

# The Local, National and Global in Indian Football: Issues of Power and Identity

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## Abstract

In this article, I examine some recent events relating to the role of football in India. I argue that the sport provides an opportunity for the expression of particular types of globalism, some of which contrast with the localism that characterises the domestic game. Indians have therefore traditionally put their efforts into either consuming the global game or supporting local clubs despite a relative poverty in standards. The national team has sat uneasily between these two, and as such has been under-developed for the past three to four decades. There have been, however, a number of recent efforts from Non-Resident Indians to help boost the fortunes of the Indian national football squad. This has raised a number of questions about power, nationhood, and diaspora in a globalising world that are addressed in this article.

## Introduction

In April 2002 the magazine *India Today* 'revamped' its international edition (published in New York) 'to address the individual we call The Global Indian'. Three weeks later it ran a lengthy special feature inspired by the Indian Government's recently released report on the Indian diaspora.<sup>1</sup> There are estimated to be around twenty million Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) across the world, many of them in Asia and Africa, though it is the 2.5 million NRIs living in the UK and USA who receive much of the attention, not least because of their status, wealth and power. In commissioning and publishing their report the Government aims to 'build bridges' with the sons and daughters of migrants. As the *India Today* coverage demonstrated, there were specific reasons for this invigorated interest in NRIs. The first was the economic potential of their 'return': 'global Indians wield resources estimated to touch \$300 billion'; the second was about politics and influence: 'more and more global Indians [are] finding their way into the power structures of the countries they live in'.<sup>2</sup> So it seems that with recent economic liberalisation, the easing of foreign currency restrictions, the presence of multi-national companies and international IT and manufacturing firms, there is a realisation that members of the diaspora can contribute to the new India.

In spite of *India Today's* effort to acknowledge the plight of