (c) the introduction of specific modes of conducting sporting practices, or how individuals become primarily involved and progress in sport; (d) the form of provision – self-help, public, voluntary or private; and (e) the pattern of participation in sport – individually, collectively, for enjoyment or for excellence.” (2004, p. 818)

### Role of Sport Marketing

If we are going to consider the impact of foreigners on fan attendance and perhaps to a degree even on youth participation, then we must also consider the business practice of marketing the product of basketball to Czech consumers. Mullin, Hardy and Sutton define sport marketing as consisting of “all activities designed to meet the needs and wants of sport consumers through exchange processes” (2000). Pitts and Stotlar define sport marketing similarly as “the process of designing and implementing activities for the production, pricing, promotion of a sport product to satisfy the needs or desires of consumers and to achieve the company's objectives” (1998, p. 3).

Mullin, Hardy and Sutton continue to define two thrusts within sport marketing: one marketing sport products and services “directly to consumers of sport”, and the other marketing normal products and services through sport (2000, p. 17). Thus sport marketing refers either to the marketing of sport or sport products directly, or using sport as a vehicle to market other goods and service to the consumer. In the first thrust we can evaluate Czech basketball in how teams attract fans to games, how teams attract youth to play in their development program, or how teams sell products associated with their teams such as jerseys or mugs. In the second thrust we can evaluate how teams use their sport capital to sell other products. In the Czech market this refers primarily to sponsorship. As we will see, very few teams use their players outside the arena of sponsorship to help sell a product. We can see examples from this second thrust of sport marketing outside the arena of basketball in the sports of football or ice hockey.

Understanding different spectator motivations is another important aspect which must be considered when discussing marketing and can benefit the sport marketer who desires to

increase team revenues and ticket sales. Of particular interest are both the marketing manager understanding the specific motivations that drive a spectator or fan to consume a sport and the subsequent development of marketing communications based on these motivations.

“Being a sport fan, particularly demonstrating certain sporting allegiances, can help define who a person is, and say a great deal about them to other people. Moreover, sporting interests and allegiances can play a crucial role in defining social networks. Not only those based around supporter ‘communities’, but also by providing a source of conversation, identity and similarity for friendship groups, families, work colleagues, internet discussion groups and a myriad of other possible social arrangements.” (Crawford, 2004, p. 106)

As Graham, Neirotti and Goldblatt note sport is becoming such that the score becomes incidental to the overall entertainment value a fan receives (2001). The goal in sport marketing, as in the marketing of any event, is to meet customers’ needs and to ultimately retain or increase the visitation of the sport event and the corporate sponsors. Čáslavová states that as this process has increased in the Czech sport market, the sport firms and organizations have seen the need to analyze and identify their competition to arrive at a pricing strategy. The sport business has to recognize that sport consumers are informed of the sport products available to them, thus the sport business has to find the best way to take their sport product to their target audience (Čáslavová, 2009).

When speaking of sport marketing it is generally accepted that we must examine four areas: product, price, place, and promotion, as was previously mentioned from Pitts and Stotlar. Some authors such as Mullin, Hardy and Sutton will add a fifth area of public relations. Other authors include public relations within promotion. Breaking these areas down further we can say that the sport product should include the event itself, ticketing, organization, facility, equipment and apparel among other things. The sport product has a core and then extensions. The sport product must have the core to be a product, but the extensions are only partially dependent on the actual sport product. From a marketing standpoint we can say that the core of the sport product is the event experience. This experience must have a game which is played or watched, players, equipment and a venue. Much more makes up the event experience, such as concessions, parking, and perhaps halftime entertainment, but the event can take place, be marketed and sold without these extensions. The sport product of a basketball game is a game of speed, agility, physical contact and finesse. Rules govern or protect the game for the players as well as for the fans. These rules affect the marketing of the game whether we realize it or not. For example the

24-second shot clock was added to the game of basketball in the 1980s to speed up the game in order to keep fans interested. In Czech the rules governing the number of foreign players allowed on each team not only affects team budgets and competitiveness, but also the attractiveness of the event for the fans. It has still to be shown whether the increase in foreign players allowed, and consequent decrease in Czech players in the starting lineup of the teams, will make basketball more or less marketable in Czech. In analyzing this fairly recent phenomena however more than just the effect of the foreign player on the core of the sport product must be taken into consideration. The use of the foreign players in the marketing of the sport product extensions must be taken into consideration as well.

The core issues in any pricing situation are cost, value and objectives. Cost is the most visible and often the most compelling of these three. We can express the evaluation of this as:

$$\text{customer satisfaction} = \text{benefit gained} - \text{cost}$$

The cost must be evaluated from the customer's perspective. Mullen, Hardy and Sutton have said that when a customer is evaluating the value of a product they typically consider not only the price paid for all goods and services linked to the product, but equally important: convenience, aesthetics, cleanliness, comfort, security, availability and durability (2007). Each of these make up the event and purchasing experience to determine the true price. The actual event price or price of the good associated with the core product can be readily changed, but these less tangible parts that the customer links to value must not be forgotten.

This study will concentrate most of its evaluation on promotion, which is defined as the numerous activities designed to simulate consumer interest in, awareness of, and purchase of the product (Mullin et al., 2007). Čáslavová emphasizes the two concepts of sponsorship and advertising as the currently most developed areas in Czech sport marketing (2009). These two areas will be most evident in the promotional efforts of basketball teams as evidenced by their events, venue, literature and websites. To be successful promotional efforts should increase awareness, attract interest, arouse desire and initiate action. The role of promotion is to inform and persuade the customer and thus influence the consumer's purchase decision.

The place is the other area that will be concentrated on in this study. Place is not only the venue of the core event, but also the product distribution of the extensions to this core product. Thus concessions, ticketing, venue image and merchandise are also considered in product placement. Facility design and personnel visible at an event are crucial in examining a place in terms of event experience.

In establishing a marketing plan the sport club must first determine the right marketing mix. This marketing mix takes into account the 4 P's of product, price, place and promotion,

but also takes into account the targeted consumer and the other products in the market. Smith and Stewart break sport event consumers into 5 categories and motivations: aficionado, theatergoer (casual and committed), passionate partisan, champ follower and reclusive partisan (2010).

### Scope of Sport Migration

At this point we turn our attention back from socialization and sport fandom to sport migration before we examine specific case studies in this realm of globalization. A core question in ascertaining the reach and response of globalization in sport is that of sport migration. The best basketball players in the world go to play in the United States NBA. The best football players in the world make their way to Europe's Champions League. The Champions League is made up of teams from 22 countries, but each of these teams could hardly be said to be homogeneously composed of athletes from their resident nation. We could go on with such a list: the best baseball and ice hockey players to the USA's MLB and NHL. The best cricket and rugby players make their way to England's and Australia's top leagues. While this is the most visible display of the sport migration which comprises sport globalization, characterized by media heavy coverage which allows these elite leagues to beam their product back to the host nations of their athletes. By bringing Yao Ming to the NBA, the NBA was able to open up a potential market of 1.3 billion people. This phenomenon has been highly criticized as stripping economically weaker nations of their best talent so that the rich can get richer.

Less visible are the large numbers of second tier athletes crossing the globe to play in less-prestigious leagues. In our study there were at one point 54 non-Czechs on the rosters of the 11 teams composing Mattoni NBL. Brazilian football stars are no longer just found in Brazil and on Champions League teams and contenders, but in Qatar, Korea, Japan and even Czech. This phenomenon has been criticized as taking away sporting opportunities from the talent raised up in a given nation and making a few individual clubs more valuable than national teams.

As stated, Yao Ming opened the Chinese market, and Jiří Welsh re-opened the Czech market to the NBA. News of Welsh's basketball experiences filtered into the Czech Republic daily through newspaper, television and satellite. At the time of Welsh's departure to basketball's most prestigious league, there were 29 foreigners playing in Czech's highest basketball league. Most of these hail from the United States and the former Yugoslav Republics. While Welsh and Ming build the brand of the NBA in their home countries through media exposure, there is very scant media coverage of the immigrant athletes playing

in the Czech basketball league. Several studies have sought to show the correlation between the exportation of talent such as Ming and Welsh to the most prestigious leagues and the growth of their sports in their home culture (Cronin, Doyle, & O’Callaghan, 2008; Goldiner, 2003; Larmer, 2005b). However, little has been done to study the correlation of immigrant athletes in receiving countries and their internationally less prestigious sporting leagues.

In order to obtain a glimpse of the scope of this less covered phenomenon we present the following table of the composition of basketball leagues across Europe from 2005.

**Table 1. - Composition of European Basketball Leagues**

Country	Percentage of foreign players	Percentage of American players
BELGIUM	57%	40%
ENGLAND	51%	74%
FRANCE	55%	43%
GERMANY	71%	39%
ITALY	65%	45%
NETHERLANDS	48%	62%
SPAIN	65%	31%

(Pedneau, 2005)

#### Categorization of sporting immigrants

In spite of this recognition of the scope of global migration little has been done to categorize the phenomenon. In the next section we will examine the categorizations which have been done to date. We will then attempt to synthesize these categorizations and apply them to specific case studies on sport migration. Maguire (1996) has sought to categorize the motivations and experience of many of these migrants with his categorization of athletes as pioneer, settler, returnee, mercenary and nomadic cosmopolitan. Many have tried to categorize what is being globalized (economic, political, and cultural/ideological dimensions) (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). Others have tried to categorize the scope of sport globalization: reach (total or partial), and response (acceptance, rejection and commodified integration) (Donnelly, 1996; Harvey, Rail, & Thibault, 1996). Elliott and Maguire have sought to compare the trends in sport migration with those which have surfaced among other skilled laborers (2008). Yet still nothing has been done to categorize the basic elements of countries sending and receiving, and sports being sent or received.

### *Level 1: Typologies of immigrant athletes*

It is necessary to start with a delineation of the categories that have been identified by previous researchers. First among those is Maguire's (1996) categorization of the athletes themselves based on motivation and length of stay. Maguire introduced six categories which have been cited by numerous others. Magee and Sugden (2002) used more concrete data from one specific league to adjust these categories to expelled, mercenary, settler, ambitionist, exile and nomadic cosmopolitan. We will refer to these typologies of athletes as level 1 of our categorization.

We believe that Maguire's typology of sport labor migration provides a very helpful starting point in simply classifying the phenomenon of sport migration (Figure 12 in appendix 1) (Maguire, 1996). Maguire attempts to divide migrant athletes into five categories, which help us understand the possible motivations of the individual athlete, the possible motivations of the receiving teams and countries, the adaptation process of the athlete, and perhaps the potential issues that must be faced (Maguire, 1996). The first category is the "Pioneer" athlete. The pioneer is almost a missionary of the sport; their intention is to promote the virtues and potential of the sport in their new context. Those sent out by the US Information Service's "Sports America Program" until the early 1990s are excellent examples of pioneer athletes (Cronin et al., 2008; Dunning, 1993; Ingham & Beamish, 1993). The second category, "Settlers", not only bring the sport with missionary zeal, but choose to stay in the host culture and make it a sort of home. Many times this will occur through marriage to a citizen of the new country or more often it is done in an attempt by the receiving team or country to escape legal quotas placed on foreign players and boost the quality of national teams (Andrews, 1996; Donnelly, 1996; Maguire, 1996). The third category Maguire outlines are the "Returnees". These are the players who have played migrantly outside their home country and return often at the end of their careers to play again in the nation of their birth. They bring with them the style of play, the values associated with the game and the work ethic of their host countries. A recent example of this having great potential to influence the position of sports in societies is the return of NHL players to their native leagues due to the 2004-2005 lockout. The fourth category is that of "Mercenaries". These are motivated by short-term financial gain and are brought on as the hired guns. The final category is that of "Nomadic Cosmopolitans", and is best typified by golf and tennis players playing on the professional tours. They are constantly shifting workplace and residence, will often maintain multiple residences, but do not bring significant benefit to any one country beyond their sending country (Maguire, 1996).

Magee and Sugden have attempted to modify Maguire's typology slightly to provide a more accurate picture of the world sport migration phenomenon (2002). We will not examine the criticisms of Magee and Sugden here, but we will join with them in one difference from Maguire. Magee and Sugden do not find a need for Maguire's separate term of Mercenary, finding it overlapping with the Nomadic Cosmopolitan and the Settler. They go further and recast the portion of what Maguire groups in Settlers as those willing to change nationality to escape quotas as "Mercenaries" (Figure 13 in appendix 1) (Magee & Sugden, 2002). We agree with this differentiation and will use the term mercenary to mean those who have exchanged nationality or citizenship solely for the opportunity to compete at the world level or to escape a foreigner quota. The exchange of citizenship issue in athlete migration has increased rapidly in the last few years since Maguire's typology was introduced in 1996. The scope and reasons for this increase in citizenship exchange will be discussed later.

#### *Level 2: Country classification*

The second level of categorization which has previously been researched is that of countries. Several authors have examined the sport globalization motif and found parallels between general globalization categories of countries and those in sport globalization (Maguire & Pearton, 2000a). These are either categorized as core and periphery or core, semi-periphery, and periphery based on political, cultural and economic conditions. As stated previously Maguire and Pearton place Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand as core sporting countries (2000a). They place former socialist countries, some South and Central American countries and several emerging nations such as South Korea at the semi-peripheral level. And finally they place most Islamic countries and the majority of African and South Asian countries on the outer peripheral (Maguire & Pearton, 2000a). These labels are most certainly helpful in understanding who is gaining and who is losing in the globalization process, however, it is also necessary to identify within each case of sport migration if a country is in the position of sender or receiver (sometimes this is referred to as donor and host). Others have tried to label this process of globalization as colonialism, Americanization, creolization, Japanization, and homogenation (Donnelly, 1996; Galily & Sheard, 2002; Harvey et al., 1996; Houlihan, 1994; Jackson & Andrews, 1999; Sánchez, Castellanos, & Dopico, 2007).

#### *Level 3: Sending and Receiving*

The third level of categorization which needs to be considered, yet has only been mentioned on a cursory level is that of the priority of the given sport in the sending or

receiving country. Chiba has referred to sending as “out-migration” and receiving as “in-migration” (2001). Is this sport of primary importance in the country sending or receiving or is it a secondary sport. In reality we should probably have two additional categories here of alternative and fringe sports. However, migration is less visible here and much harder to document, though the flow will be similar to that of primary and secondary sport.

Further these receiving and sending nations can be broken down into those with money, infrastructure and power and those without or still gaining in such power as we have illustrated in level 2 (Maguire, 2005). Discernible national patterns can be identified with regard to the recruitment and retention of migrant athletes in sports such as American football, basketball, cricket, ice hockey, track and field and soccer (Šálek, 2000). Sekot states that in soccer the “non-core” leagues are in a dependent relationship with the core leagues of Europe (2006). This true exchange of athletes in immigrant fashion can be differentiated over and against the cosmopolitan athletes in golf, tennis and Formula one who jet-set between nations influencing sport at the global level, but rarely settling long enough to influence the national landscape of their sports.

#### *Level 4: Response*

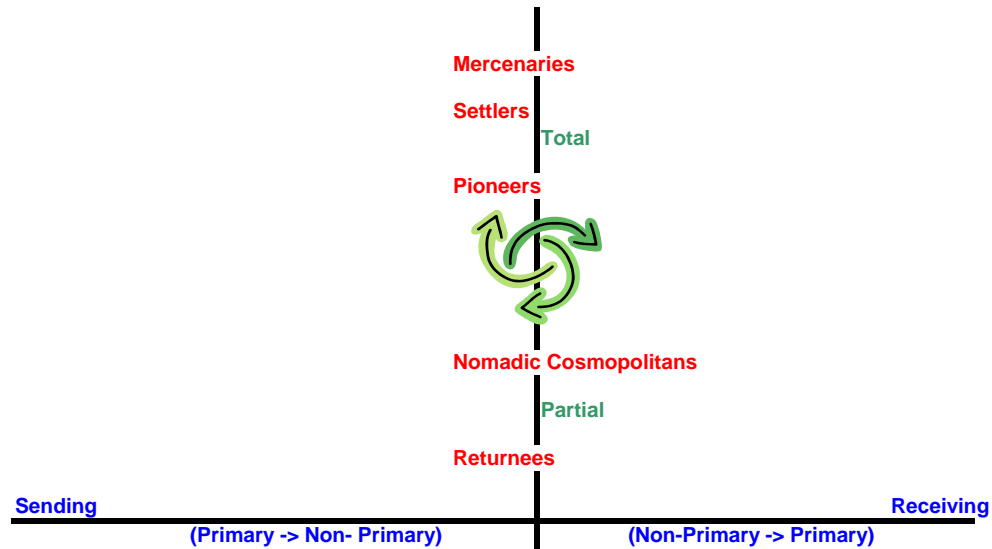
The final category identified in the research is that of a measure of response to globalization, which was addressed above. Where Maguire and Magee’s models help us understand the migrating athlete and their motivations, Houlihan’s figurational model helps us understand the response of a receiving country to sport globalization (1994) (Figure 14 in appendix 1).

What is the reach and response, or push and pull of and to the globalizing practice? Does each sending and receiving country accept, reject or commodify the use of immigrant athletes? Maguire and Falcou’s (2005) study of basketball in England, Maguire’s (1996) study of ice hockey in Europe, Lafranchi and Taylor’s (2001) and Maguire and Stead’s (1998) studies all show acceptance and commodification. Klein (1989) and Chiba (2001; 2004) both show stronger commodification and rejection in their studies of baseball in the Dominican Republic and in Japan.

We have attempted to combine the reach aspect of Houlihan’s typology with Maguire’s categories of immigrant athletes in figure 1 below. In addition we have placed these elements on an axis to represent both the sending and receiving countries. The research seems to support the notion that sending countries send athletes from their primary sports into the receiving country’s non-primary sports. We will try to illustrate this further as we

examine the case studies below from the perspective of sending and receiving countries and the typologies outlined above.

**Figure 1. - Houlihan's typology + Maguire's immigrant typologies**



(Crossan, 2008)

Perhaps an easier way to visualize this interplay is through a matrix. The global migration of athletes though different between different countries and sports, does most often appear to follow patterns found in globalization studies from the world beyond sport as has been recently illustrated by Elliott and Maguire (2008).

**Table 2. - Sport migration country categorization matrix**

		Primary	Secondary
Core	Sending	CS-P	CS-S
	Receiving	CR-P	CR-S
Periphery	Sending	PS-P	PS-S
	Receiving	PR-P	PR-S

(Crossan, 2008)

A preliminary matrix taking into account core/ periphery and sending/ receiving countries in relation to primary/ secondary sport as they interact through the global flow of athlete migration might look as illustrated in table 2. Such a matrix could serve several functions. The first function might simply be to map the case studies on sport migration

which have already been completed. This could show us areas where more research may be needed as well as help in simply relating studies together. The second function such a matrix could serve is in identifying patterns of sport migration to determine if indeed there is globalization occurring. And the third function would be to access the patterns observed in our matrix with relations to other studies in globalization and try to predict responses to globalization.

There is a noticeable and well researched trend of athletes immigrating from countries with a wealth of talent in a particular sport to countries with weaker talent pools due to the popularity of the sport in that country. This can be evidenced by the presence of Canadian hockey players in many countries across the world and even naturalized onto national teams (Maguire, 1996). There is a converse trend which has been researched much more widely of talent being siphoned out of the countries lacking wealth and power to the countries that have the wealth and power to create or participate in a monopolistic league (Andrews, 1996; Harvey et al., 1996; Hoffer, 1994; Levin, 1994; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Maguire, 1996; Miller et al., 2003; Shukert, 2002; Wendel, 2005). This can be evidenced in the migration of Latin American baseball players to play in North America's Major Leagues (Klein, 1991a).

There seems to be an observable pattern that sport leagues follow in their beginning, growth, reasoning, and legislation regarding the use of immigrant athletes (Maguire, 1996; Šálek, 2000). Teams bring in immigrant athletes to gain a competitive edge over their competition who are almost exclusively relying on national, or home grown talent. Other teams thus follow suit in importing immigrant athletes in an effort to not lose competitive ground to those teams that have immigrants already. Teams justify this expense, at relatively high cost, with claims of maintaining competitive equity; fostering talent growth among young players through exposure to better players; and bolstering game attractiveness to fans. At some point leagues place a limit on the number of non-national athletes each team may have on their roster and even on how many may be on the court or playing field at one time. The next step in cultural acceptance of this process of importing immigrant athletes is the naturalization of nationals in order to allow them to play on national teams in international competitions (Maguire, 1996). Similar justifications, growth and legislation are thus enacted for international competitions as previously occurred at the national league levels.

Much of the sport migration research has focused on the extent of this migration (Bale & Sang, 1994; Donnelly, 1996; Harvey et al., 1996), and there has been some attempt to classify this sport migration into specific categories as seen above. The global effect of this phenomenon has been widely discussed (Andrews, 1996; Harvey et al., 1996; Hoffer, 1994; Maguire, 1996; Miller, Rowe, McKay, & Lawrence, 2003b; Rowe, 2003; Shukert, 2002;

Wendel, 2005), and a few studies have sought to examine the effect of migrating athletes on the sending nations (Gut, 2009; Johnes, 2000; Levin, 1994; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Magnusson, 2001; Melnick & Jackson, 2002) and on the receiving nations (A. Ben-Porat, 2002; G. Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004; Chiba, Ebihara, & Morino, 2001; Maguire, 1990). Most of this research has focused on the influence powerful or economically superior countries have in attracting the most talented athletes away from their home cultures (Bale, 1991; Miller et al., 2003; Wolff, 1998). They have discussed at length the effect such a talent drain has and potentially can have on the sending countries. A few researchers have examined the cultural impact of the immigrant athletes on their receiving countries, and the reception of the host culture to these immigrant athletes. However, little has been done to attempt to identify and empirically measure the correlation between sport growth and popularity in countries *receiving* immigrant athletes (Maguire, 1996).

The necessity of further category specification lies in aiding our ability to understand what is at stake in each specific case of sport migration. For example Maguire and Pearton cite the example of Kenyan athletics' underdevelopment of athletes leading to the large exodus of these athletes to other countries (2000a). They simply state that these athletes tend to move to more powerful nations. We could use the previously mentioned categories to further specify Kenyan athletics as a case of a periphery country sending its primary sport to core countries. Maguire and Pearton cite that this is a result of underdevelopment by the Kenyan athletics federation. Perhaps after the study of several periphery countries sending out their primary sport, a preliminary conclusion would be that they tend to send them to core countries as a result of underdevelopment. Further, we might combine this with Bale and Cronin's work to say that these athletes sent from a periphery country to a core country are typically settlers or mercenaries from Maguire's categorization of athlete motivations and staying patterns (Bale & Cronin, 2003). Our next step would be to determine how the sending and receiving countries responded or are responding to this instance of globalization. Such an initial categorization helps us understand what and who we are talking about as players in this instance of globalization.

From Bale and Cronin we further learn that this case represents passive acceptance of the process of global migration. However, Bale and Cronin cite that the Kenyan athletics federation is beginning to reject this process, but they are unable to contain it. At this point it is commodified participation. Thus if we saw similar patterns in several other case studies from periphery countries in regards to the sending of their core sports, then we have learned some specific patterns of sport globalization within the realm of sport migration.

Maguire and Pearton, for example, say that in football periphery nations are in a dependent relationship with the European core countries represented in the UEFA Champions League (2000a). Maguire's 1996 work identifies a pattern of movement from core-country primary sports to other core-country secondary sports between North America and Europe in the sports of American football, baseball, basketball, and ice hockey (Maguire, 1996). While the times have changed since Maguire originally published these patterns in 1996, the flow from core-country primary sports to core-country secondary sports has only sped up (Maguire, 2005). We could further specify that this process has been largely accepted without resistance in these sports where the best go to play in the core country where the sport is primary, and the second tier of athletes are sent from the core country to play in nations where the sport is secondary. Bale and Sang found movement of sportsmen to North America in ice hockey from the Scandinavian and former Soviet Bloc countries (1994). We could label this as semi-periphery countries sending their primary sport to a core country where the sport is secondary. Bale and Sang also identify the movement of African runners and European swimmers, track athletes, and basketball players to the North American university sport system (1994). In each case we see movement to the core from both core and periphery countries in primary and secondary sports. However, with the exception of basketball, the sports represented by Bale and Sang are secondary in the receiving American university system. The movement of football players from periphery countries where it is the primary sport to core country, has been identified by both Maguire and Stead (1998) and Lanfranchi and Taylor (2001). Maguire and Stead focus on the movement of players from Africa to the core countries of England, France, Italy and Spain. Lafranchi and Taylor identify this same trend as well as researching other periphery to core in Eastern Europeans moving to the West and South Americans moving to both Europe and the United States. Each of these examples support Straubhaar's (2003) conclusion on general migration trends: that if there is a demand for migrants in the marketplace of economically strong countries, then the number of foreign workers will increase from the core and periphery regardless of the economic situation in those sending countries. Thus we observe that by categorizing multiple case studies we have a foundation to make a conclusion and this conclusion is in line with more extensive globalization studies outside of sport.

Regarding the movement of athletes from core countries such as the United States in a primary sport such as baseball to a semi-periphery nation such as Japan, Chiba observes that the players migrating are a second tier of athlete in their sending country, that they fall primarily within Maguire's category of mercenary, that they are paid significantly more than their counterparts from the receiving nation, and that they tend to occupy the skill positions of

pitchers (Chiba, 2004). These findings parallel those of Maguire (1996) from ice hockey between Canada and Europe, Falcous and Maguire (2005) from basketball between the USA and England, and our own findings from basketball between the USA and Czech.

Does each sending and receiving country accept, reject or commodify the use of immigrant athletes? Maguire and Falcous' (2005) study of basketball in England, Maguire's (1996) study of ice hockey in Europe, Lafranchi and Taylor's (2001) and Maguire and Stead's (1998) studies all show acceptance and commodification. Klein (1989) and Chiba (2004; 2001) both show stronger commodification and rejection in their studies of baseball in the Dominican Republic and in Japan.

### Social Theory in Sport Migration

Before we turn our attention to the specific case studies of sport migration it is necessary to say something about the role of social theory in sport migration studies. In Chapter 2 of *Sports in Society* (2003) Coakley outlines the primary social theories used to analyze sport including their application to sport, everyday life and inherent weaknesses. He outlines five theories: functionalist, conflict, interactionist, critical and figurational. In this section we will address these five theories as they have been used in sport migration. We have chosen to use the theoretical frameworks offered by Coakley. Though certainly other frameworks exist, it is difficult to evaluate them all and not end up with an incredibly lengthy list of sociological theories. Horne has stated that sport and sport globalization is currently centered around the theories of modernization, cultural imperialism / cultural hegemony, process sociology, and post-Marxist cultural studies (1998). These categories are similar to those identified by Coakley, but are a little less clear and less frequently used, though it appears that terminology may be shifting more in this direction. One disadvantage of each of these categorizations is that they can lack historical perspective. Regardless of which framework we adopt it is difficult to classify books and articles strictly in terms of the theories they represent. Many, both willingly and unwillingly, use a combination of perspectives. However, in the analysis below, we have tried to reference individual researchers according to the major framework they use primarily to draw conclusions about the relationship between sport and society. Conflict, interactionist, and figurational theory were defined earlier in the definitions section. We have not defined the other theories as they are less common in sport migration literature, but the definitions used by Coakley would be applied here.

No researcher does research only from one sociological theory. Each theory is useful in understanding different aspects of society and thus sport. Thus researchers are wise to draw from and operate out of a particular sociological theory framework which suites the

topic they are studying and the questions they are trying to answer. That said, however, each researcher will be heavily biased toward one, maybe two dominant sociological theories which will influence not only their perspectives on specific issues, but even the questions they will be drawn to try to answer as they examine sport or another social construct.

When examining the lineage of research in sport migration it becomes evident quickly that Joseph Maguire is the leading researcher in this area. He has published at least 16 separate articles in this area and his predominant social theory is figurational. Maguire is from Leicester University in England and has studied under and worked alongside Eric Dunning who studied directly under Norbert Elias, the father of process sociology. The links to Leicester and thus Maguire and his figurational theories go as far as to researcher Chiba in Japan and Galily in Israel, but most of the links have understandably remained in Europe. Perhaps this is natural for Europe with its developed culture and history.

There is a fairly significant body of research coming out of Australia, New Zealand and the Samoan islands centered around researchers Jackson, Andrews, Rowe, and Melnick. This research is varied in its sociological framework, but is most often coming out of the functional theory school.

There are several articles flowing out of Japan from Chiba, Horne and others. As stated earlier, Chiba has connections with Maguire, but he is also connected to Andrews in Australia. Chiba's work leans toward figurational, but breaks some unwritten rules of the post-modern figurational trend in that Chiba tends to emphasize the resistance to globalization that often occurs through sport migration examples. Both he and Horne also draw on conflict theory.

Finally the research from Latin and South America by Klein and Arbena must be mentioned. Both of them are anthropologists and lean on interactionist theory which allows the researcher to study the phenomena from inside the world of those being researched. They also tend to emphasize conflict theory as they demonstrate the traditional resistance to globalization seen in sport migration.

It is difficult to classify research coming out of North America in one social theory as this continent has studied the phenomenon of sport migration the least. In general it can be held that North American sport sociology is concentrated in critical and conflict theory, but the North Americans have thus far studied sport migration the least.

Perhaps the two most comprehensive volumes of research on this issue of sport migration are Bale and Maguire's 1994 book and Issue 23 of the Journal of Sport and Social Sciences from 1996. Bale and Maguire's book contains 15 case studies from different countries, sports, and sociological perspectives. This book illustrates well the need for

different social theories depending on the perspective of the sport migration issue being examined. For example Mason uses an interactionist perspective to examine the political situation and motivations of some of the first football players to migrate out of England to Bogotá Columbia, while Olin uses a functionalist perspective to examine who the first foreigners to come play basketball in Finland where and why they came from the perspective of the clubs. The 23<sup>rd</sup> Issue of the Journal of Sport and Social Sciences is very helpful in laying a theoretical perspective of the issues involved in globalization. It serves as a great overview of the angles, presuppositions and common errors in studying globalization issues.

Donnelly proposes that the debate surrounding sport globalization has been centered on three primary issues: whether we are witnessing cultural imperialism or Americanization under a new name; what impact globalization has had on cultural and national identity; and how the process influences the international flow of sport workers (1996). Horne says that the debate has revolved around four axis: modernization theory from Guttmann and Wagner, cultural imperialism/hegemony from Donnelly, process sociology from Maguire, and post-Marxist cultural studies from Andrews (1998). As was stated in the lineage of researchers above and will be shown in the more in depth examination below.

Of the 9 studies closest to our own, four of them rely primarily on figurational theory, two rely on critical theory, two on interactionist and one on functional theory. Of the 143 studies in our sports migration database, we have analyzed 76 of them and found 28 of them relied primarily on figurational theory, 14 of them critical, 11 of them interactionist, 8 of them conflict, and 7 of them functional (Crossan, W., 2012a). This cannot be said to be representative, as we have primarily studied those studies closest to our own. In addition 9 of them are not actual case studies, but deal with theory and 14 of the articles are more oriented to overviews of sport migration. The secondary theories used are also significant. Conflict theory was most often relied on as a secondary theory (in 14 studies), followed by interactionist with 6 articles, critical with 5 studies, functionalism with 4 studies and figurational with 2 articles (Crossan, W., 2012a). So we can say that figurational is most often relied on as a primary theory and conflict theory is most often relied on as a secondary theory. This is consistent with the reality that the primary researchers in sport migration have come out of the Leicester program and its emphasis on Elias and Dunning's figurational process sociology. Interactionist theory also figures highly as many of the researchers have been concerned with understanding the actual experience of the immigrant athlete, as well as the response of the fans watching them, and this theory is very conducive to these angles. Most of those who used interactionist theory classify themselves not as sociologists, but rather as anthropologists. Consistent with Donnelly's proposition those trying to research cultural

imperialism or Americanization generally use critical theory (5 studies), those concerned with cultural or national identity tend to most often use conflict and critical theories (4 each), and those examining the process are most often found to rely on figurational theory (27 articles).

Analyzing the theories used based on if the studies are based on the sending or receiving countries does not delineate from the averages observed above. Of the 15 sending case studies studied, six of them rely on figurational models, while four each rely on critical or interactionist models (Crossan, W., 2012a). Of the 34 receiving studies examined, 10 of them rely on figurational sociology, eight on critical theory, and six on interactionist theory (Crossan, W., 2012a).

### Review of Case Studies by Category

In this section we will examine case studies within the framework categorizations, typologies and social theories introduced above. Additionally, we will identify the cases where sport fandom is correlated to the phenomena of sport migration when applicable. Finally, we will move from case studies which are furthest from the one at hand to those closest, with increasing detail and scrutiny.

### Sending country case studies

Sending country case studies include the sending of American football to England, the sending of basketball via NBA media coverage, sending Canadian hockey players to England, Kenyan distance runners to the world, Dominican baseball players to the USA's Major League Baseball, and American baseball players to Greece.

The colonialization side of the research in sporting immigration emphasizes the de-skilling of sending countries and also the structuring of migrants' lives. Latin and Central America, for example, regularly experience the loss of baseball stars to the USA and soccer players to Europe. It is a case of the periphery, or less-developed, countries having invested in the production of athletic talent; once this talent reaches maturity, more economically developed leagues, such as Major League Baseball, cream off the best available talent. Not only is the indigenous audience denied direct access to the talent nurtured and developed in their home countries, such as with African national soccer teams, sports lose some of their quality performers when the demands of European clubs clash with international matches. The central questions for those representing the colonialization viewpoint surround the issues of concern for national identity, under-development and dependent development.

There is less research from a sending perspective on the figurational position. What research there is focuses on the extent of the sending, the experience of the migrant and the

reception they receive. In an effort to sort out the different stakeholders in this particular domain of globalization and sporting immigrants, the author has chosen to separate the case studies into sending and receiving countries. However, to illustrate the complex figurational nature of reality, and to set the stage for our study of Czech basketball, both sides are represented to a degree in all case studies as they accept, reject and commodify. We will examine the cases where migration is represented via sending countries' media, from primary sport countries, and non-primary sport countries.

## Media

*American Football in Britain*: Maguire's 1993 study of American football in England is a good place to start. Since American football is one of the primary American sports and far down the list of non-primary sports in England, Maguire studied the growth of the game sent from America to England and how the sending process was wrapped up in media and multinational marketing by corporations (1993). To give a scope of the relative under-development of the sport of American football in England, Maguire begins by letting us know that in the five years leading up to the beginning of the American football league in Europe in 1982, there were only seven brief media reports of the game itself, and all were referring to the Super Bowl (1993). However, the NFL skillfully created a well-funded league that was tied to wealthy multinational corporations. From the outset the game of American football was sent to Britain as a made-for-TV product. The players brought over from America were chosen more for their flashiness than their skill. The NFL argued that the Brits did not yet know the game, but would value the flair. The sport product that was consequently placed on British TV was far superior in production, budget and pace to any primary British sports being covered on TV (Maguire, 1993). As a result the British viewing audience of this newest British sport product grew from an initial 1.1 million people who watched the inaugural British Super Bowl in 1982, to an average viewership of 3.7 million to 3.32 million in the 1987-1989 seasons (Maguire, 1993). This from a sport that by the end of 1990 only showed a total of 2500 registered American football players at all levels in Britain, and the professional teams were comprised of 85% Americans who dominated the playing time (Maguire, 1993).

Houlihan raises a significant question as to the interpretation of Maguire's study of American football in Britain when he asks whether the recent popularity of the sport ought to be interpreted as an invasion of, or challenge to, the nation's core identity, or merely an example of cultural ephemera confined to the marketplace and the cultural periphery (Houlihan, 1994). His study is concerned with answering the question of, "how do we

determine extent of acceptance, rejection or commodification in global flows and what factors contribute to these responses?” The significant contribution of this article and thus its consequent conclusion in this listing is due to the synthesis the author brings to the theoretical frameworks that had been proposed by those doing research in sport globalization as well as the application of research being done in the larger field of globalization. Houlihan is most concerned with developing a grid from which future researchers can chart the extent of response to globalization in sport. There appears to be an effort by the researcher to remain neutral of his own social theory bias as he attempts to draw out the strengths of the frameworks laid out by those who have gone before him in research and limit their weaknesses. However, the fact that he is trying to define the struggle between culture and an ideology, and that he puts strong emphasis on avoiding cultural homogenization seems to point to a bias flowing from social critical theory (Houlihan, 1994). We believe it is a significant question particularly when we are examining an exported sport that really is only dominantly played in one culture such as American football in the USA. Thus we turn our attention to the more global game of basketball.

*NBA:* The NBA provides our second example of the sending of sport via media. However, the NBA has figured out that they do not have to go to the huge expense of building and developing another league in a country to export their product. All they need is one player. As stated earlier, in 2002 Yao Ming opened a potential market of 1.3 billion people to the NBA by becoming the first Chinese player to play in the NBA. The same year Jiří Welsh opened a potential market of 10 million people to the NBA by becoming only the second player from the Czech Republic to play in the NBA. This represents a core country sending its primary sport to periphery and semi-periphery countries via the media. In 1990, 20 foreign-born players played in the NBA. In 2004 there were 68 (Cronin et al., 2008). By 2008, 75 foreigners were playing in the NBA from 32 countries (NBA.com, 2008). Yao was the first pick of the 2002 draft, an Italian forward was number five, and a Brazilian center was number 7 (Wendel, 2005). Together they represent an expanded global market of 1.55 billion people to which the NBA can now effectively send their product. In 2004 a center from Serbia-Montenegro was the second pick and a French forward was the number 11 pick (Wendel, 2005). The NBA now displays itself to the world through broadcasts in 209 countries in 42 different languages, and NBA.com reports that 40% of its web traffic comes from outside the US (NBA.com, 2007). Of the countries represented by the NBA athletes mentioned above, from the last two years’ top draft picks, only two of these countries list basketball as a primary sport. Since one of them is China, it can easily be postulated that

prior to Yao's entrance to the NBA basketball would not have been a primary sport in China (Larmer, 2005a).

As a core nation receiving the best basketball athletes from core, periphery, and semi-periphery nations and sending them via media, the NBA is difficult to compete with as Americans are crazy about the game as much of the world is crazy about football or soccer. The NBA averages 17,558 spectators per game across its 30 franchises. They have a combined revenue of \$3.37 billion ("Super Bowl XLII Versus The Economy," 2008). Last season the NBA added 24 TV partners in China and currently has relationships with 51 TV stations that provided NBA programming to 34 million viewers per week and more than 1.2 billion viewers for the 2006-07 season. With 300 million people playing basketball in China, approximately 80% of males 15-24 in the top 11 cities of China considering themselves NBA fans and 20% of traffic to NBA.com coming from China, basketball is rapidly growing in popularity. The league maintains marketing partnerships in China with 20 of the world's leading brands and makes products available to fans in more than 50,000 locations (NBA.com, 2007). Clearly this is a case of acceptance of this globalization process of sending migrant athletes via media. Though, as Lamar and others have explained in depth, the road the NBA has trod from rejection, through commodification, to acceptance has been long and twisting (Farred, 2006; Larmer, 2005a).

### Primary Sport

*Kenyan Athletics:* The Kenyan track athletes being sent to the world help fill in the figurational side of the immigrant athlete picture by illustrating what the individual athletes who migrate stand to gain in being sent. However, John Bale, who has extensively researched the phenomena of Kenyan track and field migration, reminds us that such migration can hardly be seen as voluntary (1994). With such a wealth of running talent as can be found in Kenya, the athlete must migrate if he/she is to succeed. While Bale is writing from a Marxist perspective, viewing the athlete-worker as a victim left without choice, his point is well taken. Lanfranchi and Taylor remind us that though soccer is the dominant sport in Africa, outside of the country of South Africa there does not exist a professional soccer league (2001). Thus African football players must migrate to Europe or Asia to play soccer at the professional level (2001). He states,

"The enduring problem for African football [soccer] is that the organizational weakness and fragility of the professional sporting economy at home has precluded any alternative to the emigration of the best performers. Footballers, like other technical and qualified professional migrants, have faced the dilemma that while

Africa needed their expertise, they became positive evidence that Africa had arrived” (Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001, p. 167).

There appears to be a direct correlation between the level of talent the Kenyan athlete has and the level of migration necessary to succeed. The highly talented Kenyan may be able to migrate only on the level of cosmopolitan nomads or returnees, while the less talented are forced to stay longer as mercenaries and pioneers. The extreme of this is exemplified in the exodus of Kenyans to take up citizenship in Qatar and Bahrain (Mynott, 2005). However, to simplify the flow of athletes from sending countries that exhibit a wealth of talent to such a model would indeed be an oversimplification. This notion does not take into account the factors of better training facilities, escape from forms of oppression and longer-term financial freedom offered in exchange for such extreme measures as exchanging citizenship. Bale poses the essentially Marxist view that the lower the athlete on the totem pole, the more they are treated as “animal-like commodities” (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007).

“Elite athletes are compulsory cosmopolitans, facilitated at the global scale by time-space compression and the variety of human agents who are concerned with the production of an athlete from a runner. This involves a number of networks and many hands, devices and places before the runner becomes a performer. He or she has to be recruited (almost hunted down), transported to a new environment, accommodated in a runners’ dorm or a cramped city house, trained by a possibly aggressive coach, and then made to perform in more meets than (s)he might freely choose.” (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007, p. 137).

While this process could be traced similarly for the receiving country, our focus here is the necessity of such practices within primary sports of sending countries, and in this case a periphery country. The result is prestige for the sending country, but also a gradual stripping away of the wealth of talent, thus keeping them in the position of periphery and semi-periphery nations, as has been outlined by Klein with Dominican baseball (Klein, 1994), and Bale with Kenyan runners (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007; Noll & Zimbalist, 1997).

A romantic view of the global-local exchange that takes place when the country with a wealth of talent sends their athletes to the country with a wealth of resources in order to gain a better life is well documented as unfounded (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007; Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001). While the lure of lavish training facilities, present and future financial gain, and even education (in the case of those coming to the American university system as student athletes) is strong and real, the reality is not so lavish. John Entine chronicles the reality that

foreign athletes generally tend to mix only with other student athletes, living five or six to a house, training, eating sleeping and watching TV (Entine, 2001). They rarely experience people who have significant interests outside of sports. Bale points out the mass numbers that come from these sending countries' primary sport who do not receive what had been promised upon arrival, who squander any gains made, and who toil in unanimity (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007).

One of the main reasons athletes in primary sports of periphery or semi-periphery nations migrate has to do with the inability, whether due to finances or infrastructure or both, of their nation to sustain sport at the level of the core nations. As Maguire points out, these countries, such as Kenya and the Dominican Republic, have more dire needs to contend with than sport as they wrestle with AIDS and poverty (Maguire, 2005). As a result the mass of athletes who have been neglected by federations due to inadequate finances, insufficient infrastructure and a wealth of talent express varying degrees of dissatisfaction with the federations of their sending nations (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007). However, the fellow athletes of these countries and the general populations of these sending countries still view them as representatives of their nation (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007). Even in the case where an athlete takes the extreme step of changing citizenship, the sending nation, minus the federation officials, still celebrates the victory. Bale points out the absurd levels this can go to in citing Kenyan, Wilson Boit Kipketer. Kipketer was raised in Kenya and attended St. Patrick's High School, the alma mater of a large number of world-class Kenyan athletes who have been nurtured by Irishman, Father Colm O'Connell. He began by representing his school in district championships, then Kenya in the world junior and senior championships before leaving to train in Denmark in 1988 at the age of 17. He subsequently took on Danish citizenship and became a true emigrant to Denmark before setting the world record for 800 meters in 1997. He races for the German company Puma, but previously represented the American company Nike. He trains much of the year in Italy under the watchful eye of a Polish coach. When he wins races, his face again graces the covers of the Kenyan press and he is seen flying the Danish flag on his victory lap, though he still does not speak Danish (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007). He is the quintessential postmodern sent immigrant athlete in a primary sport moving from a periphery to a core country.

*Dominican Baseball:* The case of globalization and Dominican baseball goes back prior to the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Dominicans began to play in the major leagues in 1947, and in 1955 major league franchises began formal relationships with Dominican teams. Alan Klein has studied baseball in the Dominican Republic extensively. His primary contributions

to the body of knowledge contained in sport globalization lie in the areas of media coverage of Dominican players in their home country and the weakening of amateur baseball on the island as a result of the 13 academies run by Major League Baseball and Japanese franchises (Klein, 1994).

His first study from 1989 sets the foundation for the further research he undertakes. This study is concerned with answering the question of, “how has baseball been used in the Dominican Republic to build US power and bring subservience?” Klein, an anthropologist, states in his first sentence that he is examining this problem from a critical perspective. He is very concerned with the structure and use of power in keeping the Dominican society oppressed by the USA. This study represents the dominant theme of sport migration studies, in illustrating how athletes in a primary sport from a semi-periphery or periphery country are siphoned off by the core countries and sent to their primary sport. The globalization flows benefit only the core countries and serve to keep the semi-periphery and periphery countries in a dependent relationship on the core countries. This is a side of sport migration which we will not be studying as it is the most evident and most studied already. And the studies from this perspective most often rely on critical and conflict social theory. From a methodological standpoint we will rely heavily on another study by Klein in which he enlists interactionist social theory (Klein, 1989).

Klein observes that the academies, set up to prepare and find young prospects for the major leagues, serve the role of a representative way out of poverty for the Dominican athlete. However, the athletes primarily only train in these academies and thus no longer play in the Dominican amateur and professional leagues. As a result, while baseball still represents a way out of poverty for a select few Dominican athletes, it no longer represents a relief from the everyday poverty suffered by the average Dominican through the form of entertainment (Klein, 1991).

The case of Dominican baseball and the resulting media coverage of the exported athletes provides a poignant example that is paralleled in Czech basketball; even though basketball is not a primary sport as baseball is on the Dominican island. Klein observes that print and broadcast media project the outcomes of the games as secondary to the Dominican performance in the games (Klein, 1991). Klein cites the headline from April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1988 as an example, “Bell, Lee and Pena All Strike Two Singles.” Two of the players played for the Toronto Blue Jays at the time and the other for the St. Louis Cardinals. None of their teams were mentioned in the article, though the final results were cited at the end of the article. Klein cites that during a 3-week period in 1988, only three of 22 lead articles mentioned the names of the teams Dominicans played on and only half included a final score (Klein, 1991).

Clearly the emphasis is on how well the Dominicans did in North America, not with whom. Klein represents this as a form of resistance to the domination of the Dominican game by outside, core nations (Klein, 1991). He states that in the broader realm of globalization, baseball represents the only area of cultural interaction between the two countries in which the Dominicans represent an equality or superiority over North Americans. His conclusion is quite poignant, “Americans might love the game of baseball as much as Dominicans, but they don’t need to win as much as Dominicans do” (Klein, 1991, p. 4).

#### Mercenary Athletes – The Farthest Edge

Our prior discussion of Wilson Boit Kipketer illustrates the extreme edge of the immigrant athlete spectrum: those athletes that have exchanged their citizenship to compete for another country. Our discussion could as well be placed here as in the receiving country section, however, the largest commonality among these mercenaries is that they come from periphery, sending country’s primary sports. Examples can certainly be found from non-primary sports and their ramifications on receiving countries must certainly be examined, however, our concern at this point is the extent of this recent phenomenon, and this is best placed on the source of the athletes.

These mercenary athletes who exchange their citizenship can be placed in at least two categories: those who truly emigrate, and those who only change citizenship to compete. Kipketer is an example of one who has truly emigrated; he is rarely seen back in his home country and though he does not speak his adopted country’s language well, he has made it his home. On the other extreme is Kenyan, Stephen Cherono, now known to the world as Said Saheef Shaheen representing Qatar. Cherono took on Qatari citizenship and his new Muslim name in 2001 for a reported one million dollars (Mulhauser, 2004). His package also included a house in Qatar where he has reportedly spent only three months and a guaranteed salary of \$1000 per month the rest of his life in addition to lucrative performance incentives (Mulhauser, 2004). Kenya surely could not have promised Shaheen these benefits, as Maguire points out, as they lack the financial power (2005). And with such a wealth of talent, Cherono had gone largely unnoticed prior to his change of citizenship. He would perhaps still be unnoticed were it not for his 2003 world record in the steeplechase. Shaheen maintains his home in the periphery country of Kenya where he trains eight months a year and a home in London where he trains in the summer competitive season.

Somewhere in between these examples is that of returnee South African, Sydney Maree. Maree was recruited from South Africa, which has track and field as one of its three primary sports, to compete for Villanova University in the 1980s when rules against apartheid

prohibited South Africans the opportunity to compete on the world stage. Consequently, Maree was aided by Villanova University and its recruiters in gaining US citizenship. He competed for the US in the 1984 and 1988 Olympics and became the US record holder at 1500 meters and 5000 meters. Compared to his fellow black Africans living in oppression in South Africa, Maree was esteemed as an accomplished African American in the US, who most people would say enjoyed the good life (Cornelissen & Solberg, 2007). Yet upon the conclusion of his career and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, Maree returned to South Africa where he lives today as a successful businessman carrying an American passport out of convenience.

In summary, our study of the use of media and immigrant athletes in both primary and secondary sports shows us the necessity of a figurational approach. A neo-colonial model of understanding the patterns, motivations, and effects of sporting immigrants grants insight into many of the concerns associated with the use of immigrant athletes, but it is incomplete in and of itself. This is particularly true when we extend the model to the far edge of mercenary athletes. We will now turn our attention to the effects of immigrant athletes on receiving countries.

#### Receiving country case studies

Our picture of the migrant landscape is beginning to fill in with the sending countries sending their best and second best athletes, sometimes at great gain to their countries and other times leading to the stripping and neo-colonization of their countries. We turn our attention now to the countries receiving the immigrant athletes. We will focus primarily on the secondary sport side in our examination of case studies, however, the media coverage of British boys plying their soccer skills all over Europe, and New Zealand's negotiated media coverage of world rugby provide examples of primary sports coming back into a country via media (Jackson & Andrews, 1999; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Maguire, 1996; Maguire & Pearton, 2000a). We could also study the reception of the international athlete in the USA's NBA to see case studies of primary sport receiving sporting immigrants (Araton, 2005; Cronin et al., 2008; Farred, 2006). We will examine one case study of soccer in Israel to illustrate the components apparently necessary for a primary sport to receive immigrant athletes. Each of these examples of primary sport receiving immigrant athletes exemplify Houlihan's category of partial reach and participative response. While the authors of several of these case studies strive to place them in the partial reach with conflictual response, it is difficult to view the longevity and counter-globalization of these sport snapshots. Each of

them has embraced a rational organizational basis for sport but has retained its own distinct mix of local and global sport.

## Media

We begin our examination of receiving countries with an example from primary sports and a study by Brown, which is concerned with answering the question of, “how the popularity of sports is changing in response to immigrant athletes?” (Brown, 2005) The author uses a path dependence model in this qualitative study. This study is of significant interest for our research because of the development of this path dependence model to quantifiably illustrate the interaction of several factors which affect the response of the sports fan to immigrant athletes. Also of interest in this study is that the author clearly betrays his underlying belief in functional theory. The premise of his study is that the reaction of the sports fans will mirror the demographics of the nation because the two balance each other through act and reaction. The author examines the reaction of fans over a 30 year period based on the factors of television ratings and birth place of the athletes in the primary sports of America: baseball, basketball, American football and auto racing (NASCAR) (Brown, 2005). He finds that the core country of the USA has accepted the use of immigrant athletes in its primary sports as reflected in the media because of the diverse culture represented in the USA.

## Primary Sport

*Japanese baseball:* Similar studies and conclusions exist of baseball in Japan (Chiba et al., 2001; Shukert, 2002). Perhaps the largest difference with the Japanese baseball scenarios is that Japan has negotiated their stake in globalization a little more. As a core country they have more financial and power resources available to resist a western globalization than the Dominicans do. Chiba’s study perhaps fits better in the mercenary athletes category as it is concerned with answering the question of, “why and under what conditions are foreigners allowed to naturalize in Japanese sport?” This article is written using figurational models, which examine primarily the historic and legislative development of sport in Japan which has allowed for a few foreign athletes to be naturalized in non-primary Japanese sport. The authors cite Maguire and his reliance on Elias’s process sociology as a good model and fit to their own research. Much of the figurational literature restrains from identifying the response to globalization as this could be perceived as a sort of value judgment, which is a faux paux in the primarily post-modern use of this social theory. However, Chiba consistently breaks this unwritten rule and writes articles using the

figurational framework which illustrate different responses to sport globalization in Japan. In these articles he emphasizes the non-primary nature of the sports where globalization through naturalization has been accepted in Japan. He also illustrates how these processes can change the sporting hierarchy in regards to primary and secondary through tracing the development of football in Japan. (Chiba et al., 2001)

Next we will move into the European primary sport of football. Before we examine a specific case study of Israeli soccer, we will examine the roots of sport migration in soccer. Soccer is traditionally seen as a British game and was a basic ingredient of her hegemonic policy in the colonies (Šálek, 2000). Mason outlines a distinct event in 1950 that broke the floodgates of athlete migration in the sport of soccer in The Bogota Affair (Mason, 1994). Seven British players broke their contracts with British clubs and went to Bogota, Columbia to ply their trade for substantially more money. Soccer in 1950, though argued to be a natively British game had already achieved status as the primary sport in Columbia. Similarly in France, soccer had become the primary sport of the working class people by 1930 (Adair & Rowe, 2010). From 1930 to 1980 more than 1000 foreign athletes came to France to play as either professionals or semi-professionals (Adair & Rowe, 2010). In the 1990s the European Community (a predecessor to the European Union) began to pass labor laws that allowed Europeans free movement within Europe without the restrictions of national quotas. In 1995 the Bosman rule applying free movement of labor within Europe without quotas was applied to soccer. This corresponded with the explosion in popularity of the UEFA Champions League as the most popular soccer event in Europe after the World Cup (Maguire & Pearton, 2000a). It is in this environment of rapid sport labor migration in the dominant European sport of soccer that we find a case study of Israel.

*Israeli Soccer:* Israel is a nation of immigrants joined together by a culture and a religion. It is also a football crazy nation with wealth and close ties to Europe. Ben-Porat's study is concerned with answering the question of, "How and why did foreigners come to Israeli football?" (A. Ben-Porat, 2002) This qualitative study covers 10 years of Israeli football. The author goes to great lengths to examine the connections between the political and economic changes which occurred in Israel over these 10 years and how they were paralleled in the governing and economics of the sport of football there. He then proceeds to examine over 500 transfers into Israeli football in their political and economic context before correlating them to the reception these players received in terms of fandom. As his study is 10 years in length, and examines both the legal and economic context, this is a classic

figurational study. The emphasis is heavy on understanding the processes which were occurring at different time periods and both their intended and unintended consequences from a historical context. He seems to portray conflict theory leanings in his conclusions with regard to the primacy of economics at both the club and federation levels. He also emphasizes the lack of power that the public had to resist this phenomenon of increased usage of foreign athletes due to the economic power granted the clubs and federation due to large media contracts. The Israelis adopted each of the European Union's rulings on sport labor migration in an effort to remain competitive (A. Ben-Porat, 2002). Consequently over 500 players entered Israel to play in the first, second and third division professional leagues between 1989 and 2000 (A. Ben-Porat, 2002). This introduction of foreign players was preceded by a transition from sport as a socialized entity to a commercial entity in the 1980s. Up to this point the flow of migrants in Israeli soccer went one way: out of Israel. This was much to the chagrin of team managers, but the best players went where there was money and greater opportunity. The first two years of immigrant players in the Israeli league were met with skepticism as the media and team managers complained of the opportunities being taken away from indigenous players and the inability of the less funded clubs to participate in the arms race (A. Ben-Porat, 2002).

However, Ben-Porat's second case study indicates the moves to allow foreigners in the Israeli leagues was promoted by the Israeli soccer federation as a pre-emptive action of bringing the Israeli game up to the same quality as the European game (A. Ben-Porat, 2002; G. Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004). This study is concerned with answering the question of, "how does the globalization of football in Israel reflect the globalization of the nation?" In this study the same author as the article previously reviewed again uses figurational theory, but this time does a qualitative study of the extent of globalization of football versus that of the larger society. He again displays a secondary usage of conflict theory as he examines the three areas of the mobilization of capital, labor and cultural flows. He again places heavy emphasis on the reader understanding the cultural, historical, economic and legislative development of Israeli sport, which lays his figurational / process framework. He uses much comparative data (mostly economic) to illustrate the parallels between the globalization processes occurring in sport and Israeli culture as a whole (G. Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004).

The Israeli case illustrates that the money that allowed the Israeli teams to buy the best European players also allowed Israel to keep many of their best players and gave more opportunity for the second tier of Israeli players to develop a more European style of play inside the country. The Israeli culture, heterogeneous already, was ready to accept the foreigners and had the financial resources and infrastructure to do so.

## Non-Primary Sport

Receiving sporting migrants in non-primary sports is where our study of Czech basketball is placed within the current classification. Therefore, we will detail more case studies than in the above sections. Particular attention is paid to the response to the use of sporting immigrants in each culture.

*Canadian Ice Hockey in Britain:* For the sake of historical precedent, it is worthwhile to examine the case of Great Britain in their naturalization of Canadians to improve their world ice hockey status since they have been actively pursuing this route of sport development since the late 1970s. This is an example of core country to core country, primary sport to secondary or fringe sport. While many argue that this method of building a sport in a country provides a better product to sell to live audiences, media and sponsors, those who have studied the long-term effects cite that a situation exists where British kids are actually playing less and those on national teams are increasingly riding the bench (Maguire, 1996). This study is concerned with answering the question of, “how have Canadian ice hockey players affected the development of British ice hockey and how have they been received?” This is perhaps the most cited study in sport migration. Maguire does qualitative research to examine the history, flows, results and reception of Canadians in the secondary sport of British ice hockey. He uses figurational theory to illustrate the intended and unintended consequence of each process. Maguire relies heavily on data obtained from his own national ice hockey federation and the IIHF, as well as on the response observed through print media over a 20-year period. His figurational approach with its many dimensions and rich emphasis on the processes that developed historically allow him to outline many theoretical frameworks for the study of the phenomena of sport migration. This research is perhaps most cited due to the categorization of immigrant athletes which he proposes and we are using in this text.

From 1979, when the idea of using naturalized citizens began to be pursued, through 1994, the number of British registered with the British Ice Hockey Association actually declined from 8,200 to 7,500 (Maguire, 1996). Prior to the Lillehammer Olympics, 15 of 23 members of the British national team were naturalized Canadians (Maguire, 1996). These imports were able to help the team move from Pool C to Pool A, and thus earn a berth in the Olympic Games. However, there was no significant increase in British media or sponsorship interest in these Olympic Games. And when the British team was eliminated after the first round there was significant backlash against the idea of using naturalized Canadians while the

British boys rode the pine (Maguire, 1996). There has also been significant British backlash against the rough style of play and violence the Canadian imports have brought to the finesse game the British prefer.

“I’ve nothing against imported players. I think they’ve been good for the game – to a certain extent. But obviously now there’s too many, and that’s got to be to the detriment of the British player... It’s going to take an exceptional British player to come through, to actually get the ice time they’re going to need to develop. There’s a lot of good British talent about, and teams should realize that all they need is a little bit of development. But a lot of teams won’t develop players.” (Maguire, 1996).

*Greek Baseball:* We turn to baseball again because it illustrates how this process of sporting immigration may begin and why a receiving country might be motivated to pursue it. Baseball is a sport in which several countries have recruited immigrant athletes in order to compete in Olympic competition. In 2004 the country of Greece searched the American and Canadian baseball leagues for players that would help them compete. The sport of baseball is very new to Greece and the leaders of the Hellenic Amateur Baseball Federation, the HABF, knew they would be overmatched in the 2004 games if they did not find some more talented ballplayers in other parts of the world. Organized baseball did not reach Greece until 1997 so the HABF contacted the US Ambassador to Greece, Nicholas Burns, and asked for help in creating a team that would not embarrass their nation (Bruce, 2004). Ambassador Burns was able to gain permission for the HABF to use an abandoned U.S. military base that included an old baseball diamond, to act as their headquarters. This old abandoned field became the starting point for the Greek national baseball team.

With the help of the Baltimore Orioles and their owner, Peter Angelos, the Greek Olympic organization began to form a team that would consist of minor league and college American players of Greek descent. As long as the players had at least one grandparent that was born in Greece, they were qualified to participate in the 2004 Olympics (Bruce, 2004). The decision to allow these outsiders eligibility was met with mixed review. One coach actually threatened to resign over the issue after he believed the team was made-up of too many Greek-Americans (Bruce, 2004). The original 45-man roster was made up of only 15 players chosen from a pool of 800 Greek citizens and another 30 athletes recruited from the United States and Canada (Bruce, 2004). When the final team of 24 players was chosen, only two came from the local Greek leagues. One of those, a man named Chris Robinson, ironically went to college in the United States.

Not all Greeks viewed the decision with concern. Due to many reasons, many people of Greek descent now find themselves living in different parts of the world. Therefore, the government has stressed the importance of embracing all those that now have different citizenship statuses. Many believe that using these players, who are considered Greek Diaspora, only increases their perceived importance in the societies where they live, which spreads the Hellenic culture (Bruce, 2004).

When the 2004 Olympics ended, the team comprised of mostly Greek Diaspora finished 1-6 winning their only game against the European qualifier, Italy. They did not medal but HAFB hopes to have built the framework for continued baseball activity in the country of Greece (Bruce, 2004).

*British Basketball:* Perhaps the study closest to our own is Falcous and Maguire's 2005 study, "Globetrotters and Local Heroes? Labor Migration, Basketball, and Local Identities" (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). Falcous and Maguire conducted a two-year ethnographic study of the fans following the Leicester Riders elite basketball team in England. Their study involved in-depth interviews and focus groups with 28 individual fans of the Leicester team. The British basketball study parallels a brief 1984 study of the use of immigrant athletes in Finnish basketball, which found owners insistent that the use of immigrants was necessary to win, and fans insistent on quotas for the number of immigrants allowed per team (Olin, 1984). This study is concerned with answering the question of, "how fans respond to foreign players in English basketball?" The authors develop further the study of Maguire from 1996 on ice hockey reviewed above. They use interactionist theory to conduct a two-year study of fan reaction to foreign players in English basketball. They conduct classic qualitative study using observations, interviews and focus groups to examine the response to foreigners in the secondary sport of basketball in England. The use of interactionist theory by Maguire for this study is an excellent illustration that though a researcher may be ideologically committed to a social theory, that theory may not fit the research needs in every case. He is also able to do this as a result of the figurational framework he has built for sport migration in England through his many other studies (Falcous & Maguire, 2005).

The Leicester sporting landscape is dominated by three professional men's sports: soccer, rugby union and cricket, with basketball only on the periphery of the dominant sporting discourse (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). This sporting landscape parallels that of Czech in that basketball is not one of the sports dominating the landscape of Czech sporting culture. Though basketball has a long history in the Czech culture; it still stands on the

relative periphery. Where the study differs from the Czech sport landscape is primarily the heterogeneous population of Britain and particularly Leicester as compared to the relatively homogeneous population of Czech. The city of Leicester is quite ethnically diverse with 29.9% Asian or Asian British, 25.7% of ethnic Indian origin and 3.08% Black or Black British (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). This difference may be significant in comparing reactions to the use of immigrant players by fans in Czech versus Leicester.

Falcous and Maguire point out that even though the International Basketball Federation (FIBA) passed legislation in 1998 to allow up to 10 foreign players per team worldwide, most European leagues have opted to allow only two foreign players and Britain has allowed up to five. This is significant in that the British league had both the money and the governing infrastructure, leading to Britain being a prime location for those countries with a wealth of basketball talent to send sporting migrants. In the case of Britain, the majority of the immigrant basketball players have come from the USA, which is similar to Czech. In Britain the factor of dual citizenship is also significant as many teams use this avenue to get around the immigrant quotas not only in basketball, but in all major sports. This use of dual citizenship has been used to get around sporting quotas as far back as 1870 in British cricket and has come under fire since 1909 (Lemmon, 1987). Thus, including dual nationals, the British basketball league was composed of just under 30% foreign athletes through the 1980s and increased to approximately 50% in the late 1990s (47.4%, 1996/97; 53% 1997/98; 52.6% 1998/99) (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). This places the Czech Republic's current 34.5% foreigners in a comparable position to Great Britain in the mid 1980s.

It should be noted that, as stated previously, the top British basketball league was ranked 27<sup>th</sup> out of 27 ranked leagues in Europe by ULEB (ULEB.net, 2009). The western salaries they are able to pay and the high reliance on foreigners has not resulted in a relatively high quality basketball league based on ULEB's criteria of game results, international play by domestic teams outside the league, league parity, television revenues and ratings, attendance figures and arena capacity.

Falcous and Maguire found a fairly complex interplay of the local and global at work among basketball fans interviewed. Broadly speaking, they found themes of: the positive necessary role of immigrants in team success; the desire for committed players in the context of local civic pride (more positive reactions were associated with an immigrant player who had played multiple seasons with the Leicester team); the marginalization of local players; and the desire for spectacle and entertainment brought by the immigrant players (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). Their study reveals well the multi-layered identity politics that characterize the issue of sport migration in the globalization discussion. Falcous and Maguire conclude by

wisely stating that the globalization debate cannot be seen as either totally negative in rejecting the global, nor totally positive in embracing a homogenous western product at the expense of the local. Rather, the use of migrant athletes as part of the globalization process needs to be accepted on negotiated terms (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). Significantly they view the increasing trends of migrating athletes as symptomatic of the larger phenomena of sport globalization. They argue that this symptom of athlete migration cannot be separated from the larger commercial implications in media, marketing, merchandising and sponsorship, though figuratively each component needs to be studied somewhat independently in order to better understand the whole.

Finally Falcous and Maguire preliminarily posit their study of the use of immigrant athletes in the British basketball game as having the potential to reinvigorate local culture through the global sport flow, but with caution as to the underdevelopment of the British game. They emphasize strongly that the issue of using immigrant athletes as a force of globalization cannot be seen as strictly an economic issue, which they find Miller et al., 2003 as falsely concluding (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). As such they are arguing for a figurational sociological perspective on the issue of globalization in sport. Finally, they cite the need for more empirically grounded case studies in order to understand the wider political-economic patterning of global sport (Falcous & Maguire, 2005). Our study of the use of immigrant athletes in Czech basketball fits this precise need for further empirical case studies.

*Finnish basketball:* The British basketball study parallels a brief 1984 study of the use of immigrant athletes in Finnish basketball which found owners insistent that the use of immigrants was necessary to win, and fans insistent on quotas for the number of immigrants allowed per team (Olin, 1984). This study is concerned with answering the question of, “why do sport clubs recruit foreign players?” This article seems to be one of the first to examine the international migration of athletes in non-primary sports. Olin conducts a qualitative study of the influx of foreign players in Finnish basketball. He does simple research using interactionist theory to trace where the foreign players come from and how the clubs decide whom to recruit. The author compares basketball to other sports in terms of the use of foreigners and measures it against the demographics of the nation at the time of the study.

Olin also contributes to the study of Finnish basketball immigration with a follow-up study ten years later (Olin & Penttila, 1994). Olin spends significant time discussing the push and pull factors which lead to migration in and out. They state, “if there is no chance to start or continue their sports career as a professional player in their native country the push factors could be assumed to facilitate the decision to move” (Olin & Penttila, 1994, p. 128). Finnish

basketball had their first foreigners as two Americans joined the top two teams in the nation just prior to the 1972 league championships. By the 1973-1974 season there were six Americans playing on six different Finnish basketball teams. Then between 1974 and 1989, 250 foreign players passed through the Finnish league; most of them were Americans (Olin & Penttila, 1994). They have compared the demographics of foreign immigrant basketball players across three different time periods: 1984, 1988, and 1990. The specific factors they tried to examine were age, marital status, education, race, social background, and migration motive. Overall they found that the players who immigrated were between the ages of 22 to 25, single, with university degrees, and middle class (Olin & Penttila, 1994). The two areas where shifts occurred were race and immigration motivation. Consistent with the trend mentioned previously in basketball in general toward blackness, Olin observes that the racial mix shifted from white to black. Perhaps the most interesting shift is in the area of immigration motivation. Whereas in 1984 Olin found that the top two motivations were related to gaining new experiences, by 1990 the number one motive was better earnings (number 5 in 1984) and number two was improving as a player (number 3 in 1984) (Olin & Penttila, 1994). These shifts are consistent with both the overall trends in basketball development and the observations of the changes occurring in the Czech Republic. Many of the foreign players coming to Czech to play on teams in the lower half of the Mattoni NBL are stepping up from a European introductory season in Finland.

*Israeli basketball:* Galily has written extensively about the development of Israeli basketball as a case in point example of Americanization (the one-way influence of America over another culture) as opposed to globalization (Galily & Sheard, 2002; Sánchez et al., 2007). He states that American immigrants have been a part of the Israeli professional basketball league from its inception in the 1960s. Using Maguire's typology (Maguire, 1996) he goes on to outline and document how these first waves of basketball pioneers shifted in the direction of mercenaries in the period from 1978-96 (Galily & Sheard, 2002). This shift was first labeled "worrisome" based on the legality of the quick immigration process these Americans were undertaking. Then further, deeper problems emerged as these American players were being paid five to six times what the native Israeli players were receiving (Galily & Sheard, 2002). This created natural divisions between the players, but also between coaches and management. Teams were so dependent on these highly paid American players to win and to maintain their sponsors, that coaches could not discipline the American players. The Israeli example is much more complicated than those mentioned previously due to Israel's 'Law of Return' which allows Jews to immigrate to Israel and gain citizenship.

Galily states that as the rules governing the use of foreigners in Israeli basketball were relaxed from allowing one American to allowing eight, fan attendance began to decline (2002). Concurrently, or as a partial result, team managers became increasingly unable to balance their budgets and the parity previously seen in the league began to decline. This decline in parity meant that one team, Maccabi Tel Aviv, dominated the league due to their large budget, while the other teams fought for second place and fans lost even more interest (Galily & Sheard, 2002). It is interesting to note the parallels between Czech basketball now and Israeli basketball in the early 1980s. Below is a list of the parallels:

- 8 foreigners allowed
- Approximately 40 foreigners in each 12 team league
- One team dominating (Maccabi in Israel and Nymburk in Czech)
- Other teams struggling to keep from going bankrupt
- Shifting from state funded sport to sponsorship driven sport
- Salary disparity between nationals and foreign players
- Foreign salaries ranging from \$15,000 to \$50,000
- Foreigners beginning to appear in the second league
- Nationals' salaries are taxed while those of foreigners are not

Nymburk was coached by Israeli, Muli Katurzin, who led the Maccabi team to Israeli titles in 1994 and 1995, the last three seasons of this study.

So it can be easily seen that the trends occurring in Czech basketball are similar to those in other parts of the world. What is not clear is what the result of these trends are for the popularity of the sport in each culture. This conclusion is likely to vary across cultures as each culture chooses to accept, reject or somehow commodify these globalizing influences.

In summary, we have seen in our study of immigrant athletes' effect on receiving countries that Magee's explanation of a partial reach and participatory response can lead to a positive reception and growth of the popularity of the game as has been the case of soccer in general in Europe and soccer specifically in Israel. However, as we have examined Greek baseball, and British, Finnish and Israeli basketball the need for the figurational model resurfaces as demographic characteristics and sporting infrastructure lead to both positive and negative reception among the same groups in receiving countries. This has led Maguire to posit the need for more empirically based case studies from varieties of cultures to better understand the role of immigrant athletes in globalization (2005).

Summary: Positioning the study of Czech basketball migration

Czech basketball represents a case of a semi-periphery country receiving sporting immigrants from both other semi-periphery countries and from core countries. Basketball is a secondary sport in the Czech Republic, which is receiving sporting migrants from countries where basketball is the primary sport (for example the USA and former Yugoslav Republics) and a secondary sport (for example the neighboring countries of Poland and Slovakia).

By measuring the changes in the popularity of the sport of basketball through the indicators of fan attendance, youth participation and media coverage we are able to gain insight into the response to this form of globalization in the Czech culture.

The dominant theories used in sport migration studies closest to our own are first figurational, which examines the issue from a historical perspective, and then interactionist, which focuses on the experience of the migrant athlete or the response of the receiving culture. Those examining the phenomenon from the vantage point of core countries stealing talent from semi-periphery and periphery countries in primary sports tend to rely most on critical and conflict theory. The influence of these studies on those studying from the vantage point of the receiving country is seen in the use of these two social theories as secondary theories in their research.

Therefore, the study which we will conduct will flow primarily from a figurational perspective by nature of its length (12 years), the national-global interaction, and the examination of trends. The 12-year longitudinal study allows a historical perspective which negates the short-term effect of one indicator and helps us to understand the interplay which occurs between the economic (team budgets and player salaries), political (rule changes) and emotional (marketing and foreign/international player ratios) indicators over time. The figurational model is also in line with our study due to the national versus global tensions which emerge as we see the decrease in Czech players in the top league and the increase in foreign players. Finally, it allows us to account for the trends observed, such as political rules which allow for more foreigners and economic realities like increasing team budgets. Each of these trends flowed out of deliberate decisions from individuals and groups which had both intended and unintended results.

The secondary theory from which we will draw will be the interactionist theory. This theory is useful in understanding the response of the culture to this practical example of globalization. This theory will be used primarily in the third phase of our study, which will be a media study of the response to foreigners in Czech basketball. This phase of our study is an application of the study designed by Alan Klein of Dominican baseball (Klein, 1991). Klein's studies are well grounded in interactionist theory and try to determine the response of a

culture or subculture from the bottom up. Additionally, the use of both of these theories is consistent with what has been used in the majority of the studies on receiving countries as was illustrated above.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

This study is being undertaken to gain an understanding of the impact of immigrant athletes in a receiving culture to a non-primary sport. Specifically we are trying to assess the impact on sport popularity in a culture as measured through fan attendance and youth sport development.

#### Research Questions

1. What is the correlation between usage of immigrant athletes on a team in Czech basketball and fan attendance?
2. What is the correlation between usage of immigrant athletes on a team in Czech basketball and the numerical growth of youth registered to play within the federation?
3. What are the demographic characteristics of those who come to play in the Czech basketball leagues? (Country of origin, age, race, marital status, playing experience.)
4. What is the extent and general nature of media coverage of the immigrant athletes playing in the Czech basketball leagues?
5. What is the extent the receiving teams in the Czech league use immigrant athletes in their marketing efforts?

#### Subjects

Our subjects are the players and teams from the first league of the Czech Basketball Federation. The rules of play in this league state that each year the last place of 12 teams will drop down to the 2<sup>nd</sup> league of Czech basketball and the winner of that league will move up to the highest Czech league (MNBL). Due to this rule, the teams in the first league change from year to year by one team. Thus over the 12-year period being studied there were a total of 18 teams to be examined.

#### Instruments: Overview of 3 Research Phases

This study was conducted in three phases which scale down and analyze the data from a quantitative level to a qualitative level. Information used in each phase was subsequently used in the following phase to gain a deeper understanding of the problem and proceed to proposed steps of action in relation to the problem.

Phase 1 is a quantitative treatment of the raw numerical data regarding the changes which have occurred in Czech basketball over the 12-year period. The goal of this phase is to

gain an accurate picture of the hypothesized correlations which can be found between the use of foreigners to final league placement, fan attendance and youth development over time. This data was used in determining and interpreting the data obtained in the following two phases.

Phase 2 is a series of qualitative interviews with management and decision makers of the individual teams which played in the top Czech basketball league over the 12-year period. The goal of this phase is to gain an understanding of the decision process that led to the use of foreigners, the use of foreigners in marketing and youth development, and the perceived response to foreigners by fans. The primary sociological theory used as an interpretive framework is a figurational or process model which assumes that decisions made over time have both intended and unintended consequences. The data collected in this phase was used to measure the intended consequences of the use of foreigners on individual teams in Czech basketball.

Phase 3 is a qualitative study of the print media coverage of Czech basketball. The goal of this phase of research was to determine the response to this example of globalization in the Czech Republic. By examining 5 intermittent marker years of print media using the model laid out by Alan Klein (1991a, 1991b), it was the intent of the researcher to determine the unintended consequences with regards to the acceptance, rejection or commodification of this example of globalization.

Each phase of methodology undertaken will be described, detailed and defined in the following pages.

### Phase 1 Methodology

At this point we will outline the specific methodology to be applied to phase one of this research project. Phase one is the quantitative portion of this research which establishes the framework for the following two phases in order to gain a better understanding of the problem of the effect of receiving foreign players on the growth and development of the secondary sport of basketball in the semi-periphery country of the Czech Republic as an example of globalization. This type of study is generally referred to as demand research. Demand research which attempts to quantify the elements that contribute to live spectator attendance has focused previously on the largest sport leagues in the world, or primary sports in core countries. Davis (2008) follows the most studied league in terms of demand studies with a VAR analysis of the USA's Major League Baseball, a primary sport in a core country. Becker and Suls (1983) use a simple multiple regression model to measure the effect of four variables on attendance across 22 teams over a 10-year period; our data set most closely

parallels theirs. The second most studied league in terms of demand studies is the USA's NBA; Morse et al. (2008) use a censored multiple linear regression model which is closest to the model we have chosen in this study.

There are many elements that contribute to the fan choice between one live event over another. The choices of entertainment in 2009 are virtually unlimited. A team's record, star performers, equality or inequality with opponents, marketing efforts, visibility in print, TV and internet media, event attractiveness at each game, venue attractiveness, other sport and non-sport event competition and tradition or history all contribute to a potential fan's choice to attend one event over another. Hansen and Gauthier (1989) have used factor analysis to identify 40 elements that contribute to fan attendance and divided them into the four categories of economic, demographic, attractiveness and residual preference factors. The table 19 in appendix 2 outlines these 40 factors and references which will be included and which will be excluded in our research project. It should be noted again that their research was carried out on primary sports in the core country of the USA. Many of the choices to exclude in our sport environment of the secondary sport of basketball in the semi-periphery country of Czech are explained by this difference. Additionally Hanson and Gauthier measured these factors game to game across teams within individual seasons. Due to country differences we are measuring variance between seasons, not within seasons.

Multilevel analysis (also known as hierarchical linear modeling) was originally developed as a tool for analyzing hierarchically structured data, where individuals are nested within organizations (Raudenbush & Byrk, 2002). There are both theoretical and statistical reasons for using multilevel models (Luke, 2004). Individuals share the same social context which influences them and, thus, the observations of individuals belonging to the same group tend to be more similar than the observations of individuals which come from different groups. Therefore, some dependencies can be found in data (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Hence, the commonly used single-level statistical tools like multiple regression or ANOVA cannot be used, because the assumption that observations were sampled independently from each other is violated in this multilevel case.

#### Phase 1 data treatment

The data in this phase was examined within teams and between teams over a 12-year time span. Additionally the data was examined in total on a league level for across the 12-year period. The team basis within and across teams focused on the examination of the relationship between the number of foreign players on each team to fan attendance. The league basis focused on the examination of the relationship between the number of foreign

players to average fan attendance and the number of youth choosing to play the sport of basketball.

**Table 3. - Data collection design**

Team #	Year of a season start											
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x
3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
8	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
9	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
10	x	x				x						
11	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
12		x	x		x							
13			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
14							x	x	x	x	x	x
15								x	x	x	x	x
16									x	x	x	
17										x	x	x
18	x		x									x

*Note.* x – a team played in the MNBL this season

On a team basis the current study is composed of 18 teams across a 12-year period which played in the Czech MNBL (the highest Czech league) of professional basketball. The rules of play in this league state that each year the last place of 12 teams will drop down to the 1st league of Czech basketball and the winner of that league will move up to the Czech MNBL. This explains our “messy design” illustrated in table 3 above, in which only 5 of the 18 teams remained in the MNBL all 12 years. Each 9-month season spanned two calendar years and is denoted by the beginning year of each season. The variables of final place, number of foreigners, fan attendance, other extraleague teams (ice hockey and football), city population and hall capacity are measured across time within and between teams. These

variables compose our first data set. Number of foreigners was chosen because they have increased from 11 to 56 out of the average 200 players in the top Czech league and it is the primary variable whose relationship to the others we are trying to understand. Final place was chosen because there is much variance within teams over the 12-year time period. Hall capacity and city population were chosen because they remain relatively stable within teams throughout the 12-year period (time-invariant) and have been shown to be in relationship to fan attendance (Douvis, 2007; Hansen & Gauthier, 1989). Number of other extraleague teams (specifically ice hockey and football) in the city was chosen because many researchers have identified this as a highly correlated factor to fan attendance (Douvis, 2007; Hansen & Gauthier, 1989).

The second data set is much smaller as it is only composed of three seasons from the original data set. This data set was created in order to include the variable of team budgets. Team budgets are an important variable which we were not able to measure across all 12 seasons of time due to the difficulty and inaccuracy in obtaining these budgets. However, we have been able to obtain team budgets for the three seasons (2006-07, 2007-08, 2008-09) which have been twice verified. This does not guarantee complete accuracy, but lends itself to a high degree of comparability and reliability. Thus the between team model was run separately for these three seasons in order to examine the relationship of team budget to the other variables.

The third data set is also a subset of the original data set. This data set, on a league basis, consists of the same twelve seasons as above. The variable of number of youth registered with the Czech basketball federation is of most interest to us at this level. Youth are defined as up to 19 years of age in the season of play. Youth membership has been adjusted as a percentage of the total Czech youth population between the ages of 5 and 19 for the given years. This was done to minimize the effect of the declining birth rates and thus present youth basketball membership growth relative to the eligible population. This variable is measured alongside the total number of foreign players playing in the MNBL each year, number of Czechs playing in the league each year, number of Czechs playing outside of Czech and the average home attendance. Other variables measured in the model on a league basis across time are number of times the MNBL was broadcast on Czech television and average hall capacity.

The original data set is of multilevel nature. Seasons are considered as level-1 units which are further nested within teams (level-2) units. Thus, two covariance matrices instead of one were estimated for each level. The pooled-within teams covariance matrix belongs to level-1 and the scaled-between teams covariance matrix is observed at level-2. These two

covariance matrices were estimated via a multivariate multilevel procedure in the PRELIS program (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1999). Additionally the model was expanded to include budget, population and hall capacity and run with the longitudinal second data set. This data set was analyzed using Pearson correlations. The multi-level structure was ignored when budget was included, due to the smaller level of observations, and is only included for illustrative purposes. In addition to correlations, bivariate regression analysis was performed. Subsequently, path-analytic models were conducted for both levels according to the rules and procedures commonly used within the structural equation modeling framework (Kaplan, 2008).

## Phase Two

The second phase in the data collection process was the individual interview with decision makers from each team. This phase was conducted twice during the course of the study. The first set of interviews was conducted in the fall of 2006. These interviews were preceded by a letter from the researcher and the head of the Czech Basketball Federation (CBF) explaining the nature and purpose of the study being undertaken. These open-ended interviews were done to clarify the length of time the foreign players played with each team as well as their demographics and playing statistics. It was also used to survey the team decision makers on their opinions of other factors that may have influenced fan attendance and youth development numbers. These opinions provide information which may not be evident empirically, or may have significant impact on the empirical numbers. Finally, the marketing efforts of the club, specifically with regard to the foreign athletes, were surveyed. Eight teams were surveyed in total. Interviews were approximately 60 minutes in length. All interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed verbatim by the researcher.

The second set of interviews was conducted in the fall of 2011. These interviews were structured interviews with two sets of questions (see figure 15 in Appendix 2). The first set of questions was scaled questions using a 5 point Likert scale. Each question was based on the quantitative findings from phase one and designed to measure the opinion of the person deciding on the usage of foreign athletes against the quantitative findings (Kumar, 2010). The second set of questions were open-ended to add to the knowledge gained in the first set of interviews and to measure changes in response to the use of migrant athletes. The theory, categorizations and expected correlations used in the interview construction are illustrated in figure 16 of Appendix 2.

Decision makers (coaches or general managers) were interviewed from 14 of the 18 teams which played in the MNBL during the 12 years studied. For all 8 teams surveyed in the

first set of interviews, the same decision maker was interviewed for the second interview. The four teams not interviewed either refused to participate, or no longer exist and no decision maker would respond. Interviews ranged in length from approximately 30 minutes to 2 hours. All interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed verbatim by the researcher. Those interviewed were contacted in advance by phone or email by the researcher, informed of the nature of the interview and promised anonymity. In the process of analysis, we used techniques involving analytic induction and comparative analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to find common themes present in the participants' responses.

### Phase Three

The final phase in the data collection process is the media review. Czech print media was examined as to specific coverage of the immigrant athletes who played in the Czech Basketball Federation from September 1998 through May 2010. These articles were categorized and summarized in a manner similar to Klein's media reviews of Dominican baseball coverage listed below.

Klein, A. M. (1991a). Sport and culture as contested terrain: Americanization in the Caribbean. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 8(1), 79-85.

Klein, A.M. (1991b). *Sugarball: The American Game, the Dominican Dream*. Yale University Press, New York.

This study examined two broadsheet daily newspapers, *Mladá Fronta Dnes* (874,000 daily readers) and *Sport* (286,000 daily readers) ("2010 Media Projekt," 2010). Each of these publications are national in scope. The *Mladá Fronta Dnes* newspaper averages 22 pages in length with 4 pages dedicated to sport. The *Sport* newspaper averages 16 pages in length. The *Sport* newspaper typically has 12-14 pages dedicated to the two primary sports of football and ice hockey, and 2-4 pages for the remaining sports which include basketball. The *Sport* newspaper sells around 55,000 copies per day and has a daily readership of 268,000 people.

Czech print media was examined as to specific coverage of the immigrant athletes who played in the men's extraleague of the Czech Basketball Federation during 5 marker years. The seasons covered were 1998-99, 2001-02, 2004-05, 2007-08 and 2009-10. Care was taken to include the first and last seasons of the 12 years studied, seasons where the rules changed significantly regarding the use of foreigners, and years with marked increases in the use of foreigners. Each season studied the included articles from September through May of that season. As stated above the Czech print media periodicals studied were: the newspapers *Sport* (including Friday magazine), and *Mladá Fronta Dnes*. All genres were included in the analysis: news items, game and transfer reports, and feature stories. Box scores were the only

thing not included in the review. This review was carried out in the fall of 2010 by the researcher. These articles were categorized and summarized in a manner similar to Klein's media reviews. Every article specifically about basketball during the given season was read, observed and categorized. After initial review of the results, some of Klein's categories were eliminated as not applicable in our study. Each article categorized including any reference to immigrant athletes was read a second time by the author and its categorization evaluated as per its accuracy. The results were observed for trends and general observations which indicate the response to this form of globalization in sport in the Czech culture. These trends and general observations are reported both within and between the 5 years studied. Specific examples drawn primarily from one season (2007-08), which exemplify the findings are shared and expounded upon in the results. Where deviations from this season, or strong examples from other seasons, were found these specific examples are reported as well.

The specific information obtained is listed and defined below (Categorization examples used for clarification purposes can be found in figure 17 of Appendix 2.)

1. Article date – date article appeared in print
2. Source - newspaper where article was found (Sport, or Mladá fronta)
3. Headline – Czech headline over the article
4. Athlete- full name of foreign athlete discussed
5. Team – team athlete played for during the game mentioned
6. Categories observed:
  - a. Performance noted
  - b. Nationality noted
  - c. Name or nationality in headline
  - d. Performance noted by coach or spokesman
  - e. Quoted
  - f. Compared with Czech player(s)
  - g. Criticized
  - h. Salary or contract mentioned
  - i. Leaving or arriving to team
  - j. Receiving honor or award
  - k. Story about /mention personal life
  - l. Impact on fan attendance mentioned

It was the goal of the researcher to examine the use of sport migrants as per its effect on the popularity of the sport of basketball from both a quantitative and qualitative vantage

point. Each of the three phases of methodology was designed to address the specific research questions, theory and hypothesis laid out in advance. The three phases of methodology are meant to overlap and build on each other in order to assess the cultural response to this form of globalization. The three phases were designed from a figurational social theory perspective in order to address the historical, political, financial and social factors in interplay with the decisions to rely on the use of foreign players to build the game of basketball in the Czech Republic. Both the intended and unintended results which surface are further explored in subsequent phases of the research in order to more fully illuminate the issue. Interactionist social theory is heavily relied on in the second and third phases which are qualitative in nature.

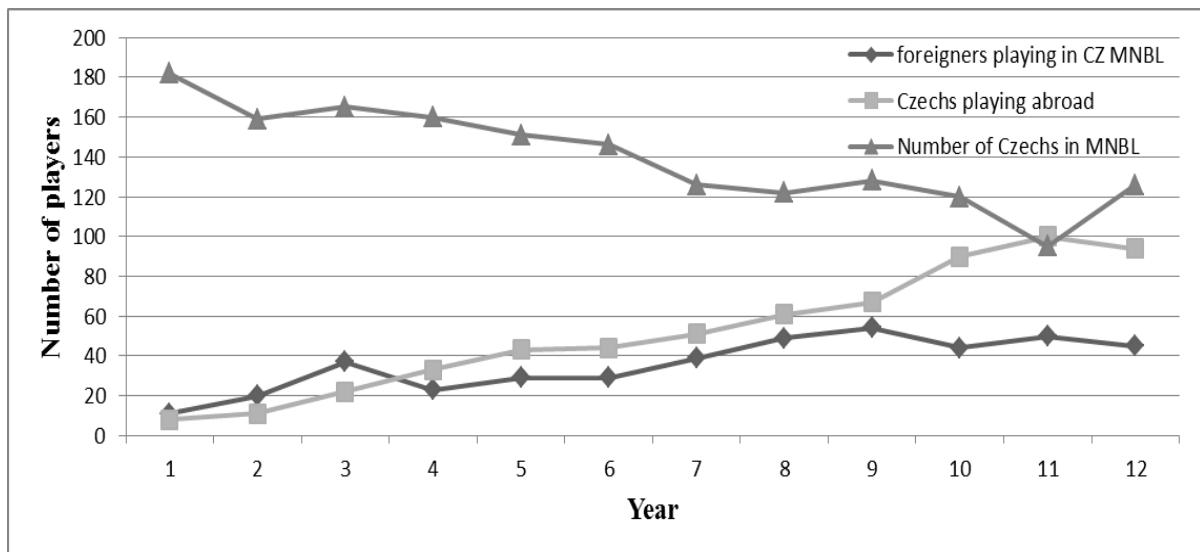
## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### Phase 1 results

We will begin with some simple tables and scatterplot graphs to illustrate quantitatively the data over the time period under study in the cultural landscape of the Czech Republic. Then we will relate these variables through two-level hierarchical correlation and covariance matrixes. Finally, we will attempt to represent the indirect effects within these intended and unintended consequences through the use of several path analysis diagrams.

**Figure 2. - Use of foreigners and Czechs playing outside Czech**



(raw data obtained from CBF records)

The number of foreigners playing in the top Czech league has been increasing steadily over the last 12 years. The quadrupling of the number of foreigners is even more significant when one considers the concurrent decrease in Czech players. In order to understand this shift more fully, it is necessary to understand the ongoing development of the rules governing the use of foreigners in the MNBL.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Foreigner Rule</b>
1998-99	2 foreigners allowed and Slovaks counted as foreigners
1999-2000	2, Slovaks as foreigners
2000-01	2, Slovaks as foreigners
2001-02	2, Slovaks as foreigners
2002-03	2, Slovaks as foreigners
2003-04	2, Slovaks as Czechs (not counted as foreigners)
2004-05	3, 2 outside Europe, Slovaks as Czechs
2005-06	8, 3 outside EU (2 outside Europe), Slovaks as foreigners
2006-07	8, 3 outside EU (2 outside Europe), Slovaks as foreigners
2007-08	8, 2 outside Europe, Slovaks as foreigners
2008-09	8, 3 outside EU, Slovaks as foreigners
2009-10	7, 3 outside EU, Slovaks as foreigners

As can be seen the Czech Basketball Federation has changed their stance towards foreigners repeatedly over the last 10 years. The rules above apply to the number of foreigners allowed to play in a game. Since the 2005-06 season, the number of foreigners allowed on a team roster has been unlimited. The number of overall foreigners allowed per team has consistently increased with a radical jump from three to eight in 2005. This was primarily a concession to EU laws and the Bosman ruling as Czech joined the EU in 2004. Even though we find two seasons of allowing Slovaks to count as Czechs (from 2003 to 2005), we have counted Slovaks as foreigners statistically throughout this study to maintain consistency in spite of this rule. Finally, there has been a consistent rule to limit the number of non-EU players since 2004-05. This rule has primarily been an effort to limit the number of American players. However, many teams, not only in Czech but in all of Europe, have circumvented this rule by employing Americans who have been able to obtain passports from EU countries. Such a case is illustrated by Maurice Whitfield in Czech.

**Table 4. - Czechs playing outside Czech**

Year	Total	Austria	Belgium	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Finland	France	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Kuwait	Luxembourg	Holland	Poland	Serbia	Slovakia	Slovenia	Spain	UK	USA
98-99																				
99-00	<b>11</b>	3						2								4				2
00-01	<b>22</b>	6					1	5						1	1	4	1	1		2
01-02	<b>33</b>	6					2	6		2					1	7	1	1		7
02-03	<b>43</b>	9				1	2	11		3						12	2	1		2
03-04	<b>44</b>	10					1	11		3						12	2	1		4
04-05	<b>51</b>	12			1	1	3	15	2	3						8	2	1		3
05-06	<b>61</b>	11		1	3	1	4	18	2	3		1				12	2	1		2
06-07	<b>67</b>	10			3	3	3	15	3	3		1		1		10	4	2	4	5
07-08	<b>90</b>	12		1	6	3	2	18	4	2		1	4	1	2	14	3	4	4	9
08-09	<b>100</b>	13	2		8	2	4	19	3	5	1	2	3	2	2	12	5	2	6	9
09-10	<b>94</b>	12	1		7	2	3	18	3	3	1	2	3	2	2	11	3	12	5	4

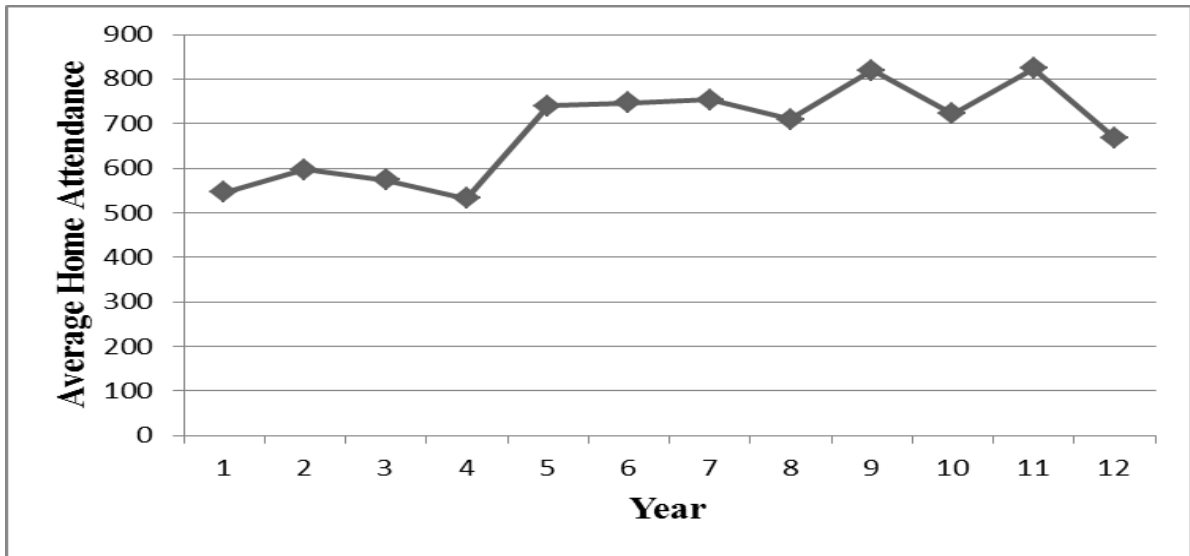
(raw data obtained from CBF records)

**Table 5. - Foreigners playing in Czech**

Year	Total	Bermuda	Brazil	Canada	Congo	Croatia	England	Finland	France	Greece	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania	Macedonia	Moldova	Poland	Russia	Serbia	Slovakia	Slovenia	USA
98-99	<b>11</b>					3				2							1	1	0		4
99-00	<b>20</b>					4				1							2	2	5	1	5
00-01	<b>37</b>					7				1					1		3	6	10	1	8
01-02	<b>23</b>					2				1							2	2	7		9
02-03	<b>29</b>					4				1								4	10		10
03-04	<b>29</b>					5				1			1					2	11		9
04-05	<b>39</b>		1			5							1			3		5	13		11
05-06	<b>49</b>		1			3	1						2	1		2		13	9	2	15
06-07	<b>54</b>					6	1	1	1	1						2	1	7	13	2	19
07-08	<b>44</b>	1				3			1	1	1					1		4	8	1	23
08-09	<b>50</b>			1						1			4			4		2	10	2	26
09-10	<b>45</b>			2	1		1			1		1	3			2		1	11		22

(raw data obtained from CBF records)

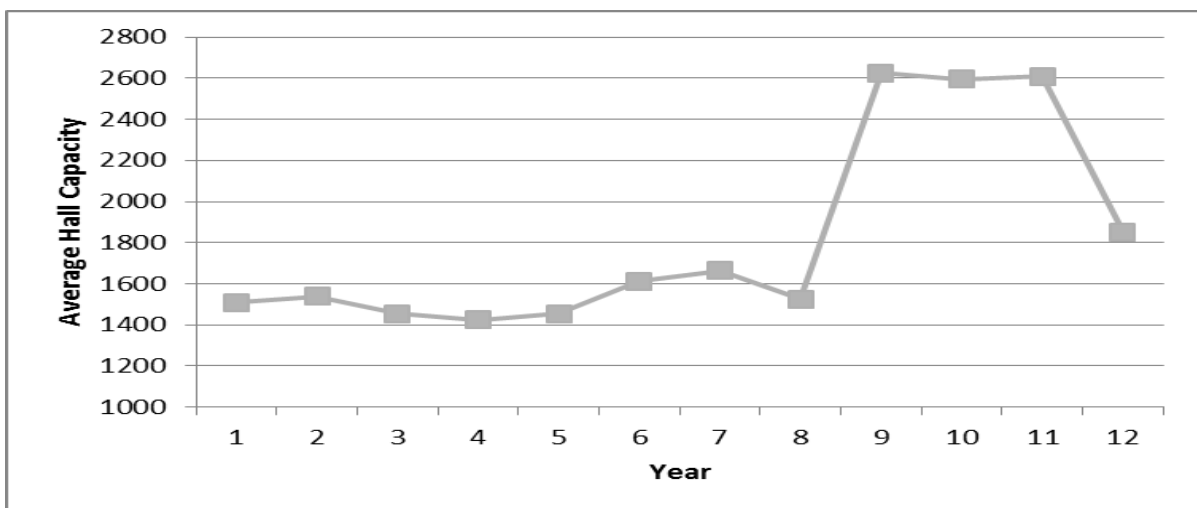
**Figure 3. - Fan Attendance**



(raw data obtained from CBF records)

Fan attendance has consistently increased over the time period studied, just as the number of foreigners shown above. Home attendance increased by 22.3%. This percentage is much higher because relatively few fans attend basketball games (as compared to ice hockey or football). The biggest shift occurred between the seasons 2001-02 and 2002-03.

**Figure 4. - Hall Capacity**



(raw data obtained from individual teams)

Perhaps in order to keep up with the increases in fan attendance, or perhaps driving the increases in fan attendance, the capacities of the basketball halls in the MNBL have increased dramatically. The lowest average hall capacity was 1425 in the 2001-02 season; while the

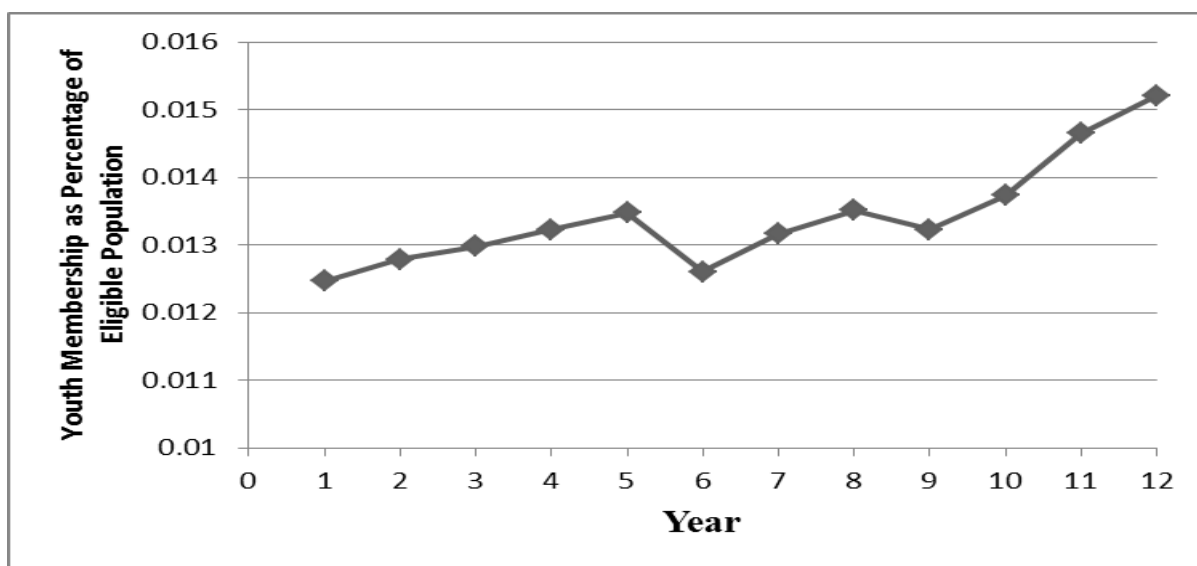
highest was 2626 in the 2006-07 season. In any given year, these halls have been about 40% full, with a low of 27% in 2007-08 and a high of 51% during the 2002-03 season. These numbers are skewed in the two years 2007-08, and 2008-09 in which two teams played their games in ice hockey arenas with capacities of 7600 and 9000 respectively.

**Table 6. - Basketball Federation Membership**

Season	Total CBF membership	Youth CBF membership
1998-99	41198	25411
1999-2000	41168	25328
2000-01	40768	24967
2001-02	40553	24834
2002-03	39728	24614
2003-04	35761	22461
2004-05	35985	22900
2005-06	36032	22931
2006-07	38592	21908
2007-08	39075	22256
2008-09	40328	23325
2009-10	40788	23745

(raw data obtained from CBF records)

**Figure 5. - Youth CBF membership as a percentage of the eligible population**



(raw data obtained from CBF records and Český statistický úřad, 2010)

The actual numbers represent an overall loss of 1666 total members or a 6.5% decrease in youth membership. However, when one takes into account the declining birth rate and its relative effect on the actual youth population eligible to play basketball each season (youth age 5 to 19), there is a 22% increase over the 12 -year period.

#### *Team Level analysis*

**Table 7. - Descriptive statistics of full and budget-only reduced sample**

	All teams over all seasons (N=143)				Teams with known budget (N=35)			
	Mean	SEM	Min	Max	Mean	SEM	Min	Max
Home Attendance	685.27	25.34	171	1945	787.66	66.00	231	1945
Away Attendance	686.26	11.63	403	1180	788.20	16.80	636	1180
Foreigners	2.97	0.19	0	8	4.11	0.35	0	8
Non-EU Foreigners	1.68	0.12	0	6	2.57	0.19	0	6
Czechs	11.72	0.29	5	23	9.80	0.44	5	15
Final Place	6.46	0.29	1	12	6.34	0.58	1	12
Hockey Extraleague	0.52	0.06	0	2	0.46	0.11	0	2
Football Extraleague	0.83	0.11	0	5	0.57	0.19	0	5
Capacity	1951.57	169.56	250	9000	2610.51	463.59	490	9000
Population	286394	98517	13400	1157800	197166	54100	13400	1157800
Budget	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	16.69	1.61	8	50

(Crossan & Pecha, 2012)

The descriptive statistics above paint a picture all of the variables measured for all teams over the 12 -year longitudinal period measured. The first four columns represent all 18 seasons, while the last four columns represent the three seasons 2006-07, 2007-08, 2008-09 for which budget data was available. Budgets were measured in millions of Czech crowns. The three year average exchange rate for these seasons was 19.4 CZK/1 USD and 26.7 CZK/1 EUR.

The results of the multivariate multilevel model are two covariance matrixes, pooled-within teams (table 8) and scaled -between teams (table 9). For both matrices the bold entries on the diagonal are the variances. Entries below the bold variances are the covariances, and above are the respective correlations. The significant covariances are delineated with asterisks.

**Table 8. - Pooled-within teams covariance-correlation matrix**

	Home Atten.	Away Atten.	Foreigners	Non-EU	Czechs	Final Place	Hockey	Football
Home Atten.	<b>55886.70</b>	0.40	0.26	0.31	-0.33	-0.43	-0.12	-0.01
Away Atten.	10302.82**	<b>11855.32</b>	0.26	0.19	-0.40	-0.19	0.08	-0.03
Foreigners	99.43**	46.61**	<b>2.61</b>	0.73	-0.54	0.01	0.01	-0.04
Non-EU	88.43**	24.43**	1.41**	<b>1.44</b>	-0.42	-0.13	-0.02	0.00
Czechs	-198.18**	-109.34**	-2.22**	-1.28**	<b>6.45</b>	0.19	-0.05	0.19
Final Place	-232.08**	-47.54**	0.04	-0.36**	1.13**	<b>5.31</b>	0.17	-0.20
Hockey	-4.86**	1.44**	0.00	0.00	-0.02	0.07	<b>0.03</b>	-0.01
Football	-1.08**	-1.17**	-0.02	0.00	0.19*	-0.18*	0.00	<b>0.16</b>

*Note.* Bold entries on diagonal are the variances; values in the bottom-left triangle are the covariances; upper-right triangle contains respective correlations (Crossan & Pecha, 2012)

\*\*p< 0.01; \*p< 0.05

At the within team level we do not find many strong correlations beyond team composition. The Non-EU variable is nested within the total foreigners variable so this strong correlation is expected. The negative correlation between the number of foreigners and number of Czechs is observed here as well. The negative correlation between home attendance and final place shows that there is some association between performance of the team and the resulting attendance from year to year (As home attendance goes up, final place goes down, meaning it improves.), but it does not appear to be strongly associated with fan attendance. However, the covariances are strong and primarily significant at the 0.01 level (a 99% level of confidence). Finally, there appears to be almost no correlation between fan

attendance at basketball games and the presence of the primary sport teams of ice hockey or football in the same market from year to year.

**Table 9. - Between teams covariance-correlation matrix**

	Home Atten.	Away Atten.	Foreigners	Non-EU	Czechs	Final Place	Hockey	Football
Home Atten.	<b>77.85</b>	0.98	0.63	0.43	-0.45	-0.66	-0.04	0.05
Away Atten.	726.64**	<b>7012.15</b>	0.65	0.58	-0.56	-0.51	-0.13	-0.09
Foreigners	7.73**	74.71**	<b>1.91</b>	0.59	-0.76	-0.39	-0.27	-0.23
Non-EU	3.68**	47.06**	0.79**	<b>0.95</b>	-0.93	0.34	-0.48	-0.68
Czechs	-8.83**	-105.74**	-2.34**	-2.03**	<b>5.00</b>	-0.17	0.61	0.69
Final Place	-23.59**	-174.02**	-2.17**	1.35**	-1.53**	<b>16.65</b>	-0.25	-0.55
Hockey	-0.27**	-7.37**	-0.26	-0.33	0.95**	-0.70	<b>0.48</b>	0.86
Football	0.49**	-8.80**	-0.37**	-0.78*	1.80	-2.62**	0.69**	<b>1.35</b>

*Note.* Bold entries on diagonal are the variances; values in the bottom-left triangle are the covariances; upper-right triangle contains respective correlations (Crossan & Pecha, 2012)

\*\*p< 0.01; \*p< 0.05

The effect of foreigners on both home and away attendance is correlated much more strongly at the between team level than we observed at the within team level. Additionally, the correlation between the number of foreigners and the final placement of the team is stronger at this level. Our data shows that the more foreigners a team has, the better final place they achieve compared to those teams with fewer foreigners. We observe a stronger negative correlation in team composition at this level as well. The more foreigners a team has, specially non-EU foreigners, the fewer Czechs the team will employ. The correlation between home attendance and final place is also strengthened at this level between teams, so while individual teams appear resilient in their fan attendance from year to year, better performance by teams were associated with larger fan draws. Again the covariances are strong in each of these relationships and primarily display a 99% level of confidence. Also the presence of extraleague teams in the primary sports of ice hockey and football was not associated with a reduction of fan attendance in the secondary sport basketball at the between team level.

Using path analysis of the team means allows us to more clearly state a few of these significant correlations. An improvement of one place in the final rankings was equal to 54 more fans attending home games. In our sample, adding one more foreigner to the team drew 69.5 more fans, but if the foreigner was a non-EU foreigner the number of home fans drawn increased to 84. We saw the strength of the correlation between foreigners and final place in

that one more non-EU foreigner was equal to an improvement of 1.2 spots in the final rankings. For each total foreigner there was a 0.9 better placement in the final placement of the team.

The total correlation matrix based on the data set including the budget is presented in table 10. This matrix was calculated from the three seasons for which budgets could be obtained and is represented by 35 team entries (season 1: 12 teams, season 2: 12 teams, season 3: 11 teams).

**Table 10. - Between teams correlation matrix including budget, population, and capacity (N=35)**

	Home Atten.	Away Atten.	Foreigners	Non-EU	Czechs	Final Place	Hockey	Football	Capacity	Population	Budget
Home Atten.	1.00										
Away Atten.	-0.08	1.00									
Foreigners	0.26	0.27	1.00								
Non-EU	0.09	0.12	0.64**	1.00							
Czechs	-0.19	-0.34*	-0.72**	-0.45**	1.00						
Final Place	-0.45**	-0.43*	-0.40	-0.20	0.45**	1.00					
Hockey	0.03	-0.19	-0.19	-0.29	0.23	0.26	1.00				
Football	-0.26	-0.08	-0.12	-0.28	0.25	0.18	0.65**	1.00			
Capacity	0.43	-0.11	-0.10	-0.35*	0.10	0.00	0.38*	0.15	1.00		
Population	-0.24	-0.11	-0.12	-0.41*	0.28	0.21	0.68**	0.84**	0.38*	1.00	
Budget	0.06	0.55**	0.35*	0.32	-0.46**	-0.62**	-0.51**	-0.64**	-0.03	-0.61**	1.00

Note. \*\*p< 0.01; \*p< 0.05

(Crossan & Pecha, 2012)

When we examined the three years for which we had team budget information, our observed correlations remained stable. More foreigners was associated with improved final team placement and decreased number of Czechs on a team. The strongest correlation to budget was that of final place. Interestingly, we observed that the presence of ice hockey and football teams was associated with decreased budgets for the team. This went hand in hand with population, in that higher population cities had more teams in the extraleagues of the primary sports. So while one might expect teams in higher population areas to have higher budgets, the opposite was actually true due to the money flowing to the more visible sports in the culture present in those cities. As might be expected, teams with larger budgets invested more in foreign players and less in Czech players. Higher budgets did not show a correlation with home attendance or hall capacity. It is expected that if the hall capacity outliers mentioned above who played in hockey arenas were thrown out that this correlation might

improve. There was some correlation between hall capacity and home attendance, but it was weak.

Using bivariate regression analysis we were able to estimate that 1 million more Czech crowns (\$51,546, EUR 37,453) was equal to 6 more fans and a 0.26 improvement in final place, or 4 million Czech crowns (\$206,186, EUR 149,813) was equal to one final place improvement. When budget was measured against team composition numbers using regression analysis 1 million more Czech crowns equaled 0.066 more total foreigners and 0.037 more non-EU foreigners.

### *League level analysis*

The relationship of percentage of youth in correlation with other variables is presented in table 11 below. This table uses Pearson correlations.

**Table 11. - League level correlation matrix (N=12)**

	Foreigners in MNBL	Czechs in MNBL	Czechs playing outside Czech	Average home attend.	Average hall capacity	MNBL TV appearances	Youth as % population
Foreigners in MNBL	1.00						
Czechs in MNBL	-0.86**	1.00					
Czechs playing outside CZ	0.82**	-0.92**	1.00				
Average home attendance	0.73**	-0.81**	0.70*	1.00			
Average hall capacity	0.68*	-0.72**	0.75**	0.67*	1.00		
MNBL TV appearances	0.67*	-0.83**	0.95**	0.57	0.73**	1.00	
Youth as % population	0.68*	-0.75**	0.60*	0.96**	0.52	0.45	1.00

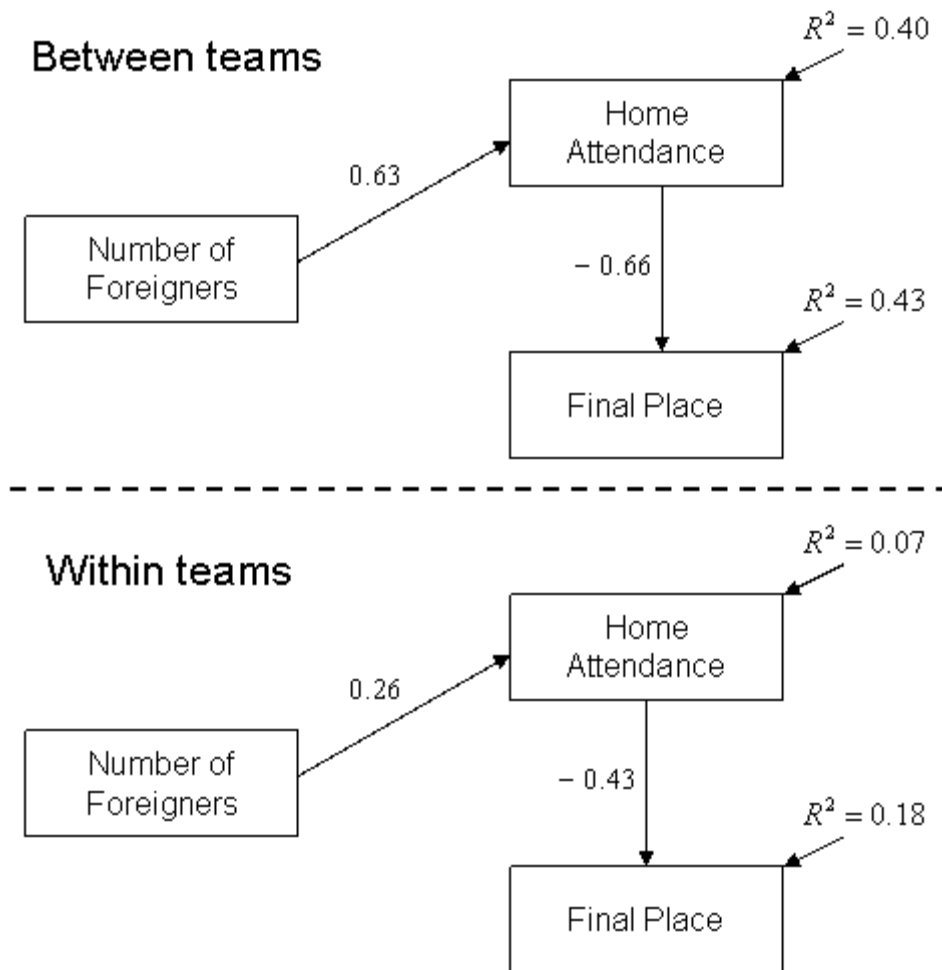
Note. \*\*p< 0.01; \*p< 0.05

(Crossan & Pecha, 2012)

At the league level the correlations were significantly stronger than were seen previously, but this must be tempered with the low sample size of 12 seasons. The highest correlations existed between the immigrant and emigrant players. In our sample, the more Czechs left to play in other countries, the fewer Czechs remained to play in the MNBL. The more foreigners came to play in the Czech MNBL, the fewer spots there were for Czechs in the home league and the more emigrated to play in leagues outside the country. This process appeared to be somewhat strongly correlated with average home attendance, perhaps indicating that fans were positively disposed to the presence of foreign players and not negatively affected by the exodus of Czech players. As per youth membership in the CBF the correlations were similar to those seen with home attendance. Youth appeared to be drawn to

playing the game with the presence of foreign players and the exodus of Czech players was also correlated with youth playing the game. The strongest correlation observed was that between home attendance and youth participation.

**Figure 6. - Two-level path model with standardized estimates**



Note:

Fit indexes for the between-team level (N=18): Chi-square=0.05, df=1, RMSEA=0.00, SRMR=0.01

Fit indexes for the within-team level (N=143): Chi-square=2.77, df=1, RMSEA=0.11, SRMR=0.05

(Crossan & Pecha, 2012)

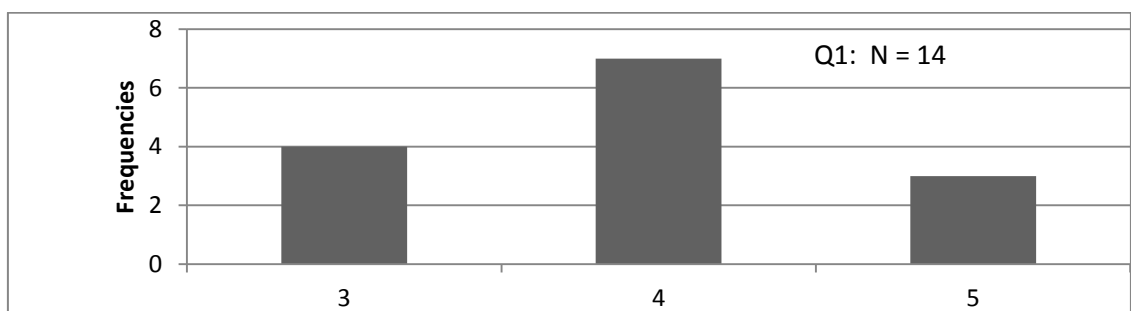
In order to find the path analysis diagram with the best fit many hypotheses were tested until the best fit was found. According to the rules of structural equation modeling, the number of non-redundant elements of the covariance matrix must not exceed the number of observations. Furthermore, this is a necessary, but not sufficient condition; the suggestions on adequate sample size related to the number of free parameters are much higher (Kaplan, 2008). Thus within and between teams, we were limited to models which tested four or fewer parameters. We present a limited model with three variables, number of foreigners, home

attendance and final place, which exhibit an acceptable fit both within and between teams. The model fits excellently between teams (RMSEA=0.00, SRMR=0.01), and marginally within teams (RMSEA=0.11, SRMR=0.05). The direct path between number of foreigners and final place is not included because in both cases, within and between, it was not significantly different from 0. Rather, this relation is indirectly mediated by home attendance. The magnitude of the indirect effect is a product of the two standardized path coefficients, 0.63 and -0.66, between teams, equaling -0.42 and is significant. At the within team levels the magnitude of the indirect effect is -0.11 and is also significant. The significance of these results was obtained using Lisrel software (Joreskog, 1997).

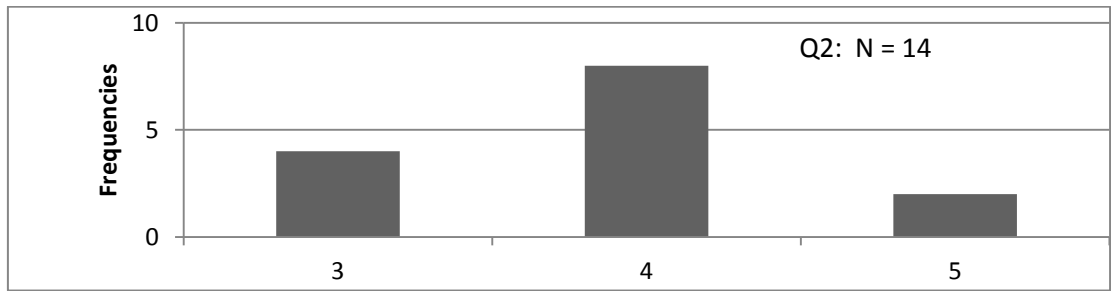
### Phase 2 Results

We will begin our phase two results by displaying the frequency of answers given in the scaled section of the second set of interviews conducted with 14 decision makers from the 18 teams which played during the 12 years under review. With each question the English equivalent of the question asked is stated, followed by a graph showing the frequency of response. All questions were presented with a five point Likert scale, with the exception of questions 10a and 10b, which presented the interviewee with three options. In the graphs below the X axis represents the scale of answers.

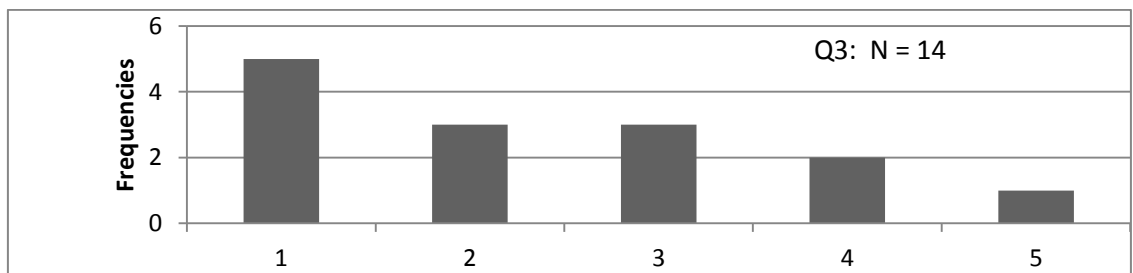
1. In 1998 there were 11 foreigners in the Mattoni NBL. In 2010 there were 45 foreigners. Do you view this increasing trend in the use of foreigners as generally negative or positive? (1=negative, 5=positive)



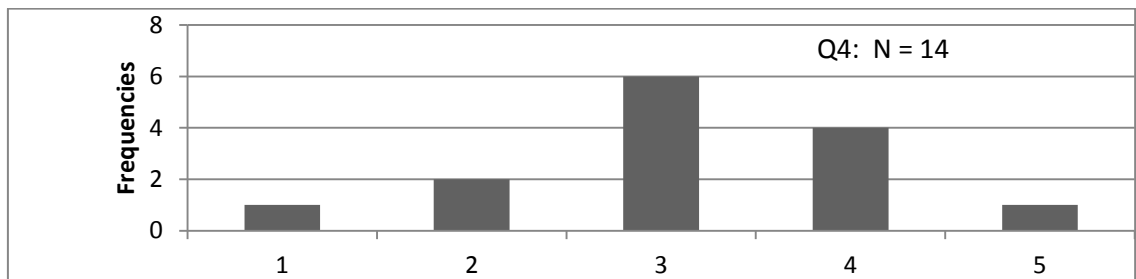
2. Do you think there is a correlation between the number of foreigners used and the final placement of a team within the league? (1=negative, 5=positive)



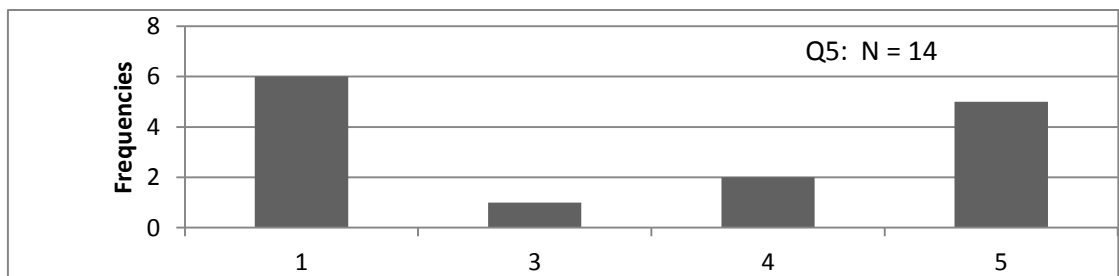
3. Do you think there is a correlation between the number of foreigners on a MNBL team and the number of youth on their youth teams? (1=negative, 5=positive)



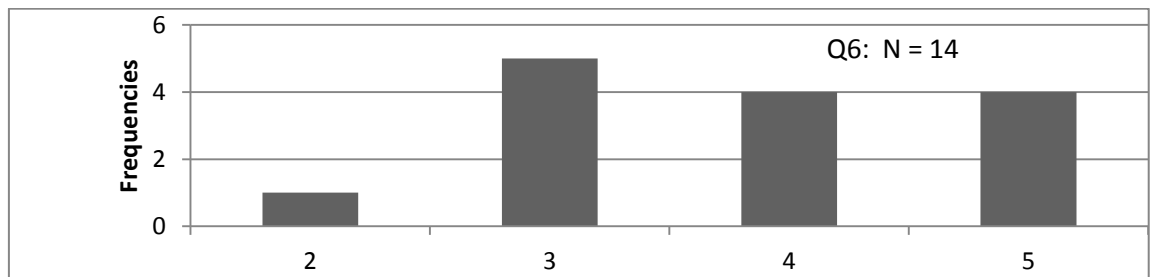
4. Do you think there is a correlation between the number of foreigners in the MNBL and the number of youth playing basketball in Czech? (1=negative, 5=positive)



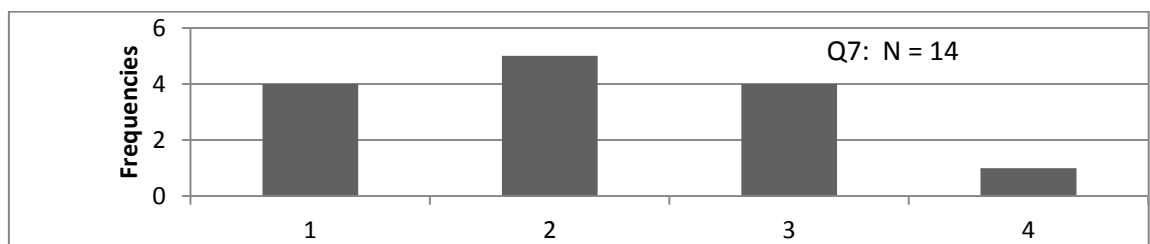
5. Do you think there is a correlation between the number of professional football or ice hockey teams in a city and the attendance of MNBL games in the same city? (1=negative, 5=positive)



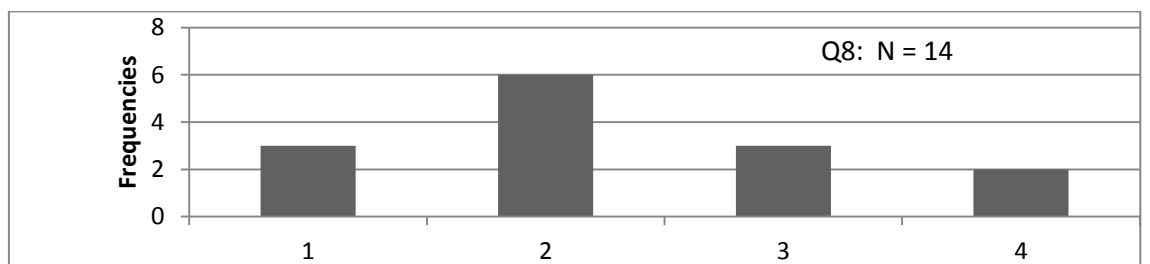
6. How do you think the presence of foreign players on a MNBL team affects the development of young Czech players? (1=negative, 5=positive)



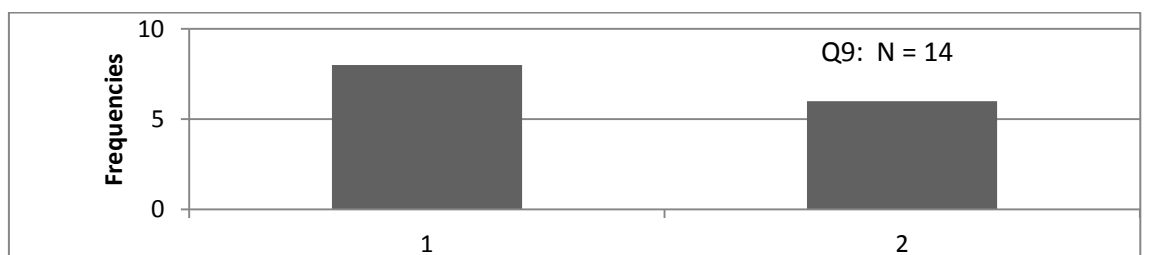
7. Do you think the presence of foreign players in the MNBL affects the chances of young Czech players to play in the MNBL? (1=decreases, 5=increases)



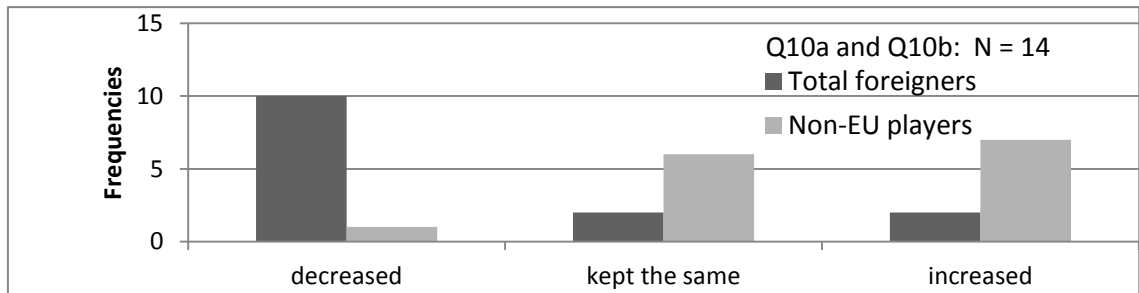
8. Do you think the presence of foreign players in the MNBL affects the number of Czech players who choose to play basketball outside of Czech? (1=decreases, 5=increases)



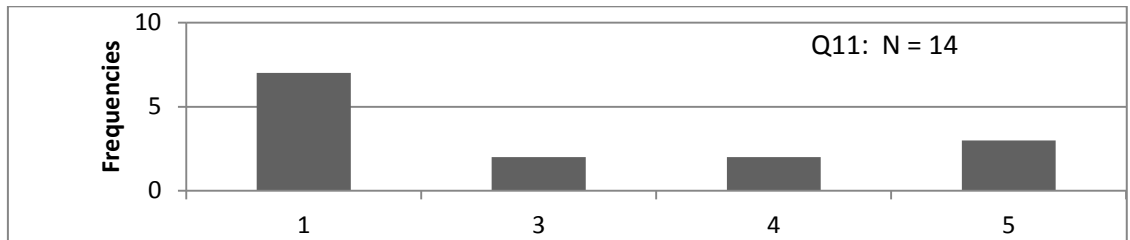
9. In general would you say using foreigners are more expensive or less than using Czech players? (1=less, 5=more)



10. What do you think of the rule governing the use of foreign players in the MNBL (8 total foreigners allowed, limit of 3 non-EU)?
- The total number of foreigners should be:
  - The number of non-EU players should be:



11. Do you think there should be rules mandating the use of Czech players? (1=strongly no, 5=strongly yes)



12. How free do you feel to use or not use Czech players? (1=not free at all, 5=very free)

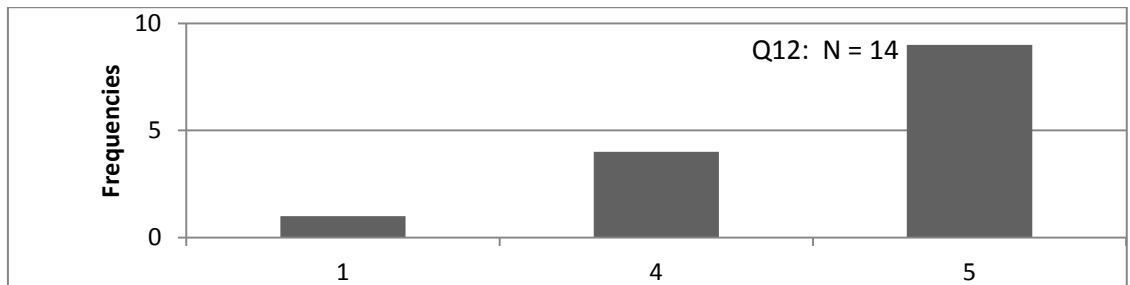


Table 12 below presents the correlations between responses for the 12 scaled questions asked during the second set of interviews. The bivariate correlations were conducted in Lisrel using Pearson's coefficient.

**Table 12. - Intra-question correlation matrix**

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10a	Q10b	Q11	Q12
Q1	1.00												
Q2	-0.41	1.00											
Q3	0.50	-0.17	1.00										
Q4	0.65	-0.41	0.65	1.00									
Q5	0.01	-0.17	0.08	0.42	1.00								
Q6	0.51	-0.48	0.64	0.41	0.32	1.00							
Q7	0.80	-0.38	0.76	0.51	-0.38	0.72	1.00						
Q8	-0.35	0.40	-0.44	0.00	0.48	-0.51	-0.73	1.00					
Q9	-0.16	-0.05	0.58	0.21	-0.18	0.28	0.64	-0.17	1.00				
Q10a	0.85	-0.26	0.30	0.60	-0.44	0.04	0.62	-0.28	0.14	1.00			
Q10b	0.51	-1.00	-0.15	0.37	0.07	0.08	0.33	0.01	0.14	0.62	1.00		
Q11	-0.56	-0.28	0.14	0.36	0.38	-0.24	-0.29	0.30	0.52	-0.59	0.09	1.00	
Q12	-0.10	0.29	0.67	0.67	0.05	0.30	0.49	-0.06	0.99	-0.15	-0.40	0.78	1.00

Table 13 below presents the correlations between responses for the 12 scaled questions and the data obtained in during phase 1 of the research. Items were paired at the team level, meaning that individual interviewee responses were paired with the summary data set of the corresponding team. These bivariate correlations were also conducted in Lisrel using Pearson's coefficient.

**Table 13. - Correlation matrix: Question responses to Phase 1 data - team level**

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10a	Q10b	Q11	Q12
HA	-0.43	0.15	-0.29	0.51	-0.15	-0.16	0.33	-0.03	0.40	0.01	-0.16	0.45	0.18
FOR	0.26	-0.34	0.08	0.38	-0.21	-0.09	0.39	-0.34	0.07	0.32	0.27	-0.14	-0.07
CZE	-0.22	0.41	-0.32	-0.07	0.12	-0.24	-0.45	0.44	-0.13	-0.09	-0.24	0.11	-0.11
FP	0.12	0.14	0.35	-0.41	0.33	0.42	-0.16	0.12	0.11	-0.11	0.04	-0.15	0.24
ELT	0.14	0.30	-0.19	0.10	0.07	-0.76	-0.32	0.64	-0.23	0.16	-0.27	-0.04	-0.51
YT	-0.13	-0.15	0.12	0.42	0.50	-0.19	0.27	0.32	0.40	-0.37	-0.19	0.67	0.18

*Note.* HA=Home attendance, FOR=Foreigners, CZE=Czechs, FP=Final place, ELT=Extraleague teams, YT=number of youth teams

In the next section of our phase 2 results we will present the common themes given in the open ended portion of the second interview set and compare these themes to those observed in the first interview set.

### *Background and history of foreigner usage*

The questions dealing with background and history were as follows:

- In what year did your team first start using foreigners?
- Who was your first foreigner and what was his nationality?
- When did you obtain your first American?

Three teams stated that they started using foreigners in the early 1990's (1991, 1992 and 1994). Another six of the teams started using foreigners in the late 1990's. Then significantly four of the teams said that they began using foreigners even before getting into the MNBL. Two of these teams stated specifically that the reason they began using foreigners in the lower leagues was to get to the MNBL. Five teams said they brought in their first American during their first season in the MNBL. With the exception of three teams, all of the teams first brought in either players from the former Yugoslav Republics (6 teams) or from the USA (5 teams). We can generalize that the majority of the earliest immigrants were from Yugoslavia, and most of the Americans followed in the early to mid 2000's. Four of the interviewees went out of their way to tell the researcher that they did not view Slovaks as foreigners, saying such things like, "We always had Slovaks, but no one considers them as foreigners."

### *General view on the use of foreigners*

The questions which attempted to ascertain the decision makers' general view of the use of foreigners were as follows:

- What do you think of the use of foreigners in Czech basketball in general?
- What did you think about the use of foreigners when they first began appearing in Czech basketball?
- Has your opinion of the use of foreigners changed? How or why?

When asked generally about the use of foreigners in Czech basketball only two out of the 14 decision makers interviewed had anything negative to say about the phenomena. And both of these two couched their negative perspective amidst a list of positives the foreigners brought. This is in contrast to the earlier set of interviews, where half (4 out of 8) of those interviewed had only negative things to say about the trend of using foreigners. In the first set of interviews three of the four complained about the individualistic style of play the Americans were bringing to the game. Two of them went on to explain in this context how the European style of play, with a greater focus on team chemistry, and less focus on

individual skills, was more interesting to watch than the NBA style of play. The other negative reaction in the first set of interviews was about the negative role models that the black Americans were for the Czech players. In the second set of interviews the negative comments related to the foreigners taking the spots and playing time of Czech players. One coach went into depth to explain how this reliance on foreign talent thwarts the development of talent for the national team.

There was a consensus opinion that the use of immigrant athletes is just another aspect of globalization, so why are we even having this discussion? This was expressed by half of those interviewed with statements like: “It comes with the territory. You have to do it. It is necessary.” One team owner stated it this way:

“I run an international company; one week I am here, the next in China, then the USA. So I understand competition, professionalism. It is normal.”

Those interviewed had many positive things to say about the use of foreigners. In the first set of interviews, the positives centered around learning from the foreigners and the ability to have an edge on the competition. In the second set of interviews the positives centered around raising the level of the league and attractiveness for the fans (each stated five times). Only twice was the positive of being able to learn from the foreign player mentioned during the second set of interviews in relation to the overall view of the use of foreigners.

When asked about first impressions and changes in their views, all respondents said their view had not changed or had not changed much. The common themes in first impressions were, that foreign players had been “exotic” (3x), and that all the first immigrants were “said” to have been good enough to play in the NBA (4x). There was also a dominant theme relating to the skill sets and dynamic athleticism which wowed the respondents in the early years. The few changes in their views were that the first foreigners were not as good as everyone thought back then, compared to those coming now (4x); that they have learned to use more care in choosing better character players (3x); and that perhaps the rules need to be shifted back down allowing fewer foreigners to come (2x).

In the category of general views of foreign players coming to play, most of the decision makers elaborated on the reasons why the foreigners were not only positive, but also necessary for the league. These reasons will be reflected in the next section on motivation for the decision maker to hire and use immigrants, but it is worthwhile to mention what they said here in this section first as their stating it in response to this question is indicative of its primacy. The most common reason given as per the necessity of using foreign players was simply that there are not enough good Czechs who can play at this level. Two respondents

stated this as not just a Czech problem, but one true on the whole European level. Another stated it like this:

“There are not enough Czech players. And it’s not just that we are a small country. It is very difficult to raise young Czech players. When there are so few, then it is very difficult to find talent. Then there are so many external factors which distract the players and make it hard to develop them. So it is easier to buy foreigners unfortunately. The talented young people prefer football or hockey. They are not interested in basketball because they don’t see any financial return.”

The statement this interviewee made that “it is easier to buy foreigners” was said by six different respondents, with two of them stating that it was not only easier, but also less expensive. And three respondents said they simply cannot win and stay in the league without the foreigners.

#### *Motivations for using foreigners*

There were a total of five questions constructed to understand the motivations of the sport’s decision makers in purchasing foreign players:

- Why does your team use foreign players? What is the number one reason? Are there any secondary reasons?
- Why did you choose to begin using foreigners?
- Do you view foreign players as a good financial investment for your club? Do you view them as more or less expensive than Czech players?
- When you choose foreign players, what are you looking for?
- What role do you expect foreigners to play on your team?

In the first set of interviews there were two primary reasons stated for bringing in foreign players: to give competitive advantage, and to help develop young players. By the second set of interviews these motivations had shifted. It was no longer about a competitive advantage, but about being able to stay competitive in the league. This was stated eight times in response to primary reason teams use immigrants. Hand in hand with this response was that there are not enough Czech players (3x), or to fill holes that cannot be filled with Czech players (3x). We can call this a shortage of supply. The other dominant motivation was the ratio of quality to price (5x). One coach used all three of these motivations to clearly say why the majority of teams are using foreign players:

“Because of the insufficient quality of Czech players to play at the level necessary. If we played only with Czech players, we could not play in the extraleague. There are many teams in the time you studied who tried it and they all failed to remain in the extraleague. The ratio of quality to price does not pay off for Czech players compared to American players.”

With regard to secondary reasons, we see the re-emergence of the notion of helping to develop our Czech players (2x) which was seen as primary in the first set of interviews. Additionally, five teams stated attracting fans as a secondary reason to use foreign players. However, one coach was adamant that it was entirely economic:

“There is no other reason to use foreign players. Others will tell you it helps with marketing, etc., but it is all about money and playing at a level you could not get to otherwise.”

In understanding the motivations for why teams began using foreigners, it must be remembered that there were basically three time periods where the first use of foreigners were clustered: early 1990's, late 1990's, and the middle of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (2004-6). Those teams who began using foreigners early cited motivations of reaching goals (3x), competitive advantage (2x), and teaching their young players (1x). Those who began using immigrants in the late 1990's stated primarily that it was a necessity to stay competitive (5x). Those teams who began using foreigners between 2004 and 2006 fell into two groups: those who felt they had to do it to remain competitive (3x) and those who began using them with the purpose of moving up from the 2<sup>nd</sup> league to the MNBL (3x).

We asked the question about whether or not foreigners were a good investment for the teams because we observed a shift in viewpoints expressed in our first set of interviews and in the earlier media coverage, and what we were hearing coaches and decision makers saying later. In the first set of interviews, all teams which used foreigners (5 of the 8 interviewed) refused to comment on the price of foreigners. However, the three teams not yet using foreigners consistently said the same thing we had observed in the media, that they could not afford to use foreigners because foreigners were expensive. By the end of the time period studied, the findings were the opposite: All ten teams which gave responses to the question of whether foreigners were more or less expensive than Czech players said the foreigners were less. They used strong language to say this with words like “certainly,” “without a doubt,” and “definitely.” Eight out of 14 responders made comments to the tune of “Well, the ones we buy,” and then explained how the teams above them were buying more expensive, more

experienced Euroleague players. Additionally, five respondents explained some of the reasons that foreigners are less expensive than their Czech counterparts. Two of them explained that with a Czech player you are expected to pay 12 months out of the year, while foreigners you only have to pay 8-9 months. Two respondents explained that they could send a foreign player home immediately and not have to pay any severance pay, where as a Czech player would still have to be paid for several months. One of these went as far as to say that it did not matter what a foreign player had in their contract, because the foreigner would not take the Czech team to court, and if they did, they would fail. Another respondent explained that with Czech players there is a tax burden that has to be figured into their salary; while with foreign players, they should pay taxes, but none of them do. And three teams explained it as a simple equation of supply and demand. There are not enough Czech players and there are many foreign players who are of higher quality than the Czech players. This supply and demand principle came out at numerous points in the second set of interviews, with six different respondents explaining that the rules limiting the number of foreigners raise the prices of the Czech players.

As per whether foreign players are a good investment for the team, eight teams responded positively, but four respondents made comments to the effect that buying players was never a good investment. Each of these four respondents were from clubs with a large number of youth teams (13-16 teams each). Two such responses are given below:

“Players are never a good investment for the club. That is part of why we have such a big development program and why we invest crazy amounts of money into our youth. We do everything possible to create an environment that kids will want to stay in. We give them stipendiums, help them with school and check their progress in school. But buying players is never a good investment here in Czech. For it to be a good investment then somehow you have to be making a profit on them, and we simply can’t do that here.”

“Players are our biggest investment and we have to buy new ones every year, so that is not a very good investment. But if we compared what we can pay for foreign players, mostly I mean non-EU players, Americans, with what we have to pay for EU players or if we tried to buy that level of Czech players, then it is without question the best investment. They are less expensive than the Czech players we need to buy, and they are less expensive than developing kids. Of course with developing kids, you have to count the cost not just of one player, but of 30, because only about 1 in 30 you develop will ever be good enough to play at that level.”

So it is evident that the financial motive is strong with every team, whether they are developing their own players or not.

The two questions regarding what teams are looking for when they choose foreign players and what role they expect them to play on their team reveal another dimension of the motivation of the decision makers. In the responses to these questions, we see many of the responses which were previously listed as secondary reasons for using foreign players.

In the earlier set of interviews, the primary responses were that teams were looking for players who could score (5x), and players who would have skills that the Czech players could learn from (4x). The later interviews show a shift in this thinking, with three respondents saying specifically that they did not just want players who could score, but wanted team players. Overall, five respondents said they were looking for team players. This is evident from the most common response, that the decision maker chooses foreign players based on the roles or positions they need to fill (8x).

The other shift was in the area of character. The words character, role model, personality, leader, or professional never appeared in the earlier set of interviews. However, by the time of the later interviews, this was a prominent thing the decision makers were looking for. Seven times interviewees said they were looking for players with character. Professionalism (3x), personality (2x), and role model and leader were each mentioned in the second interviews. It is clear that by the end of the study the issue of role models had shifted from skill models to character models.

“Quality, quality, quality. Then we look at character to set the players apart. There are many cheap foreigners available who are a whole lot better than our home grown players, so character becomes the deciding factor.”

Finally, players who will be attractive to the fans played roles in what decision makers were looking for three times, with two respondents stating they preferred black players.

“We look at the attractiveness of a player, but the sport side is the priority. But if we have a choice between a white American and a black one with the same skills, we will definitely choose the black one for the sake of our fans. A white American has to do a lot more to prove themselves to the fans that they are better than a Czech player.”

As far as roles coaches and management expect the foreigners to play, the clear answer was leaders. Nine respondents said they expect their players to be leaders, while three said they expect them to be key or dominant players. Four respondents emphasized that they

expected the foreigners to be leaders off the court or teach the Czech players how to act as professionals. A few examples of the expectations on foreign players:

“We expect them to be the leader of several stars. To teach our young Czechs how to be stars and professionals.”

“Not just leading in results on the team, but also leading in intensity in training. We expect the Americans to be like second teachers on the court for our players.”

“The foreigners have to be leaders on the team. They have to be able to handle pressure, because they will be the first ones blamed if anything goes bad.”

“A dominant role. We have enough average Czech players; we don’t bring in Americans to be average.”

#### *Using foreigners in youth development*

It is apparent from both the earlier and later set of interviews that decision makers expect foreign players to play a role in the development of their Czech players. Thus the following question was asked:

- Have you ever used foreign players to help with your younger teams?
  - How many youth teams do you have in your club?

The number of youth teams in each club was asked in both sets of interviews and found to be in constant fluctuation. This is expounded on elsewhere in this paper. However, we can group the teams into four groups based on how many male youth teams they have (only male teams are included because it was found that teams with both male and female teams generally operated separately between genders).

13-16 youth teams	–	5 teams
7-10 youth teams	–	3 teams
4-6 youth teams	–	4 teams
2 youth teams	–	1 team

In the first set of interviews only one team had tried to use their foreign players to help with their youth teams. The reader is reminded that a primary motivation surfaced in the first set of interviews was to help with the skill development of the young players. By the second

set of interviews only four teams had made no attempts to use their foreigners in the development of their youth teams. All four of these teams were among those teams which had fewer youth teams in their clubs. Meanwhile, seven respondents replied positively that they had tried to use foreigners to help with their youth teams. Within these seven positive respondents, four of the teams (all from the group with 13-16 teams) had some form of regular interaction between their foreigners and their youth teams. The other three had made one or two attempts, then had either concluded it was not worth it, or it had not occurred to them to try more. A few of these comments:

“A few times we took Mike to our practices to show the young kids his ball handling. They liked it a lot. I don’t know why we didn’t do it more”

“It does not work unless you put it in their contract, and we never tried that. You can get them to visit a young team 2-3x year, but that doesn’t give you much.”

Among the teams which had some sort of regular interaction between their foreigners and their youth teams, two of them said they put it in the foreigners’ contracts, two of them have their foreigners at youth trainings at least once per week, and the other two have them there 1-2x per month. Other creative attempts to use their foreigners to help their youth teams included using the foreigners at awards ceremonies for the youth teams, bringing the youth teams to all home games (2x), and videotaping a foreign player doing a particular skill for all their youth teams and coaches (2x).

#### *Fandom in relation to foreign players*

In trying to ascertain the awareness of decision makers with regard to fan expectations and response to foreigners, the following four questions were asked:

- Do you think that foreign players attract fans?
- What types of foreign players are most attractive to fans?
- Do fans expect more from foreign players?
- Have fans ever praised or criticized your foreign players? At games? In the media? On website fan pages?

With regards to whether foreign players are attractive to fans all respondents were positive, returning answers such as “certainly”, “definitely”, and “without question”. Two examples are enough to convey the sentiment among decision makers with regards to attractiveness for fans:

“Certainly; they are faster, more dynamic. They jump better. In the years we used foreign players, our fan attendance increased exponentially.”

“Yes, they come to see their favorite players. They love the emotion the foreigners bring. They see them in the city. We are a small city, so they stand out. The kids like the foreign players the best. The kids often don’t know the names of the Czech players, or even care, but they all know the foreign players. The women like to come see black players especially. They are exotic and interesting for them.”

“Very much. Foreigners who are stars are much more attractive for young fans and potential new young players than Czechs who are stars. Much of this is due to the visibility of the NBA.”

In regards to the type of foreign player the respondents thought the fans were most attracted to, the answers fell into two categories: skills and demographics. Specifically, skills that Czech or European players are seen as lacking (dunking 8x, jumping 4x), and a demographic largely missing from the Czech culture (black players were cited 8 times). The ability of American players to “put on a show” was also cited four times. Foreigners who are communicative, smile, give fans high fives and autographs were also frequently mentioned.

“Athletic players – the ones who have skills the Czech players don’t have. If I were to isolate it, I would say the ability to jump, to do technical things like dunk and cross-overs.”

“Black players who can jump. They have so much more athleticism than Czech or European players. For example they dunk. That skill alone draws fans. Fans are happy with one big dunk regardless of the outcome of the game.”

“Certainly blacks from the visual side. I know it is not politically correct to say it, but it is true. In fact our management wants at least one black player every year just because it is interesting for the fans. But the fans value the results of the foreign players, and they expect a show from them. If the player will do a monster dunk every few games it is great for us in attracting the fans.”

The other thing which was said on two occasions was that fans like foreigners who stay more than one year.

To the question of whether the fans expect more from the foreign players than from the domestic ones, all respondents answered affirmatively with responses such as “definitely” and “certainly”. Again the aspect of demographics or race was raised, as on three occasions interviewees said things like, “Fans don’t even realize if a white American or European is a foreigner,” “The black players are expected to be on the level of the NBA,” and “White foreigners have to do a lot more than black ones to prove themselves.”

The other aspect which emerged in response to this question was the tension between fan expectations (to be a star), and team motivations (to fill a role). Four respondents took the opportunity to express that fans do not know what role the foreigners were brought in to fill. They said fans expect the foreigner to have no skill deficiencies, and fans have no idea that the foreigners are often being paid less than their Czech counterparts.

“Yes, they expect every foreigner to be dominant. But what the fans don’t know is that often we have bought the foreigner because he is good quality for a good price, not because he is better than our other players. The fans assume the foreigners are most expensive and therefore expect them to be dominant, but it is just not true.”

In regards to praise or criticism of foreign players by the fans, all respondents viewed it as an obvious role of the fans and gave responses such as “of course,” and “That is what fans do.” One respondent expressed it succinctly with the statement, “They are the first ones to be blamed both inside and outside the club.” And one respondent who brought in a black American in the early 1990s expressed how opposing fans not only criticized the foreigner, but hurled racial insults at him to the point that every away game became dangerous for the whole team.

Most often the criticism of the foreign players was expressed at games and on team websites, with the media not really providing any forum for fans to criticize players in the scantily covered secondary sport of basketball.

#### *Use of foreign players in marketing*

As part of both sets of interviews, a thorough marketing analysis of each team was done assessing the teams’ product, place, price, promotion and public relations. Details of the areas assessed were given in the methodology section. However, for the sake of this research, only the aspects of marketing used in respect to the use of foreigners is reported. With that said, significant improvements were seen in all aspects of marketing between all teams studied in both sets of interviews. The following question was asked in regards to marketing and use of foreigners:

- Have you ever used foreigners in your team marketing campaigns?

Of the eight teams interviewed and analyzed for their marketing efforts in the earlier stage, only two of the teams made any effort to utilize their foreigners in marketing. One of the teams used a foreigner who was in his 8<sup>th</sup> year in the MNBL and 4<sup>th</sup> season with their team as the face of all their marketing efforts: he was on the cover of their media guide, used extensively in schools in the city, featured prominently on all posters and on their website, and they sold jerseys with his name on them. The second team, though having more foreigners on their roster than Czechs, chose to feature the Czechs on their website and printed material. They did, however, use their foreigners frequently in schools across their region, and regularly ran stories on them on their website. Additionally, each of their foreign players had team cars with advertising of the team and its sponsors on them.

In the first set of interviews, five of the team said it made no sense to use the foreigners in their marketing efforts as the foreigners are “only nameless faces” to their fans. It was also stated in the first set of interviews on three occasions, that since the foreigners would only be there for one season and the Czechs were there multiple years, that it was more profitable to use the Czech faces and personalities in their marketing efforts.

By the second set of interviews and marketing analysis, this perspective had all changed. Ten out of the 14 teams featured their foreigners on their websites. Five of the teams featured them on their media guides. Every team poster observed by the researcher had the face of a black player on it. Additionally, it had become a norm to host a press conference after the games by the time of the second set of interviews. The foreign stars of the game took part on behalf of their teams in nine out of 14 occasions.

When asked about the usage of foreigners in marketing, 12 of the 14 respondents was affirmative, while two said they did not. The reasons for not using the foreigners had not changed from the first set of interviews. As one respondent said, “99% of foreigners are here on one -year contracts and you don’t even know if they will make it, so it is too big a risk.”

The two teams who had used foreigners in their marketing earlier now considered it a part of their marketing strategy to have at least one of their foreigners signed to a multiple -year contract so that they could feature them in their marketing. One other team said they were considering taking this step in the future. Both teams even had jerseys available for sale of these marquee foreigners. Two teams stated that one of the reasons they hired black players was so that they could feature them on their posters in their small cities.

“We are in a small city, so a black guy, 210cm, walking around town gets noticed. He markets the team without us even trying. But we capitalize on him. We even bought

him season tickets for the ice hockey games so the community could see him more and would view him as part of the community.”

Two teams printed team playing cards for their foreigners to sign autographs on and distribute to fans. One team had a regular program on their internet TV station where they had their American players try to show they were learning Czech. He stated that the fans really liked it, but after a while the foreigners no longer wanted to do it.

Thirteen of the 14 teams interviewed said they took their foreigners into the schools and children’s homes. The one team which did not said that they had done it in the past and had not seen any effect in attracting more fans or getting more kids to play basketball. There was great variance in frequency of these school or children’s home visits, ranging from weekly (2 teams) to once per season (2 teams). Four teams took their foreigners to be with the kids of the community at least once per month, and another four once every 2-3 months. Two teams said they used their foreigners at try-outs for children twice per year. Overall, there was a marked difference in the use of foreigners in team marketing efforts between the two interview sets.

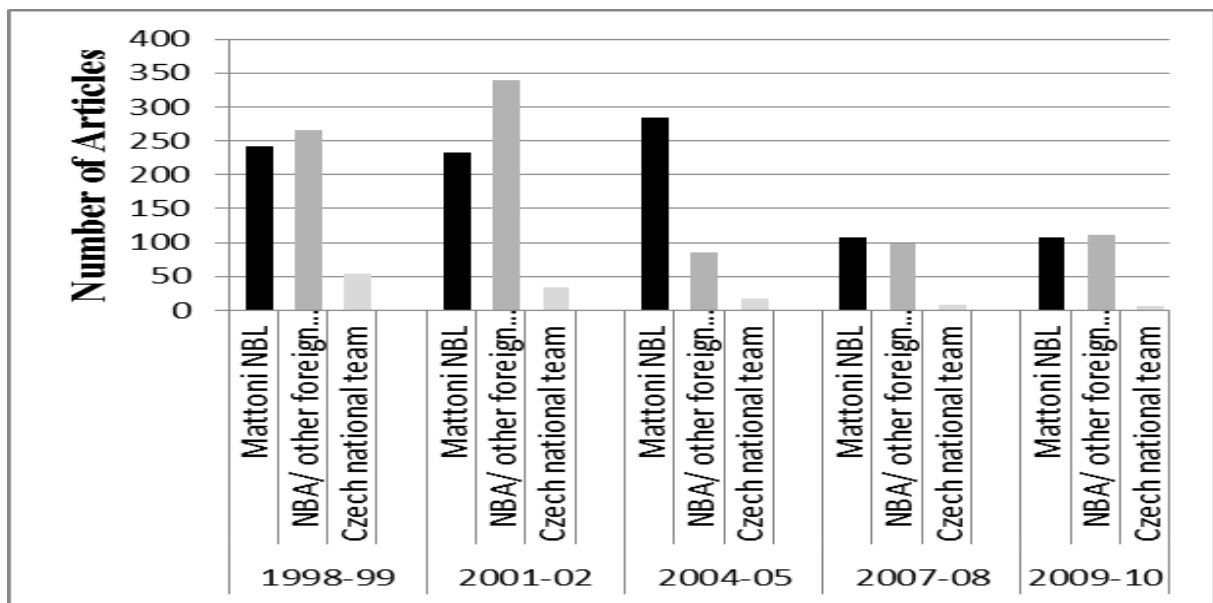
Finally, and in transition to phase three of our research, the Nymburk team, which had won the MNBL for the seventh year in a row the last year of our study, stated that part of their marketing effort beginning with the 2008-2009 season had been to take a newspaper journalist with them to all of their away EuroCup matches. By providing for the transportation, accommodation and food of the journalist, and giving them access to their team, the expectation was that they would receive more media coverage. This portion of their marketing strategy and its effect on the coverage of foreign players will become evident in the next stage of our research.

### Phase 3

The annual report of the Czech Publishers’ Union reports that the Czech population remains highly reliant on the print media for their daily news. They report that 73% of the population (6.9 million people aged 12-79) read at least one daily newspaper during a 14 -day period (“2010 Media Projekt,” 2010). There are nine national daily newspapers printed in the Czech Republic and 91% of what is printed daily is consumed (“2010 Media Projekt,” 2010). They estimate the daily reach of the print media to be 69% , and of the broadcast media to be 88% of the population (“2010 Media Projekt,” 2010). In this phase of the study, we examine two daily newspapers, Mladá Fronta Dnes (874,000 daily readers) and Sport (286,000 daily readers) (“2010 Media Projekt,” 2010). The Mladá Fronta Dnes newspaper averages 22 pages

in length with 4 pages dedicated to sport. The Sport newspaper averages 16 pages in length. The Sport newspaper typically has 12-14 pages dedicated to the two primary sports of football and ice hockey, and 2-4 pages for the remaining sports which include basketball. The Sport newspaper sells around 55,000 copies per day and has a daily readership of 268,000 people. Figure 7 below summarizes the coverage of basketball during five marker seasons in these two daily newspapers.

**Figure 7. - Print media coverage**



(Crossan, 2012b)

It should be noted that during the first and last two seasons studied, there was almost equal print media coverage of the highest Czech league, the Mattoni NBL, as there was of the NBA and other foreign leagues. Further, the majority of articles reporting on the NBA and other foreign leagues were reporting on the three Czech players who have thus far made it to the NBA. During the 1998-99 season, Jiří Zidek, the first Czech player to make it to the NBA, was in his first season back in Europe and won the Euroleague title with his Lithuanian team Žalgiris Kaunas. During the second season studied, most of the articles were about Jiří Welsch, who was drafted to play in the NBA, where he played until 2006 when he returned to Europe and has been playing in the Spanish ACB League. During the last season studied, most of the NBA/other foreign league articles were about Jan Vesely and the speculation over if he would leave his Partizan Belgrade team to join the NBA. He eventually was picked as the 6<sup>th</sup> over draft choice to the NBA in 2011. This finding is consistent with the findings of Klein with regards to the preference for coverage of “our players” in the dominant country

(one player), over coverage of “our players” in the national league (decreasing from 200 to 120 players in the years reviewed). It should further be noted that as the primary focus of this phase of study is the reaction to the use of foreigners in the Czech MNBL, only the months in which the MNBL season was underway were studied (September – June). Thus the coverage of the national team would naturally be less, as the national team is more active in the months June – September. This accounts for the low number of articles on the national team during this time period.

Next we will analyze the type of coverage which was most common among articles mentioning the foreign players. If we measure the percentage of articles mentioning foreigners against the total articles about the MNBL we find 17% (1998-99 with 11 foreigners), 51% (2001-02 with 23 foreigners), 19% (2004-05 with 39 foreigners), 56% (2007-08 with 44 foreigners), and 45% (2009-10 with 45 foreigners). The following table illustrates the most common coverage of foreign players from the categories examined.

**Table 14. - Articles reporting foreigners and their reporting classifications**

Year	Total foreigners	Total MNBL articles	Total articles mentioning foreigners	Performance noted	Nationality noted	Name or nationality in headline	Performance noted by coach or spokesman	Quoted	Compared with Czech player(s)	Criticized	Salary or contract mentioned	Leaving or arriving to team	Receiving honor or award	Story about /mention personal life	Impact on fan attendance mentioned
98-99	<b>11</b>	242	41	54	30	7	21	0	3	9	4	6	0	2	0
01-02	<b>23</b>	232	118	107	50	19	42	13	10	13	14	22	22	11	4
04-05	<b>39</b>	284	54	29	31	7	23	4	8	13	1	6	2	8	7
07-08	<b>44</b>	107	60	44	22	6	17	22	2	3	1	11	6	7	0
09-10	<b>45</b>	107	48	35	18	8	11	16	11	9	7	6	3	6	5

(Crossan, 2012b)

It is immediately evident that the total number of articles about the MNBL dropped sometime between the 2004-05 season and the 2007-08 season covered. The Nymburk team won the league the last seven years of our total 12-year study, meaning their first league championship was the 2003-04 season. By the fourth season of our media study (2007-08), their dominance was assured. As evidenced in phase one above, they were consistently purchasing the most foreigners, and as evidenced by their budget, were purchasing the best Czech players. Thus the number of total articles about the MNBL decreased as the competitive balance of the league disappeared. This is evidenced by one of the first articles of

the 2001-02 season, which states that the experts agreed the league was balanced. The reason cited was that more teams had foreigners in the key position of point guard, and there were at the beginning of this season no more than two foreigners on any one team. The article notes that there are many problems that come with foreigners, particularly Americans, and that foreigners are expensive.

The percentage of articles about foreign players is relatively high given that foreigners represented 6%, 13%, 24%, 27% and 26% of all the players in the consecutive seasons, but is more easily understood when compared to the league statistics for these seasons. The table below represents the percentage of foreigners in the top 10 in scoring, rebounding and assists for each of the 5 years studied.

**Table 15. – Foreigner percentage of top 10 statistics**

	Scoring	Rebounds	Assists
1998-99	20%	40%	20%
2001-02	40%	50%	30%
2004-05	60%	70%	60%
2007-08	90%	90%	70%
2009-10	80%	80%	70%

(Crossan, 2012b)

At this point we will turn our attention to the individual categories of reporting on foreign players observed. At the outset it is noted that though the number of total foreigners and number of total articles on the MNBL have a drastically inverse relationship, there is not a clear linear trend in the majority of categories of articles observed. The exceptions are that writers are less often citing the nationality of the foreigner than in the past, and that foreign players are being quoted more often. For the following review of articles by category, the researcher has chosen to use the detailed review of the articles from only one season. The 2007-08 season was chosen because over 50% of the articles contained some form of reporting on the foreign players. Where notable exceptions from the 2007-08 season, or significant examples from other seasons exist, they will additionally be mentioned.

*Reporting based on performance*

Tables 15 and 16 illustrate first what has just been noted, that as foreign players dominate the statistics, their on-court performance is discussed or mentioned far more often

than anything else. It naturally follows that these statistical leaders would be quoted often as they have the most influence over the final game results, and thus their performance would be noted by the coach or other team spokesperson. This performance is noted whether it is positive or negative as the expectation is that the import players should play to a higher standard than their Czech counterparts. Thus we can contribute the higher frequencies of foreigners mentioned in articles in the categories of performance noted, mentioned in results, quoted, and performance noted by coach or spokesman to the statistical dominance of these foreign players.

#### *Reporting where nationality is mentioned*

It is also of note that in the earlier years of the study, the majority of the time when a foreign player was mentioned, their nationality was noted. This decreased over time. Similarly, where name or nationality were mentioned in headlines, nationality was only mentioned in the first three years of the study, then in the following years all the references only mentioned the name and none of them mentioned the nationality of the athlete in the headline. The one exception was in the last year of the study where we find a headline, “Opava will play without Americans.”

#### *Reporting of personal life*

In each year we see stories in which foreigner’s personal lives are mentioned or discussed. At least half the story is generally devoted to the foreigner’s life off the court. The one year of exception to this is the first year of the study where both stories mentioning foreigner’s personal lives are profile stories. In all 21 of these profile stories, we find only one that is not about a legitimate star of the league, and in this one case he is the star of a losing team. Now we will turn our attention to some significant examples.

In the first year of our study, we find a story about Levell Sanders who was in his second season in the MNBL at the time. The article is titled “The ‘Good Behaving’ American”. The author states that many clubs are afraid to hire American players, and especially those who are black, because they often have off -the -court problems. However, Sanders is different because he doesn’t smoke, drink alcohol, or stay out dancing past 10 in the evening.

In the second year of the media study, we find our first story about Maurice Whitfield. He and American Curtis Bobb are both new to the league and leading the Kunin team, which has begun the year with multiple wins in a row. The story explains their routes to the Czech league. (Whitfield via semi-professional teams in the US, then one year in Croatia, and Bobb,

straight from the US university system.) Then the article has numerous quotes of them comparing their experiences on and off the court in the US, Croatia and Czech. Both players have high praise of the Czech players and the hospitality they have thus far experienced.

The 2004-05 season is of particular interest to us in the category of stories mentioning player's personal lives due to the naturalization of American player Maurice Whitfield. In total there are 20 mentions of him in the press during this year, and three of them are dedicated to his personal life, specifically his "Czechness". Two of the headlines help us understand the sense of the stories, "Whitfield: I'm more Czech than American," and "My teammates call me Honza." Both articles mention his unsuccessful attempts to learn the Czech language. In both articles he says that he feels more Czech than American. The typical questions are asked both times: his favorite Czech foods; if he likes Czech women; and his favorite places in Czech. He gives all the right answers: pork, cabbage and dumplings; Czech women are beautiful and he would marry one if he was not already married; and Charles Bridge and Wenceslas Square. The cultural differentiators are discussed as well: he doesn't like beer; he does not know how to ski; he has never seen an ice hockey match; he spends most of his free time on the internet talking to friends back home; he prefers American football over soccer; and that he plans to return to the US after his basketball career is over. Both articles make it clear that he is excited to represent Czech as a national team player, but really he just likes to play basketball. And both articles refer his racial signifier, calling him "the first black Czech."

During the 2007-08 season we find seven occurrences and, significantly, these are only about four players. All of these players have been in the MNBL two or more seasons. Two of them are Americans and the articles discuss either their positive adaptation to the Czech culture, or their stark lifestyle contrast to the Czech culture. The other players are Slovak and Croatian, and their national closeness to the Czech culture leads the author to report on their personal success as though it is Czech success.

American Lavell Sanders had two profile stories written about him. He is one of the most-liked foreign players primarily due to his relatively long tenure in the top Czech league of 5 years by this season. The first story occurs at the beginning of the season and spends most of the article discussing how Sanders has adopted different Czech customs and culture. For example, it is discussed that he likes Czech cooking and has learned how to make the typical meal of fruit dumplings himself. The second profile of Sanders occurs at the end of the season immediately following his transfer from one Czech team, which did not have a good season, to another Czech team, where he is expected to be the key player to lead a return to among the top three Czech teams in the following season.

Two profile pieces were written about Slovak Radoslav Rančik, who, in his third year in the Czech league, was the star of the undefeated Nymburk team, and the league points and rebounds leader. It makes even more sense that Rančik would be profiled when one considers the close relationship of the Czech and Slovak nations; Slovaks may be considered as slightly inferior to Czechs by Czechs, but they are culturally the closest nation. This is further supported by the fact that of the 25 times Rančik is written about, his nationality is only mentioned four times. Both of these profile pieces are positive in nature and show no signs of cultural rejection.

Two other shorter stories which focused on a foreign players' performance contained mentions of the player's personal life in a cultural differentiating way which was even highlighted in their headlines. Both stories were about the player Rahsaan Ames, who was the second-leading scorer in the Czech league this season and in his second year playing in the Czech league. There were seven total stories which made mention of Ames. The two headlines read, "Before the Game I Pray" and "This Year I will go to a Hockey Game." Both headlines, and the brief comments they flow out of in their respective articles, draw attention to the cultural differences between Americans and Czechs. With 89% of its population claiming to be atheists, Czech is one of the most atheist countries in Europe; so that a star athlete would spend time praying is a signifier of cultural rejection. The second headline would also express a form of cultural rejection, though softer and moving towards commodification, in that ice hockey and football are by far the primary sports in Czech. At the end of the article they ask him if he knows Dominek Hašek, perhaps one of the most famous Czech hockey players, whose car is parked outside the arena; he does not know who Hašek is. Thus the notion that a top athlete has not yet visited such a strong cultural symbol as an ice hockey game would be perceived as a tragedy. But it definitely signifies that the culture could eventually accept Ames, and what he represents, in as far as Ames now realizes the importance of hockey in the Czech culture and might even visit a game. They even go as far as to joke that he is not an American anymore, but has become a European.

The final article which makes mention of an athletes' personal life in the 2007-08 season refers to a Croatian player who has played in the Czech league for eight years and how his son is progressing as a basketball player in New York in the USA. The fact that the player has been in Czech eight years and is Croatian definitely contributes to his acceptance as one of "us", and thus acknowledging his success through his son is to vicariously own the success as Czechs.

The following two tables illustrate the foreign athletes most mentioned in print media and the teams associated with the athletes most mentioned. Though the reader may not recognize the names of the players or even their teams, a few trends are quickly evident. For instance, the references to player nationality have decreased over time. We have only listed those players who were mentioned five or more times during a season (with the exception of the 2009-10 season where we mentioned 4 or more citations so that we were not limited to two players). Compared to the total number of foreigners playing in the league, very few are cited in the media with any frequency. This citing of only a few of the total foreigners has decreased over time as the number of foreign players has increased. Each year one foreign player has garnered the majority of media attention. For every season studied, this one player was a player who had been in the league for two or more seasons and had more than double the media occurrences than the second most cited player. In four of the five seasons studied, only foreigners from four teams received five or more media citations. The distribution of teams whose foreigners have been frequently cited in the media has decreased over time. Meaning the foreigners from fewer and fewer teams have dominated the print media.

Table 16. - Most mentioned players

<b>Player</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Team</b>	<b>Occurrences</b>	<b>Nationality mentioned</b>
<b>1998-99</b>				
Cyrulik	USA	USK	38	9
Medenica	CRO	USK	16	1
Sanders	USA	Kunin	14	6
Crabtree	USA	Opava	12	7
Lapov	CRO	Kunin	11	1
Simpson	USA	Kunin	6	4
<b>2001-02</b>				
Bobb	USA	Kunin	37	19
Whitfield	USA	Kunin	18	7
Bohunický	SVK	Sparta	14	1
Popovič	CRO	Kunin	10	3
Vukosavljević	SRB	Opava	7	2
Damjanović	BOS	Nymburk	6	0
Adžić	BOS	Opava	5	5
Roberts	USA	Decin	5	3
<b>2004-05</b>				
Warrick	USA	Kunin	27	7
Whitfield	USA	Nymburk	20	5
Howard	USA	Kunin	19	6
Johnson	USA	Nymburk	15	4
Hess	USA	Nymburk	14	4
Callahan	USA	Prostějov	6	0
Mujagić	CRO	Nymburk	5	1

<b>Player</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Team</b>	<b>Occurrences</b>	<b>Nationality mentioned</b>
<b>2007-08</b>				
Rančík	SVK	Nymburk	25	4
Lee	USA	Nymburk	9	1
Mack	USA	Nymburk	8	0
Ames	USA	Prostejov	7	1
Schilb	USA	Nymburk	7	1
Sanders	USA	Pardubice	6	2
Sarovic	SRB	Novy Jicin	5	1
<b>2009-10</b>				
Lee	USA	Nymburk	13	3
Ricci	USA	Nymburk	6	1
Landry	USA	Prostejov	4	1
Lewis	USA	Nymburk	4	0

(Crossan, 2012b)

**Table 17. - Most mentioned teams**

<b>Team</b>	<b>Final place</b>	<b># foreigners</b>	<b>foreigner media occurrences</b>	<b>Team</b>	<b>Final place</b>	<b># foreigners</b>	<b>foreigner media occurrences</b>	<b>Team</b>	<b>Final place</b>	<b># foreigners</b>	<b>foreigner media occurrences</b>
<b>1998-99</b>				<b>2004-05</b>				<b>2009-10</b>			
Kunin	1	4	33	Nymburk	1	8	55	Nymburk	1	5	33
USK	2	2	53	Kunin	2	7	45	Novy Jicin	3	6	5
Opava	3	1	12	Prostejov	3	6	10	Prostejov	2	7	11
Ostrava	4	2	3	A+Brno	4	5	2	Pardubice	4	4	1
BVV Brno	5	0	0	Decin	5	3	5	Decin	5	5	2
Decin	6	0	0	Ostrava	6	1	0	USK	6	2	1
Sparta	7	0	0	Sparta	7	1	0	Opava	7	2	0
Chomutov	8	1	0	Usti	8	1	1	Kolin	8	4	0
Pardubice	9	0	0	BBK Houseri	9	1	0	Ostrava	9	3	1
BBK Brno	10	0	0	USK	10	2	4	Podebrady	10	4	0
Usti	11	1	1	Pardubice	11	3	0	Brno	11	3	0
Vysehrad	12	0	0	Opava	12	1	0	Vysehrad	12	0	0
<b>2001-02</b>				<b>2007-08</b>							
Opava	1	2	13	Nymburk	1	4	50				
Kunin	2	6	63	Novy Jicin	2	8	16				
Nymburk	3	2	10	Prostejov	2	6	18				
Sparta	4	1	14	Pardubice	4	5	8				
Triga Brno	5	1	0	Decin	5	3	2				
USK	6	2	4	Ostrava	6	3	3				
A+ Brno	7	0	0	USK	7	5	2				
Ostrava	8	3	6	A+Brno	8	0	0				
Usti	9	3	2	Sadska	9	3	2				
Decin	10	3	5	Liberec	10	3	0				
Pardubice	11	4	3	Kolin	11	3	0				
Vyšehrad	12	0	0	Usti	12	1	0				

(Crossan, 2012b)

It is clear from these two tables that the previously mentioned conclusion, media coverage is primarily based on performance, holds true. The dominant athlete and dominant team are the most covered. During the first two seasons of our media study, before the Nymburk domination began, there were two teams at the top of the league with almost equivalent records for the season (1998-99: 28-4, 26-6; 2001-02: 28-4, 24-8). This higher competitive balance explains the wider distribution of foreigner mentionings across teams in these two seasons. It also helps explain the higher number of total articles reporting on the MNBL seen in figure 7 above. The Nymburk team won the league the last seven seasons of our study, rarely losing a match the entire season (2004-05: 30-2; 2007-08: 43-1, 2009-10: 40-4), and have placed increasing emphasis on their success and progress in the ULEB or EuroCup competitions (2004-05: 13 games; 2007-08: 11 games; 2009-10: 14 games, advancing to quarterfinals). Additionally the effect of the marketing strategy of the Nymburk team, in taking a journalist with them to all away EuroCup matches, is evident in the final year of our media study.

### *Reporting of arrival and departure*

Of the remaining articles, the next largest percent of them are articles where mention is made of a foreigner arriving or leaving a team. Teams can change their rosters up to the end of February each season. Their rosters cannot be added to from the end of February through the end of the playoffs. Given the rule for the last two years of the media study that there may be up to eight foreigners on the roster, of which only three may be from outside the EU, the highest percentage of turnover among players during the season comes from the arrival and departure of the allowed three non-EU players. Thus it is logical that a large number of articles would cover this topic. In addition, given the dominance of foreign players in overall league statistics and previously observed, causal correlation between the number of total foreigners above with the final team placement in the season, this observed category can also be related to potential team performance.

Using our example year of 2007-08, eight of these 11 articles are related to players who have played in the top Czech league for at least one season already and are either staying with their current team or transferring to another Czech team. One of these 11 occurrences is from the beginning of the season, six are in the middle and four are from the end.

One article is about the exit of Nymburk star Radoslav Rančík to play in the most prestigious European league, the Spanish ACB, for the next season. The emphasis is not on the team he will go play for, or even that he is leaving, but on his reaching the level of the ACB and the probability of his reaching the most prestigious NBA. As stated previously, Rančík, as a Slovak who is finishing his third year in the Czech league, is accepted as almost one of “our” players. There are several paragraphs of him mentioning what he has learned and gained from his time playing for Nymburk and how it will benefit him in his future career. There is neither one negative word about Rančík, nor a negative word about his departure, only praise and optimism. There is even speculation and hope for the Nymburk team that they will have no problem finding another bright shining star to replace Rančík and bring continued glory to the Czech league as it is on display in the following season’s ULEB cup.

Of the four stories at the end of the season, there is no hint of “good riddance” in any of the four mentions of foreign players who have left their teams. The closest hint of negativity is a coach’s statement that a player has improved to such a degree that his price will be too high for the team to maintain him in the next year.

Of the six stories from the middle of the year, two are about players leaving, both are players who had posted significant individual statistics, but did not return after the Christmas

break. Both stories say that the players have left, but again are not negative in tone. In one, about Nymburk player Blake Schlib, the management is quoted as saying they do not know why the player did not return after Christmas and that they have had no contact with him or his agent. The remaining four stories from the middle of the season are about new acquisitions of foreign players.

#### *Reporting of honors and awards*

In most years we see only a few articles about foreigners receiving awards or honors. In the first two seasons of this media study, there were MNBL players of the week awarded each week. When these players of the week were listed in box scores, we did not include them. However, when they were included within articles they were counted. This accounts for all but two stories in the first two seasons studied. These two stories reported that foreigners had been selected as the MVP of the league for the year in May of 1999, and MVP of the all-star game in March of 2002. With this summary we will now turn our attention to the articles from our example year 2007-08 to illustrate the remaining three years of our study. Six different articles mention foreign players who received some sort of honor or award. Four of these are articles, again, about Radoslav Rančik. One article discusses his being looked at by NBA scouts, one mentions that he was the ULEB cup player of the round of games, one that he received the most votes among foreign players for the league All-star game, and the final one that he has been selected as the league MVP. These articles show that he was a statistically dominant player, on a team receiving a lot of media coverage, who himself received a lot of media coverage as a foreigner in his third year in the MNBL.

Numerous other foreign players received honors or awards throughout the season, but they were not reported on in the print media. The only other player singled out in the print media for having received an award was Lavell Sanders, whom, it is noted, was selected to play, and played well, in an NBA summer league the preceding summer. This season represented Sander's sixth season in the Czech league. There were articles at the beginning of each of the last three years studied reporting on foreigners who, like Sanders, played in the NBA summer league, and in each case they were players who had played here in Czech for several seasons.

#### *Reporting of player's salary or contract*

There is a clear trend in the stories reporting on player salary or contract. The first two years of the study reported many of the new foreign players who came into the league. Generally they tell where they came from and have played before and how long they are here

to play (always one year contracts). They never mention the salary of the player. This type of article reporting new players coming into the league disappear after the first two seasons covered. There is one exception when a former star from Nymburk is rumored to be in negotiations to come back, but the team states that he is probably too expensive and they do not expect to be able to come to terms with him.

The second type of articles, seen in all years of the study, has to do with foreign players from top teams who have signed new contracts to come back for another season in the MNBL (either with their existing team or another). By way of example we will look at the one article like this from the 2007-08 season which was about Rahsaan Ames. It was the same article which was referred to earlier headlined, "Before Games I Pray." Ames was in his second season in the Czech league and had transferred from the Pardubice team to the Prostějov team. There are two mentions of his contract in the article. The first mention discusses how during the previous season's playoffs, the Pardubice coach said to the media that Ames had not played his best in the previous game and that he was not playing as if he wanted to remain in Pardubice another season. (He had averaged over 30 points per game and had a triple-double in the game called into question.)

The second reference in the article is at the end where Ames states that he has signed a two-year contract, but that he hopes to stay in Czech far longer than that. He discusses his wife's desire to play and coach basketball in Czech, his desire to open a women's hair salon in Czech, and to start a line of clothes in Czech. The journalist concludes the article by asking Ames what he is able to order off the menu in Czech. Ames replies that he is very experienced with this, so the journalist tells him to order. The article closes with Ames unable to pronounce "Smažený sýr," or "fried cheese," a very typical Czech dish. The journalist has to order for him. The athlete does not even know that he has been made a joke of, and the journalist shows just how distanced the foreign athlete really is from the Czech culture. This type of article was found in each year studied and followed a specific pattern: A foreign athlete is reported on because he signs a contract for another season; signs of assimilation into Czech culture are discussed, most often favorite Czech foods; then the article concludes with a small identifier of remaining cultural difference, often at the expense of the foreigner.

#### *Reporting on the effect on fan attendance*

All four articles from the second season of the study are about American Curtis Bobb from the Kunin team. Two of them are personal interest stories and he talks about desiring to

please the fans with his play and hoping that more fans will come out to the games to see him play. The other two articles mention his big dunks and state that they are an attraction to fans. Of the seven articles in the 2004-05 season and five in the 2009-10 season, all but one are from the play-off portion of the season. All of them discuss either hard physical play or dunks and have quotes by a player or coach saying they hope the attractive games will draw more fans, or saying thanks to the fans for coming out. The player or coach also claim the fans' presence produced such good performances.

The one remaining article which mentions the effect of foreigners on fan attendance is only one example in our study, but there were two other such articles in years not studied. The coach of the Děčín team comments that his team lost two games in a row around Christmas due to the foreign players going home for Christmas. He further speculates that fans did not come out to these games and several after them, due to the foreign stars being gone and the game being thus less attractive.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

In this chapter we will review the results from each of the three phases of research and compare them with the findings of other researchers which were stated in the literature review. The goal is to assess the practice of using immigrant athletes in the Czech basketball league as a cornerstone of the club business plan and sport growth. Additionally, we desire to use a figurational sociological model to evaluate the history, policy, economics and social response to the use of immigrant athletes in Czech basketball for their intended and unintended effects.

This study is a descriptive, non-experimental, longitudinal case study in the genre of globalization in sport. We are examining the use of immigrant athletes to build non-primary sport popularity at the micro level (team, club, entity) and macro level (league, federation and nation). Specifically, we are most concerned with the influence that immigrant athletes have on attendance and youth development in the Czech basketball league. Our research questions are as follows:

1. What is the correlation between usage of immigrant athletes on a team in Czech basketball and fan attendance?
2. What is the correlation between usage of immigrant athletes on a team in Czech basketball and the numerical growth of youth registered to play within the federation?
3. What are the characteristics of those who come to play in the Czech basketball leagues? (nationality, race, previous playing experience)
4. What is the extent and general nature of media coverage of the immigrant athletes playing in the Czech basketball leagues?
5. What is the extent the receiving teams in the Czech league use immigrant athletes in their marketing efforts?

The research was conducted in three phases scaling the data from a quantitative level to a qualitative level. Information used in each phase was consequently used in the following phase to gain a deeper understanding of the problem. The goal of phase one was to gain a real picture of the hypothesized correlations between the use of foreigners to final league placement, fan attendance and youth development over time. Phase one is primarily focused on research questions one and two. The large twelve year, 18 team data set was examined within teams, between teams, at a league level and broken down to a smaller set to examine the budget variable. This data was used in shaping and interpreting the data obtained in the following two phases. The goal of phase two was to gain an understanding of the decision

process that led to the use of foreigners, the use of foreigners in marketing and youth development, and the perceived response to foreigners by fans. Additionally, this phase was used to verify the accuracy of the roster and demographic data obtained in phase one. Phase two was primarily focused on research questions three and five. The data from this phase was qualitative in nature based on two time delimited interviews of a sample of teams with corresponding marketing analysis. Phase two was also designed to measure the intended and unintended consequences of the decisions and policies relating to the use of immigrant athletes compared with the quantitative data observed in phase one. Phase two relied on both figurational and interactionist social theory. The goal of phase three of research was to determine the response in the media to this example of globalization in the Czech Republic. This phase was primarily focused on research question four. As a qualitative tool, this review of five marker years of print media was designed based on the previous work of Klein (1991a, 1991b), and the observations of the first two phases of research to measure acceptance, rejection or commodification of this example of globalization.

We will now discuss the three individual phases of research in relation to previous studies before making some general observations about the use of immigrant athletes in Czech basketball in relation to sport globalization and more broadly to sport socialization.

## Findings

### Phase 1

The quantitative statistics and models presented are meant to test the theories surfaced in previous qualitative studies. The quantitative results are not meant to replace or supersede the qualitative results of other studies, and also must be observed within the cultural context of Czech sport where basketball is a secondary sport. Falcous and Maguire's study of British basketball is closest to our own in the sporting landscape studied (2005). They found that immigrant athletes were positive for team success in their study of the Leicester basketball team. We have verified this correlation in our study between teams over a 12-year period.

Before we discuss these specific correlations, it is necessary to make a few observations about the variables of fan attendance and hall capacity based on figure 4. Fan attendance increased overall 22.3% during the 12 years studied. As was stated, the biggest shift in fan attendance occurred between seasons 2001-02 and 2002-03. Several things contributed to this shift which would not be evident from looking at the raw data. The team which was knocked out of the MNBL had an average attendance of only 198 people per game; while the team which replaced them averaged 563 fans per home game, which is

slightly below the previous average, yet significantly higher than the team knocked down. In addition the second-placed team moved from a gym with a capacity of 700 people per game to a hall with a capacity of 1500 people per game. These two factors contributed to an increase in average home attendance from 406 fans per game to 754 fans per game between the 2001-02 and 2002-03 seasons. Such shifts in fan attendance based on which teams fall down to the lower league and which move up to the MNBL affect the graphical representation of the raw data, but are taken into account in our two-level model. A factor considered in our study was also hall capacity, as it was directly correlated to fan attendance (0.43 in table 10).

Now we move to the quantitative representation of the correlations between the use of immigrant athletes and team success. At the within -team level we did not find many strong correlations beyond team composition. The non-EU variable is nested within the total foreigners variable so this strong correlation (0.73) was expected. The negative correlation (-0.54) between the number of foreigners and number of Czechs was observed here as well and parallels the qualitative findings of Falcous and Maguire that as foreigners increase, the number of nationals on a team decrease. The negative correlation (-0.43) between home attendance and final place shows that there was some effect on the performance of the team and the resulting attendance from year to year (as home attendance went up, final place went down, meaning it improved), but it did not appear to strongly affect fan attendance. However, the covariances were strong and primarily significant at the 0.01 level (a 99% level of confidence). The correlation between home attendance and number of foreigners (0.26) was not strong at this level. Finally, there appeared to be almost no correlation between fan attendance at basketball games and the presence of the primary sport teams of ice hockey (-0.12) or football (-0.01) in the same market from year to year in our data sample. These three correlations at the within -team level seem to indicate that the local market for the secondary sport of basketball was relatively stable in the Czech market, and was not heavily affected year to year by a team's use of foreigners, final place, and whether or not there were other extraleague teams in primary sports competing for fans in the local market.

At the between -team level the effect of foreigners on both home (0.63) and away (0.65) attendance was correlated much more strongly than we observed at the within -team level. This is in contrast to the findings of Galily and Sheard who found that the increase in the number of foreigners led to a decline in fan attendance (Galily & Sheard, 2002). Additionally the correlation between the number of foreigners and the final placement of the team was strengthened at this level (-0.39). The more foreigners a team had, the better final place they achieved compared to those teams with fewer foreigners. We observed a stronger negative correlation in team composition at this level as well (foreigners to Czechs: -0.76).

The more foreigners a team had, specially non-EU foreigners (-0.93), the fewer Czechs the team employed. Again, this supports the qualitative findings of Faloutsos and Maguire and others. Foreigners do indeed take the playing spots of national players. The correlation between home attendance and final place was also strengthened at this level between teams (-0.66), so while individual teams appeared resilient in their fan attendance from year to year, the better a team did the more fans it drew, compared to weaker performing teams in another city. Again the covariances were strong in each of these relationships and primarily display a 99% level of confidence. As was stated above, one place in the final rankings was equal to 54 more fans attending home games; one more foreigner drew 69.5 more fans, and in the case of a non-EU foreigner, 84 more home fans; and one more non-EU foreigner meant 1.2 spots in the final standings. Finally, the presence of extraleague teams in the primary sports of ice hockey (-0.04) and football (0.05) did not take away from secondary sport basketball fans attending games between teams.

When we examined the three years for which we had team budget information, our observed correlations remained stable. More foreigners improved final team placement (-0.40) and decreased the number of Czechs on a team (-0.72). The second strongest correlation with budget was that of final place (-0.62), which appears to indicate that money buys success. Specifically, we saw that 4 million Czech crowns (\$206,186/EUR 149,813) was an improvement of one final place. Budget had no real correlation with home attendance (0.06), and only marginal affect (0.35) on the number of foreigners purchased. Since we did find a strong correlation between number of foreigners to final place and home attendance at the between-team level, we interpret these findings to mean that a larger budget did not allow a team to purchase more foreigners, as they were using the maximum allowed by the rules already, but to buy higher quality foreigners and Czech players (Crossan & Jezdik, 2011).

Interestingly, we observed that the presence of ice hockey (-0.64) and football (-0.51) teams decreased the available budget to the team. Both of these correlations were significant at the 99% level. This went hand in hand with population (-0.61), in that higher population cities had more teams in the extraleagues of the primary sports, and thus less money for the secondary sport of basketball. So while one might expect teams in higher population areas to have higher budgets, the opposite was actually true due to the money flowing to the more visible sports in the culture present in those cities.

At the league level the correlations were significantly stronger than seen previously, but this must be tempered with the low sample size of 12 seasons. The highest correlations existed between the immigrant and emigrant Czech players (-0.92). Of course went goes hand in hand with foreigners taking roster spots of Czech players where we saw a correlation

of -0.86 at the league level. The more Czechs left to play in other countries, the fewer Czechs were left to play in the MNBL. The more foreigners came to play in the Czech MNBL, the fewer spots there were for Czechs in the home league and the more emigrated to play in leagues outside the country. This process appeared to be somewhat strongly correlated to average home attendance in all three areas of number of foreigners in the league (0.73), number of Czechs in the league (-0.81) and number of Czechs outside the league (0.70). This seems to indicate that fans were positively disposed to the presence of foreign players and not negatively affected by the exodus of Czech players. The fans actually seemed to like it better when there are less Czechs playing. This is a very different finding to that of Falcous and Maguire.

As per youth membership in the CBF the correlations were similar to those seen with home attendance (0.68). Youth appeared to be drawn to playing the game with the presence of foreign players. The exodus of Czech players was also correlated to youth playing the game (0.60). Again, this is a contrast to the majority of the literature on the use of sporting immigrants to date. The strongest correlation observed was between home attendance and youth participation (0.96), meaning the more youth played the game of basketball, the more fans attended basketball games. Almost all correlations at the league level fell within the 99% significance level.

Falcous and Maguire found local players became marginalized on the Leicester team with the presence of immigrant athletes. We found this correlation to hold at both the team level across time and between teams. However, the British basketball study cautioned that the increase of foreigners could lead to the under-development of the British game and found fans to accept the presence of these foreigners only on negotiated teams. Our study, while agreeing with Falcous and Maguire that fans like the spectacle and entertainment brought by foreign players, differs from their conclusion as we observed increased youth participation in the sport with correlation to the presence of these foreigners.

Olin indicated that fans were in favor of quotas on the number of foreign players, while the owners insisted that foreigners were necessary to win in the Finnish context (1994). We were able to quantify this stated necessity of foreigners to win. This was most evident at the between-teams level of our path analysis diagram, where we saw that not only did the number of foreigners have a direct effect on final place, but also an indirect effect by adding a “sixth man on the court” in the element of fan attendance.

Many Czech teams are getting closer and closer to using the maximum number of foreigners allowed, and the league changed their rules regulating foreigner use six times during the 12 years studied. The recent arguments they have used have not been about fan

response to foreigners, but under-development of youth and the emigration of young Czech basketball players to play outside the Czech borders. We found these two arguments to be factually accurate, but the conclusions of the Czech basketball federation with regard to rule changes to be insufficient solutions based on our quantitative findings of increased fan attendance and youth participation.

The question of youth development becomes one of who is developing a nation's athletes, or where are they being developed, in a globalized sport environment. As cited at the beginning of this article most researchers have found that in the case of sport emigration the best athletes leave to go play in countries of greater wealth and power. This finding also holds true in the Czech case as can be seen in table 4. The table of emigrants shows the rapid increase in players leaving to play in other countries over the last twelve years. It also shows that the majority went to wealthier, neighboring countries like Austria and Germany. Note that there are increasing numbers going to the top basketball leagues in Europe (2009-10, Spain: 12, Italy:5). And finally we see that as time has gone on players went to more places, which is the same globalization trend which could be observed in the primary Czech sports of football and ice hockey. If we looked closer, we would see that players are leaving Czech at younger and younger ages in order to pursue better development in foreign basketball academies, such as in Spain and Italy (Crossan & Jezdik, 2011). So while it is true that more Czech basketball players left with the increase of foreign players, they went to countries where there was more money and basketball is a more primary sport. Thus, from a youth development perspective, the increase in the number of foreigners and the success for Czechs outside Czech borders drew more Czech youth to basketball, and many of those who left the country to play actually went to countries with better development opportunities.

The table of immigrants playing in the Czech Republic (Table 5) shows that the majority of players came to Czech from the USA and the former Yugoslav republics. It was only in the second half of the period studied that we saw players coming from other European countries. This can be attributed to Czech joining the European Union in 2004 and the consequent rule changes to the number of players allowed from the EU. Further, we observed that the inflows of immigrant athletes were not only smaller than the outflows, but that the distribution of wealth and power represented differed as well. While most authors have stated this globalization flow as negative, Klein's anthropological studies (1991) found such flows to help the growth of the sport in the home culture. Our quantitative analysis found similar strong correlations between foreigners coming to play in Czech and Czechs going to play outside of Czech, and also with increased home attendance and youth participation in the sport.

The points below summarize the primary findings of the quantitative phase of our research:

1. There was a positive correlation between the use of immigrant athletes on Czech basketball teams and fan attendance at home games.
  - a. This correlation was stronger between teams (0.63) than within teams (0.26) on a year -to -year basis, and was quantified using path analysis (1 foreigner = 69.5 more fans, 1 non-EU foreigner = 84 more fans).
2. When calculated as a percentage of the available population of youth, the sport of basketball grew 22% from 1998 to 2010.
  - a. There was a strong positive correlation between the use of immigrant athletes on Czech basketball teams and the number of youth registered to play basketball in Czech (0.68).
  - b. There was also a corresponding high correlation between the number of youth registered to play basketball and home attendance at basketball games (0.96).
3. The use of foreigners in Czech basketball had a negative correlation to the number of Czechs remaining in the highest Czech basketball league at all levels measured (within teams -0.54, between teams -0.76, and at the league level -0.86).
  - a. At the league level the correlation between the number of foreigners who played in Czech and the number of Czechs who chose to play outside Czech was also high (0.82).
4. The role of economics was also a significant factor in the use of foreigners.
  - a. The correlation between budget and final place was positive (-0.62) and quantified as one place costing 4 million Kc.
    - i. The correlation between the use of foreigners and final place was significant at the between -team level (-0.39), and strengthened (-0.42) through the mediating relationship to home attendance using path analysis.
  - b. The correlation between budget and the presence of ice hockey (-0.51) or football (-0.64) teams in a city, as well as to population (-0.61) illustrated that cities without these primary sports and with smaller populations had higher budgets to spend on better players.

## Phase 2

Phase two was composed of two sets of interviews with marketing analysis done on both occasions. There were eight respondents to the first set of interviews in the fall of 2006.

These interviews were composed of open -ended questions in order to test results found by other authors and test the hypotheses. The second set of interviews were done in the fall of 2011 with 14 of the 18 teams which competed during the 12 -year period studied. The second set of interview questions were composed of scaled questions based on the findings from phase one to measure intended and unintended results. The second half of the second set of interviews was composed of open -ended questions in order to gain understanding of the decision makers' perspectives on the use of foreigners in general, their motivations surrounding the use of foreign players, their intentional use of foreign players in developing Czech players, their perception of fan response to foreign players and the corresponding marketing they chose, or did not chose to do with foreign players in response to this perception. We will first discuss the interviews, then the marketing analysis in relation to other research findings.

### *Scaled questions*

The scaled interview questions were found to have an adequate level of intra correlation. The positive view of the use of foreigners in general (question 1) was highly correlated to the rules regarding the use of foreigners (questions 10a and 10b), and proposed rules about the use of Czech youth players (question 11). Questions relating the perspectives on the use of foreigners and the development of Czech players were also highly correlated (question 3 with questions 4, 6 and 7). Question seven, regarding the chances of young Czechs to play in the MNBL, was highly correlated to the dominant view revealed in question 10a that the overall number of foreign players should be lowered.

The correlations between individual team responses and the actual data collected from each team were not strong. This may reflect that the unintended consequences of the use of foreign athletes are high. What is evident is that those teams with more youth teams had higher correlations with questions four and 11, which also directly related to youth player development. Similarly those teams with more Czech players viewed foreign players as taking playing spots from young Czech players (question 7).

If we summarize the perspective of decision makers based on the scaled questions we can say:

1. Teams have accepted the use of foreign players and view it positively (question 1).
2. Teams think that foreign players have a positive effect on the development of young players (question 6), but take the spots of young Czech players (question 7).

- a. They do not see foreign players as attracting players to play on their own teams (question 3), but think perhaps the foreign players draw young players to the sport of basketball (question 4).
  - b. Therefore, they think there should be several rule changes:
    - i. Decreasing the overall number of foreigners from the current 8 (question 10a).
    - ii. Increasing or keeping the number of non-EU players the same at 3 (question 10b).
    - iii. A new rule should be in place mandating the use of Czech players (question 11).
3. Overwhelmingly they view foreign players as less expensive than Czech players.

### *Open questions*

Several shifts were apparent over time between the two sets of interviews.

- Motivation for using foreigners shifted from competitive advantage and development to remaining competitive and lack of supply of quality Czech players.
- There was a shift in the type of players teams were looking for:
  - The demographics of the foreign players preferred shifted from players from the former Yugoslav Republics, to American players.
  - There was a corresponding shift of preference from white to black foreign players.
  - Also there was a shift of preference from cheaper, less experienced players (those just out of the American university system), to more experienced players (those with Euroleague experience).
  - Teams began to value character and professionalism along with the skills of a player, as compared to just valuing the skill of the player.
- There was a shift in perspective on the use of foreign players in developing young players.
- There was a shift from viewing foreigners as expensive to less expensive than quality Czech players.
- There was a significant shift in the effort to use foreign players in team marketing efforts from almost non-existent, to the accepted norm.

The shift in general views of decision makers toward the use of foreign players from a mixed response in the earlier years, to an overwhelmingly positive response in the later years is consistent with the correlations between increased home attendance and increased youth participation. However, this positive shift in overall perception is in contrast to most other earlier studies (Galily & Sheard, 2002; Maguire, 1996; Olin & Penttila, 1994). This shift, however, should be tempered with the overall acceptance of the use of foreigners as just a normal part of globalization, as was expressed by half of the respondents. The quote, “I run an international company. One week I am here, the next in China, then the USA. So I understand competition, professionalism. It is normal,” reflects the tension brought to light recently by Maguire (2008). Maguire states that the shift toward commercialism in sport has put people in power in sport clubs who are more concerned with commercial success than sport development and thus bring a business perspective to sport.

The shift in motivations for using foreign players and the type of foreign player selected are similar to that surfaced by Olin and Penttila (1994). They found economics to play an increasing role in the motivations of team owners in using foreign players, and in players to come into the Finnish league. No other authors have studied the supply and demand side of the use of immigrant athletes in receiving countries, though it has been studied extensively in those using critical theory to assess the deskilling of semi-periphery and periphery sending countries (Bale, 1991; Klein, 1991a; Miller, Lawrence, McKay, & Rowe, 2001). Olin and Penttila also found fans responsive to the increasing use of black players. The shift surfaced in our interviews towards decision makers desiring to use foreign players who were attractive to fans and desiring character as well as skill in these foreign players was surfaced earlier by Falcous and Maguire (2005), and Olin and Penttila (1994).

The shift in perspective on development is insightful and multi-layered. It should be stated again at the outset that our quantitative data confirmed that there was a high correlation between the use of foreigners and the exodus and decrease in the use of Czech players. This is consistent with the dominant view in sport globalization literature. However, we found a corresponding statistical correlation with the number of youth playing basketball, and with the intention and follow-through of teams to use foreign players to develop their youth. In the first set of interviews the positive effect of foreign players on the development of Czech players was a primary motivation for employing them, yet only one team had even tried to use the foreign player to aid in youth development. By the second set of interviews this was a secondary motivation, yet all but four teams were using their foreigners with some regularity to aid in the development of their young players. Those clubs with larger youth programs were trying more, and two of them had even made this involvement with the youth a

condition in foreign player contracts. This also explains the enlightened understanding of decision makers in looking for players of character who act as professionals, as these are the influences on the young players. Given the visibility of these star foreigners, if a team were to take advantage to exposing their youth teams regularly to these players, the theory of distance tells us that if the distance is decreased between fans and heroes, then the commitment of fans increases (Westerbeek & Smith, 2002). This can easily be applied to the use of foreign players in building a team's youth participation. If the perception exists that by playing basketball for a club, one can spend time regularly around one of the best players in the league, then the likelihood that a youth will remain within the sport of basketball increases. In order to effectively capitalize on this theory, the team management also has to take it into consideration as they recruit and hire foreign players, and character (as mentioned above) becomes important.

Additionally, one of the two primary motives for using foreign players was the lack of quality Czech players. And the responses of teams regarding changes in policy towards the use of foreign players reflect their desire to improve this shortage of supply through quotas and development. Given the commercial, or economic, motives of team decision makers above, this combination of quotas and development can also be viewed in terms of supply and demand. Lowering the number of overall foreigners allowed on a team, also lowers the demand and thus price of quality Czechs (Crossan & Jezdik, 2011). Eight teams expressed a desire to eliminate the delineation between non-EU and EU players, which is also a supply and demand issue (as well as player attractiveness and competitive level factors). This is balanced by the desire of half the teams to implement a rule mandating the use of Czechs. In all cases the rule they proposed required using young Czechs (under 19 or 20 years old), which would increase the price of these players who are limited in supply in the Czech market. However, given that the teams are seeing players leave the country at younger and younger ages to enter player development programs in countries where basketball is a primary sport, the teams are more open to this financial enticement. These economic motivations have been laid out using the sport of football in core European countries by Miller and Redhead (1994). They also explain the shift in viewpoint of foreign players being expensive, to being less expensive than Czech players.

The shift in the usage of foreign players in marketing is reflected in attractiveness of foreign players being named as a secondary thing the management is looking for in the hiring of these foreign players. This perception that fans want a spectacle and the consequent reaction of buying more foreigners was found by others (Falcous & Maguire, 2005; Olin & Penttila, 1994). The consequent shift to blackness has also been researched extensively

(Andrews, 1996; Araton, 2005; Farred, 2006; Lane, 2007; Leonard, 1997; Olin & Penttila, 1994; Zirin, 2010). The color barrier was broken in the NBA in 1950. The 1960s in the USA saw practices such as the NCAA's "three-fifths" rule where three starters had to be white, and the NBA's "two blacks at home – three on the road – four when behind rule" (Lane, 2007). The 1970s saw a boom in black players and by 1979 the NBA was 70% black. Today the NBA is 80% black and the NCAA is 60% black. Many have speculated that the current influx of international players in the NBA is a reaction to the NBA becoming "too black" (Araton, 2005; Farred, 2006; Lane, 2007).

What has not been studied to date has been the use of foreign athletes in sport marketing. As stated above, only two teams had made any attempt to use their foreigners in marketing in 2006, yet by 2011, 12 out of 14 teams were attempting to use their foreigners in marketing. Ten of 14 teams featured their foreign stars on their websites. Two teams said that part of their motivation in hiring black stars was to feature them on posters in their small cities. Two teams considered it part of their marketing strategy to have at least one foreigner on a multiple-year contract partially in order to capitalize on them in their marketing. There were many creative marketing ideas shared in the interviews from using these foreigners to draw fans from playing cards, to buying season tickets to the city's extraleague hockey team games so the foreign player could be seen in that primary spot of sport culture. Thirteen of 14 teams took their players into schools and children's homes on a regular basis in order to both recruit fans, and future basketball players. The shift in usage of foreign players in marketing affects the foreign stars purchased, and was in direct correlation to fan attendance and youth participation.

However, when we examined the websites of the basketball clubs in this study, at both time points we found only three of the club's websites really gave enough information in such a way as to attract the interest of those not already fans. Additionally, these three websites, Děčín, Prostějov and Nymburk, promoted the team, related products and upcoming games in such a way as to initiate the viewer to action. The majority of other websites tried to initiate action occasionally through invitations to come to an upcoming game, but there was little more than the information that a game would take place to initiate action.

Using Stewart and Smith's categories we can fairly definitively say that Czech basketball teams targeted passionate partisans and aficionados (2010). The targeted consumer for MNBL basketball was composed of the family of the players, others associated with the club through youth and women's teams, and former players. Each of these have higher motivation to purchase the product and need significantly less marketing than others not associated with the club in this manner. It appears from the marketing efforts of most of the

teams that these are consumers they really care about, desire to attract and have taken into consideration. Stewart and Smith state that these fans will come to games regardless of who wins or loses (2010), which we saw at the within -team level of our phase one research where there was little correlation between final place and home attendance. They are loyal to one team and desire to see their sport at its highest levels. This was seen in the evidence of the attendance for away games when the dominant top team, Nymburk was the guest. To some degree this makes sense and is necessary, as these consumers are able and motivated to purchase the sport product of the club on multiple levels, thus making them return customers and moving them quickly up the marketing escalator. Basketball in the Czech Republic, however, does not yet receive enough media coverage to attract champ followers or reclusive partisans (this requires media coverage to be dominant across forms and over other sports). The targeted consumer ought also to include the average youth or adult from the city or region where the team is located who has interest in sport or is associated with someone who has interest in sport. This group of people would fall into Stewart and Smith's category of theatergoers (2010). They are seeking comfort, excitement, sensory stimulation and uncertainty of outcome. Very few of the teams appeared to be marketing to these "theatergoers".

### Phase 3

The articles in the Czech print media covering the secondary sport of basketball predominantly represented passive acceptance or commodification of the use of foreigners in Czech basketball as a form of sport globalization. The points below summarize the dominant findings from our examination of five marker seasons:

1. Almost equal coverage of the NBA (where only one or no Czech was playing) and the Czech Mattoni NBL.
2. Reporting on foreign players was dominantly tied to performance.
  - a. Foreign players dominated individual statistics.
  - b. Foreign players dominated the rosters of the most visible teams.
3. Star players who had longevity in the Czech league were most celebrated.
  - a. They were most often covered by personal interest stories.
  - b. Their retention was received as league success.
4. Personal profile stories differed based on cultural proximity.
  - a. Slovak and Croatian stars success on and off the court was taken as Czech success, and stories about them contained no reflection of cultural distance.

- b. Non-EU or American profile stories consistently contained a hint of cultural rejection.

While the conclusions of our review of print media differ from Klein's, the patterns of observations are similar. Klein found almost equal coverage of the Dominicans who played in the American Major Leagues as he found to those remaining at home (1991a). The difference lies in that Klein's sample had several hundred players playing in the foreign star league, while Czech had only one playing in the NBA, for only a portion of the time period studied. However, both studies find that the dominant theme in coverage of the home player in the foreign league is the celebration of the nationality of the player(s) covered. Klein, whose study represents a primary sport, celebrates the cultural superiority of the Dominican player, while Czech media celebrates its lone star from a secondary sport and his acceptance among the elite. So while Klein observes this as cultural rejection, we observe it as cultural commodification.

Klein observed that the better a player was the more reporting focused on their performance, and the worse a player was the more the reporting focused on personal interest (1991a). Our results found the opposite to be true. The better a player was the more they were reported on and the more likely they were to have personal interest stories written about them. The lower-performing foreigners were largely not reported on beyond a mention of future hope upon their arrival in the first few years of our study. Further, Klein's personal interest stories were stronger in their slant toward reporting the cultural offenses committed by the foreign player, while our observations were that these offenses were mentioned only occasionally in an underhanded way. Thus again, where Klein observed cultural rejection, we observed passive cultural acceptance and commodification.

As was stated, Maurice Whitfield was the first American to be given Czech citizenship for the sake of basketball in 2005. This was reported in the three personal interest stories on him in 2005. In table 16 it can be seen that Whitfield was the second most cited foreign player during the 2001-02 season and 2004-05 season of our media review. The nationalization of foreigners has been researched extensively as it represents the farthest edge of sport migration (Campbell, 2011; Chiba et al., 2001; Galily & Sheard, 2002; Maguire, 1996).

Since Whitfield represents the most complete example of acceptance, it is worthwhile to discuss him further. Where do these players like American Maurice Whitfield come from? As was stated numerous times in the interviews, in the early years everyone believed that these black stars of the Czech league are just a step away from the NBA. The reality is quite

different and helps illustrate the supply and demand side of basketball sporting migrants. Whitfield grew up in a poor neighborhood of Philadelphia and like many American youth chased the basketball dream to stardom. Statistics tell us that .03% of American boys who play college basketball will make it to the NBA (Lane, 2007). In the USA, 540,597 boys played basketball in high school in 2002 (Coakley, 2003). The odds of these high school players advancing to the next level, college basketball is 28:1 (Coakley, 2003). University basketball in America is represented by three leagues, the NCAA, NAIA and the junior college league. The NCAA, which is the best university sports league, is divided into three divisions. Of the approximately 3% of high school players who go on to play in the university system, fewer than 1% play Division 1 (Lane, 2007). The odds of these Division 1 NCAA basketball players advancing to the NBA is .03% or 87:1 (Lane, 2007). This leaves scores of college basketball players undrafted to the NBA, but still holding onto the dream of someday getting there. Whitfield states that he had to choose between giving up basketball and becoming a lawyer as he had studied to be, or “risk” going to Europe and doing what he loved (Zehanova, 2005). These are the players that make their way overseas to leagues such as the MNBL in Czech. Thus Maurice Whitfield beat the odds and moved from high school basketball to NCAA Division 1 basketball at Norfolk State University. Norfolk State plays in the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference and their basketball team consistently finishes in the bottom half of this league. Whitfield finished his college career and was unable to beat the odds and thus obtain one of the 420 spots on the 30 NBA teams. He took two years off from basketball before obtaining a spot on the Billings Rim Rockers, a semi-professional team in the USA. From the Rim Rockers he progressed to Europe, where he spent his first three seasons in Croatia before playing his first season in Czech in Kunin (Zehanova, 2005). Whitfield represents the pinnacle of the foreigners who play in the Czech league as he is the only one so far to obtain Czech citizenship. By gaining Czech citizenship his value to the Nymburk team increased because he no longer counted against their quota of foreign players. But that also means he can now demand higher wages, not only in Czech, but elsewhere in Europe where pay is better since he counts as an EU player now. Therefore Whitfield moved to the higher-paying Russian league the next season after obtaining his Czech citizenship

It is clear from tables 16 and 17, that the previously mentioned conclusion, media coverage is primarily based on performance, holds true. The dominant athlete and dominant team were the most covered. Thus, consistent with what we saw in phase one, there exists a positive correlation between the number of foreigners, the level of these individual foreigners, the final placement of the team, and therefore the number of occurrences in the print media. The number of occurrences of the top players and top teams in the media was so

overwhelmingly correlated to their individual and team success, that it would be difficult to make any strong case for rejection of this form of sport globalization in the media, which leaves us to discern if the print media represents primarily commodification or acceptance. This is not to say that the print media did not at times display a form of cultural distance in their coverage, as has been illustrated above, but that cultural distance through the print media was the exception rather than the rule. At this point we will examine the other categories researched.

#### *Reporting where nationality is mentioned*

Klein (1991a, 1991b), Kelly (2006) and Farred (2006) all refer to the reporting of nationality within the media when foreign athletes are discussed as cultural resistance. Klein, who is researching from the angle of a sending country, perceives this as positive cultural resistance, while Kelly and Farred, who are researching from the angle of a receiving country, interpret it as a form of negative discrimination, but this would also be cultural resistance. However, we observed that this trend only represented a small fraction of the total articles citing foreigners, and that the mention of nationality decreased over time. Thus while we may state that the general practice in journalism of mentioning a defining trait of a minority population can generally be interpreted as cultural resistance, the omission of this indicates a form of passive acceptance.

#### *Reporting of personal life*

In contrast to Klein, who found that personal profile stories were more likely to be written about more mediocre athletes, or journeymen as he terms them, the Czech media appeared to favor these types of stories in the cases of legitimate stars and local favorites. All but one of the stories reporting on personal life in our study were about athletes who were legitimate stars in the league, and the majority has played in the Czech league multiple seasons. When articles were about Americans, the authors were constantly looking for signs that the foreign star had moved closer in cultural proximity to the Czech culture. Maurice Whitfield and Levell Sanders represented foreign American stars who had moved closest to the Czech culture. Yet consistently in representing Americans, their remaining cultural distance was made clear, as was the case with Rahsaan Ames who prayed and knew nothing about ice hockey.

Similar to Klein's observation that when there was not news to report about Dominican success in the Major Leagues on a particular day, the Dominican press would celebrate the success of other Latinos, thus signifying the superiority of Latinos, and

inclusively also Dominicans, over the American oppressors (1991a). The personal interest stories about Slovaks and Croatians fit this model. Those culturally close to Czechs were accepted completely and their success outside of Czech was even commodified as Czech success.

#### *Reporting of arrival and departure*

The majority of the articles in this category were about foreigners who remained in the Czech league beyond one season. Therefore, it can be said that these articles signify cultural commodification, as the writers celebrated the level of excellence maintained in the Czech league by the retention of these players. Maintaining these players in the top Czech league was a sign of success and advancement in the globalization process as the majority of foreign players only used the Czech league as a stepping stone to higher paying, more prestigious contracts in more attractive leagues.

This was further exemplified in the article on Rančík's departure, in that the writers were projecting Rančík's success past and future on the world of Czech basketball as represented by their foreigner-dominated, most-visible Nymburk team. Thus, we can clearly say that these stories represented cultural commodification with the global reality of foreign players dominating the top Czech league, and if they had to move on then their success was claimed as Czech success.

#### *Reporting of honors and awards*

In our results we used the articles about Rančík from the 2007-08 season by way of example. Each of these again showed a player of close national culture accepted within Czech basketball culture. The referral of him being looked at by NBA scouts and reporting on him being named ULEB player of the round was again taking his success as "our" success which has been demonstrated as cultural commodification. Given that Rančík dominated the league statistically, it makes sense that he would be singled out as having received awards or honors. However, that he is Slovak and not American or another nationality, illustrates that the commodification of foreigners playing and dominating the Czech league has its more and less-acceptable forms.

The other example was from Sanders, who was playing in his sixth season in the MNBL and had also played in the NBA summer league. Thus, in spite of his being black and of American nationality, he was culturally accepted and therefore his honor cast Czech basketball in a positive light. This is consistent with the findings of Klein.

### *Reporting of player's salary or contract*

As was stated, in the first years of the study there were articles citing the arrival of foreign players in the league and of foreigners retained in the MNBL. After the first few years, the mentions of new foreigners disappeared. This is a clear example of passive acceptance in the media.

### *Reporting on the effect on fan attendance*

The findings from the category of stories referring to fan attendance verify the perception of decision makers about fan's desires which was surfaced in the second phase of our research. The stories in this category were dominated by reporting about fans liking the attractive game that the foreign players bring to the league. These stories also represented acceptance by the media.

### Summarizing the data in terms of sport fandom

Based on the theories outlined in chapter I, and the three phases of research, we will now attempt to summarize fandom in Czech basketball. Specifically, we are trying to understand the effect of the growth in number of foreign players in the highest Czech league on fan attendance and youth participation. Over the 12 -year period which this study covers the number of foreigners in the top Czech basketball league increased from 11 players to a high of 54 players out of an average of 200 players in the league. The number of foreigners increased from approximately 5% of the players to 25%. It was hypothesized that such a large shift in player demographics would have a concurrent effect on the popularity of the sport of basketball in the Czech Republic, specifically with regards to fan attendance at games and youth participation. This hypothesis was accurate in that the number of foreigners was highly correlated to the growth in both fan attendance and official youth participation.

Fan attendance increased from a league-wide home game attendance average of 547 to 824. This represented almost a 50% increase in fan attendance. Finally, while the number of youth registered with the Czech basketball federation decreased from 25,411 to 23,745 (6.5% decrease), when considered as a percentage of the available population there was actually a 22% increase. Other data of interest include the decrease in print media coverage from 242 articles about the MNBL in the newspapers *Mladá Fronta Dnes* and *Sport* in the 1998 season, to only 107 in the 2009-10 season. However, television coverage of the league increased from no games on Czech TV during the regular season in the first year of the study to 58

games in the final year of the study. And lastly, the capacity of the arenas where the league played its games increased significantly from an average of 1509 seats to an average of 2610 seats. Each of these figures was explained in more detail previously and independently.

The overall popularity of Czech basketball increased compared to other secondary sports in the Czech Republic to a limited level with the increased use of foreign players. This statement is remarkable as the Czech Republic is largely a closed, homogeneous culture with a low percentage of immigration, and so acceptance of immigrants would not be expected (Gartner, 1989; Hofstede, 2001; Smith, Trompenaars, & Dugan, 1995; Westerbeek, 1999). Thus we would suggest there is a limit to this acceptance which has not yet been met in the fandom of Czech basketball. Meaning that as foreign players who are predominantly black come into the Czech league the affect will be positive on popularity only as long as the Czech players or at least white European players remain the visible, dominant majority on the court. It is expected that the current ratio of 25% foreigners is approaching this cultural limit of acceptance. This limit in cultural acceptance on fandom was reflected in our media review. Those star players most accepted were the dominant foreigners who stayed for multiple years in the MNBL. However, there was consistent attention drawn to the remaining cultural distance between them and average Czech culture.

The foreign players raised the skill level of the league, along with the speed and attractiveness of the game. Because the fan base fell into the categories of passionate partisans and aficionados, this increased skill level was recognized and valued. Because the foreign players who came were better players than the Czech players, the level of the league rose not only at home, but within Europe. This was exemplified by the reality that the top two teams in the Czech league played in European leagues as well, which was not the case at the beginning of the 12 -year study. These two teams had the most foreigners on their rosters, the highest home game attendance and each year advanced further in the respective European leagues where they played. Playing and succeeding in Europe-wide leagues is a clear signifier to fans and potential fans that the level of basketball is improving in the Czech Republic. This clear signifier of league improvement increased fan attendance and youth interest in the game, in spite of decreased print media coverage.

The use of foreign players was very visible on teams, not only because they were most often black, but also because these players dominated playing time, individual statistics, and consequently print media coverage. This difference in color and culture from Czechs would go against role model and fandom theories mentioned in chapter II, in that the heroes of the Czech game were different from the fans and youth. As stated above the research seems to indicate that role models are most often similar in demographics to those who take them on.

The same has been shown to be true of the most popular athletes with regards to fandom. Our media analysis showed commodification at play in this variable in that while black American stars were accepted, when Slovaks or Croatians appeared as stars, not only was their success in the league brought to light, but their success beyond the league was highlighted. Thus a Slovak star like Rančík becomes a role model for young Czech stars even in his media reported exodus to a better league than the Czech MNBL.

What is interesting to note from the quantitative data and interviews obtained here, is that the attendance numbers went up in the smaller cities when more foreigners were used, but only for the first year. It is thus hypothesized that after the first year, the interest from fans in someone or something different, tapered off back to the previous home attendance numbers. This was reflected in the low within-team correlation between number of foreigners and home attendance. However, when we look closer at the data, home attendance did not taper off when the level of team play rose significantly and then remained at the higher level in consequent years. This is partially reflected in our path analysis diagram from phase one of the results. It also tapered off less in cities where the star foreigner stayed for more than one year. However, the staying of star foreigners for more than one year on teams which performed outside the top three in the league was very, very rare (only 6 occurrences in 12 years), even with two teams who said it was part of their marketing strategy. This lack of retention of star foreigners outside of top teams represents a lack of understanding of fandom on the side of the owners and team management. Mullin, Hardy, and Sutton suggest that consumers are constantly filtering and interpreting cues about sport products relative to their self-image, and thus there must be a convergence of the core sport product (the extraleague team and its star players) and the consumer (the fan and/or the potential youth participant) (2007). So while the use of foreign players is attractive to passionate partisans and aficionados, and teams are learning to make an effort to increase their effect through marketing and exposure to their youth teams, there is still much more to be done to improve the popularity of the sport of basketball outside the realm of passionate partisans and aficionados. As well, the trend toward blackness is probably approaching the limit for such a homogeneous culture.

#### Czech basketball migration in terms of socialization

Socialization is the process through which one becomes a participating member of society and by which we acquire personalities as functioning members of society. Sport as a cultural form influences this process more heavily for boys than for girls according to the research (Scanlan, Russell, Magyar, & Scanlan, 2009). Each person within a culture who

partakes in sport or watches sport both has been socialized into these roles and is continuing to be socialized by these activities. The processes of socialization into and continuing in sport have been most effectively modeled by Scanlan with the Sport Commitment Model (2009). Several of the factors which contribute most heavily to the socialization process of sport participation are also strongly present as factors which contribute to the socialization process of sport consumption, and surfaced in both our phase two interviews and phase three media coverage. The role of foreign athletes in the socialization process of individual sportsmen in their particular sports as role models in both the narrow and broad sense is evident, though far more evident in the narrow sense of athletic prowess. Thus decision makers desire the foreign player to play the role of “a second teacher” on the court. Often it was said that the foreign athletes brought what had only previously been able to see on TV from the NBA. Fans are attracted to the skill sets displayed by foreign players, such as the ability to jump and dunk. For Czech players to continue to be stars of the Czech league they will have to adapt, or be socialized, into the style of game these foreigners bring. Thus the socialization which occurs through the use of foreign athletes is a form of globalization from the outside, which over time has a residual effect on Czech culture as a semi-periphery receiving country.

The skill of dunking was mentioned repeatedly in both sets of interviews. It was mentioned in terms of a skill coaches look for, a skill which is attractive to fans, and a skill which Czech players largely lack. The dunk represents here the globalization of Czech basketball, and illustrates Czech’s position as both semi-periphery and receiving in the sport globalization matrix. The dunk represents the height of individualism in the sport of basketball, but is also accepted as one of the more difficult skills in the game (Kingsbury & Tauer, 2009). It is also the ultimate show of simultaneously both creativity and a domination over one’s opponent in the game (Lane, 2007). This efficient move was first seen in the USA’s ABA league by Julius Erving. The NCAA banned the move in 1967 as too showy and did not reinstate it until 1976. The NCAA cited injury concerns and damage to equipment as the reason they were banning the dunk (Johnson, 2007). But many said it was an effort to slow the move toward individualism and showmanship in basketball (Araton, 2005; Lane, 2007). Many would cite these characteristics as core to the American culture. In the NBA the dunk represents 9% of all baskets made (Kingsbury & Tauer, 2009). Even more strongly, the dunk represented 23% of all baskets made on highlight clips shown on television, thus increasing the visibility of this demoralizing move (Kingsbury & Tauer, 2009). Lane says, “The dunk clearly transcends its value as two points: it is performance, catharsis, and degradation” (2007, p. 197). Further, the culture of American basketball is such that players often say, “A missed dunk is better than a made lay-up.” Dunking represents dominance. In

contrast, European and other non-American players, “are predictable, non-explosive athletes: when they dunk the ball, they simply place it above the hoop and let go” (2007, p. 198). Atencio and Wright found that American spectators viewed the dunk as “heroic, masculine and authoritative” (2008, p. 267). We illustrate this point about the dunk to show that the culture of the core, sending country with a primary sport of basketball is exported along with the game to the receiving, semi-periphery country where basketball is a secondary sport, with little resistance. This is consistent with Lane’s findings that the sport of basketball, as a force of cultural globalization, is centered in the USA, increasingly black, and constantly changing its rules to keep the game attractive to the fans (Lane, 2007).

Ten years ago this skill was rarely performed in Czech basketball and the MNBL kept no statistics on its use in games until the 2008-09 season. Now it is regularly performed and reported on in games. In the summer of 2007 I, the author, had a team of Americans here for a series of friendly games against MNBL and first league teams. There were complaints almost every game that our team was too showy and dunked too much. During a game with the Nymburk team, the coach and referee requested that the American team stop dunking the basketball as they viewed it as unsportsmanlike and dangerous. Similar accusations were made in North America in the 1960s when the black athletes began to dominate and use the dunk shot.

This becomes significant however when we consider the socialization process which occurs in sport. The skill of dunking is not a skill which the larger Czech national culture would accept as good behavior. However, as the best players seen on TV from the NBA and the best players in the MNBL (the foreigners) consistently dunk the basketball, the skill becomes acceptable and thus one regularly learned by those whose identities are being shaped through the socialization of basketball. And basketball here represents globalization by a core country on a semi-periphery country. This is exemplified by the two young Czech stars, Jan Vesely and Tomas Satoransky, who have made it to the top levels of basketball (the NBA and Spanish ACB league) and are cheered thunderously as they dunk on the heads of their opponents during national team games. This is significant in terms of who the role models these two new Czech stars have observed in the Czech league during their crucial development years. Being only 21 and 20 years old, and growing up in the clubs of USK Praha and Ostrava they have both had foreign stars as the statistical and most visible leaders on the MNBL teams that led their clubs their entire sport lives. Thus foreign role models heavily affected their socialization into the sport of basketball. And now they are role models for the next generation of Czechs who eliminate the cultural barrier of distance that was there between them and the foreign players they had as role models.

## CONCLUSION

The NBA has sped up the globalization of the world through sport by disseminating the values of the powerful core country of the USA out to the rest of the world through the media. They have actively pursued the best players from around the world, brought them into their league and used those players to consequently open the media portals to millions of people across wider and wider cultural spaces. This was displayed by Yao Ming's playing in the NBA opening the door for the NBA to be broadcast and followed by 1.3 billion people in China, and Jiří Welsch's NBA presence bringing the NBA to 10 million Czechs. This phenomenon has been well researched in sport globalization literature, and was even exemplified in our phase 3 research where we saw equal print media coverage of the NBA and the MNBL. There was equal print media coverage of one Czech playing in the primary sport of a core country, and an average of 140 Czechs playing at the highest level of a secondary sport in a semi-periphery country.

To date the research in sport migration has been dominated by research from the perspective of primary sports and core countries. The NBA, or English Premier League Football, are shown to “de-skill” the periphery and semi-periphery countries, when the best players from around the world leave their homes to go play in these top leagues in pursuit of greater financial gain, better training and competition conditions, greater opportunity for sport development, and fame. We observed in Czech basketball, that not only did Jiří Welsch leave to play in the NBA, but increasing numbers of Czechs left Czech to play in more and more countries. At the beginning of our study, we found only eight Czechs playing outside their homeland, and by year twelve this number had grown to 94. At first we observed these players playing primarily in border countries of Germany, Austria and Poland, but over time increasing numbers of Czech players were found in core countries where basketball was a primary sport such as Spain and Italy. However, whether or not this represents the de-skilling of Czech basketball remains to be seen, as we observed a strong correlation between the number of Czechs choosing to play outside Czech, and the number of youth choosing to take up the sport of basketball.

Both of these trends in sport migration, the domination of core countries, and the de-skilling of semi-periphery and periphery countries were already well researched and outside the goals of our research, however they rose to the surface in our research as well.

We set out to study the use of immigrant athletes to build a non-primary sport in a semi-periphery country and its effect on sport growth in that country. Specifically, we measured the correlation between the use of foreigners and the effect on attendance and youth

development. As a secondary sport in the Czech Republic, the reliance on foreigners has increased exponentially over the 12 years studied from 11 in 1998 to 45 in 2010. Consistent with other research this was highly correlated to a decrease in reliance on home-grown, Czech talent. There were fewer Czechs playing in the MNBL and more playing outside the borders of the country. However, in contrast to most other sport migration research, we found a corresponding increase in fans attending MNBL basketball games and increase in the number of youth choosing to play basketball. So we can tentatively say based on our results that the use of foreigners has increased the popularity of the secondary sport of basketball in the Czech Republic.

The foreigners coming to play basketball in Czech predominantly came from countries where basketball is the primary sport. In other words, the bridges coming into the secondary sport of basketball in Czech come from core and other semi-periphery countries which have an over-supply of skilled basketball labor. These foreign players were initially more expensive than the Czechs whose playing spots they were taking, but their higher quality made their higher cost a good investment for MNBL teams. Those who brought foreigners in first gained a competitive advantage over the competition. As in any industry, in order to keep the competition fair, and protect the power of the local labor force (Czech basketball players) the Czech Basketball Federation placed quotas and rules on the use of foreign players. These rules were adjusted six times during the 12 years of our study. There was pressure not only from the local market to make and adjust these rules, but also from the global market, in the form of EU laws and FIBA rules. Eventually, virtually all teams were forced to use foreign players in order to remain competitive. The few teams which chose not to use foreign players in our 12 -year study quickly fell down to a lower league. As the quota on foreign players got higher, not only did the number of Czechs able to play in the MNBL decrease, but the demand for higher quality Czechs to fill fewer spots increased. High demand and low supply resulted in foreigners becoming cheaper than Czech players, and increased dominance by teams with higher budgets. Hence the top team in the league won seven of the last 12 years we studied, used the most foreigners, had the highest quality Czech players (reflected in their statistical dominance among Czech players), and the highest budget. Therefore, the overproduction of skilled labor by a core country has pushed the market for Czech players to an unsustainable level. While the Czech basketball labor market has not yet shown itself to be unsustainable at the current levels, the concurrent examples which most closely model the Czech situation, England and Israel, have shown this to be the result of such a model (Falcous & Maguire, 2005; Galily & Bernstein, 2008; Galily & Sheard, 2002).

The immigrants coming to play basketball in Czech were not only found to be coming from countries where basketball is the primary sport, but are increasingly black. This trend in sport and cultural development has also been highly researched. These black players are sought after by teams because they have skills which are not found in Czech and other European players, and because they are attractive to fans. Our research revealed that while there was resistance to this cultural distance in the early years of our study, it decreased over time. Initial resistance came from fans and media, and was evident in the unwillingness of teams to use foreigners, specially black ones, in their marketing efforts. By the end of our study we find fans more attracted to the black athlete than white foreigners, and obtaining black stars even as part of the marketing strategy of teams. There remains occasional recognition of this cultural distance in the print media, but it is very commodified due to the years of dominant performance of black, foreign athletes on teams and across the league, and the media coverage of the NBA. This area of the acceptance of stars and role models who are culturally distant from the population is speculated to be largely due to the fact that basketball is a secondary sport as compared to a primary sport in the Czech Republic.

As foreigners have increased in the Czech league, they have come to dominate the statistics of the MNBL. As they have dominated the statistics, they have become the focus of the print media attention on the sport of basketball. This, along with the decrease in competitive balance in the top Czech league, has led to a rapid reduction in the number of articles reporting on the MNBL. The coverage of foreigners in the MNBL favors those foreigners who are culturally closer to the Czech culture, whether by nature of their tenure in the league, or similarity of national culture. Further, the print media has adjusted to the globalization of the sport of Czech basketball, which is evidenced by a reduction in the mentioning of the nationality of the foreign players, a reduction in the reporting of new foreign players entering the league, and by generalizing the success of those foreign stars as success for Czech.

Finally, though the marketing done by Czech basketball teams remains in its infancy, and targets only those already in relationship with the sport, teams are beginning to use the foreigners to commercialize their product. Over time we saw a big shift in the use of foreign players in the marketing of teams. This is evidence of the globalization of the sport and the culture on several levels. That a secondary sport is using and relying more on marketing represents a shift and the influence of globalization in the sport. Teams see their sport and their players as a product to be marketed. That they are willing to market the cultural difference of their product in order to set themselves apart shows the effect of globalization on the receiving culture that has occurred over time.

The use of immigrants in the secondary sport of basketball in the semi-periphery country of the Czech Republic has increased the popularity of the sport using the measures of fan attendance and youth registered to play basketball. As a form of globalization the use of immigrant athletes has globalized the sport and the culture surrounding the sport, bringing them more into conformity with the core countries the majority of the sporting immigrants are coming from. These sporting immigrants have also played a role in the socialization of the youth who view them as role models, whether as fellow players or as fans, again socializing them with the values from the core country of the immigrants. Using a figurational mixed methods model we have seen the intended and unintended effects of politics, in the form of rule changes, economics, in the form of supply and demand shifts, and social processes. While we conclude that the use of immigrant athletes has increased the popularity of the sport of basketball over the 12 years studied, we conclude with a word of caution that more is not better. A further increase in the use of immigrant athletes in the sport of basketball is likely to damage the growing popularity of the sport by increasing economic imbalance, decreasing competitive balance, decreasing media interest, and increasing cultural distance to an unacceptable level for the receiving Czech culture.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations flow out of the research completed by William Crossan in his 12-year longitudinal case study of Czech basketball in the genre of globalization in sport. This study examined the use of immigrant athletes to build the sport popularity of a non-primary sport, basketball, at the micro level (team, club, entity) and macro level (league, federation and nation). The Mattoni National Basketball League (MNBL) was studied from 1998 to 2010, using quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. For the quantitative analysis a multi-level hierarchical model was created to measure the correlations between the use of foreign players (non-EU players and EU players were measured separately), Czech players, home attendance, away attendance, final place, the presence of extraleague ice hockey or football teams in a city, population, team budget and hall capacity. This model was tested within teams, between teams, and at the league level over the 12 -year period.

The qualitative analysis, interviews and marketing analysis was conducted over two time periods: 2006 (8 teams), and 2011 (14 teams). These interviews allowed the researcher to gain more insight into the general view of team decision makers on the use of foreign players, their motivation in choosing foreigners, and their use of foreign players in youth development and marketing. Further, the findings of the interviews were compared with the quantitative results obtained previously.

Finally, a review of the coverage of basketball, specifically the MNBL in the print media was carried out for five marker years across the 12 years studied to assess the coverage and response to the use of foreign players in the media.

The use of three different tools over a 12 -year time span allowed the researcher to examine not only changes in the use of foreign players in Czech basketball, but both the intended and unintended results of the rule changes which occurred. The following recommendations are made in light of the findings of this research.

## MNBL teams

The increased use of foreign players alone does not draw more fans within a given city. When foreign players raise the level of team performance for multiple seasons, then increases in home attendance are sustained. Additionally, the number of youth choosing to play the game of basketball is on the rise when measured against the available population of youth (to age 19). These youth are more likely to attend basketball games when foreign stars are playing. These youth appear to view foreign basketball players as role models and desire to interact with them. Therefore:

- Teams should strive to sign at least one of their foreign players to a multiple -year contract.
- Use foreign players in the team's marketing efforts (which increases in effectiveness if they have multiple -year contracts).
- Make sure the team is taking their foreign players into schools and children's homes. Those teams which are doing this often have the largest development programs.
- Use foreign players in the team's youth recruiting efforts ("*nabor*" in Czech) and to help run youth practices with regularity. Put these activities into the contracts of the foreign players as part of their job.
- Choose players of character. The foreign player is more likely to be noticed in the host team city, interact with fans after games, and be looked up to as a role model. Therefore, take the time to find out about the player's character and professionalism, not just his level of skill and experience.

## CBF

Average home attendance and the number of youth playing basketball are both rising and show a positive correlation to the use of foreigners. (The actual number of youth registered to play has decreased by 6.5%; however, when the actual number of kids playing is taken as a percentage of the number of youth available to play in the population, then there is a 22% increase over the 12 years studied.) Team decision makers consistently expressed that they are using more foreign players not only to remain competitive, but also because Czech players are not available to play. Additionally, team decision makers consistently expressed that foreign players are less expensive than Czech players. Statistically, there was a high correlation between the number of foreigners coming to play in the MNBL and the number of Czechs choosing to play outside of Czech. This statistical measure must be interpreted alongside the knowledge that there is also a positive statistical correlation between the

number of foreigners playing in the MNBL, the number of Czechs choosing to play outside Czech, and the number of youth choosing to play basketball. Finally, the print media coverage of the MNBL has reduced by 50% as the competitive balance has been lost in the MNBL. And the Czech print media coverage of the MNBL is equal to the print media coverage of the NBA and top European leagues. Therefore:

- Rule changes
  - There is consensus among MNBL teams that the total number of foreigners should be lowered and there should be no delineation between non-EU and EU players. We would recommend making these changes.
  - Half of MNBL teams interviewed were in favor of a rule mandating the use of Czech players, particularly players under 19 or 20. However, such a rule would both decrease the level of competition in the MNBL, and inflate the price of young Czech players. This price imbalance would be counter-productive to the overall retention of Czech players, and has been ineffective in the leagues which have employed it to date (Germany, Poland and Israel).
- Competitive balance
  - Efforts need to be made to increase competitive balance in the MNBL. There needs to be political, legislative, and practical support of other teams trying to reach the level of success in European competitions which Nymburk has achieved. A league dominated by one team loses attractiveness for fans and media. At the same time the success of Nymburk and its consequent media attention is positive for the league and helps keep some of the best Czech players in the MNBL. It is in the overall best interests of the league to help other teams achieve this level.
  - Print media and TV coverage will increase if there is a sense of competitive balance in the league. Both of these factors affect fan attendance and youth choosing to play the sport of basketball. Therefore league competition structure needs to be considered in such a way as to show maximum parity. League TV contracts need to be negotiated in such a way as to display not just the best team, but a high level of parity in the league.

#### Future Research

This study was intentionally focused on a non-primary, or secondary sport, and intentionally included a quantitative element, as both of these have been under-researched in sport migration studies. To add value to the current study and the body of research that

examines sport migration, complimentary research needs to be done which aids in cultural understanding within the semi-periphery Czech context, and which illuminates the differences between primary and secondary sport. Therefore:

- A survey of fan response to sporting immigrants in the order of that done by Falcous and Maguire (2005), would add comparative value on a qualitative level, thus making the quantitative research contained herein more generalizable.
- The multi-level quantitative model created in this research can be easily duplicated in other longitudinal sport contexts, thus providing a quantifiable comparison of globalization response to the phenomenon of sport migration.
  - This could be carried out on other non-primary sports across cultures to compare cultural response.
  - This could be carried out on primary sports within the Czech culture to compare cultural response in more valued cultural space.
- The media analysis portion of this study was conducted using print media because there was so much more of it to evaluate compared to broadcast media in the secondary sport of basketball from the beginning of the 12 years studied. However, in the ensuing 12 years, the broadcast media coverage of both the MNBL and other basketball leagues (NBA, Euroleague and EuroCup) has rapidly increased in the Czech media landscape. At the same time that the broadcast coverage has increased, the number of channels on which basketball can be watched or followed has expanded exponentially. Thus the effect of this expansion and the nature of the coverage of both foreigners in the Czech league and Czechs playing outside the Czech Republic could be measured and perhaps correlated with the number of youth choosing to play the sport of basketball.

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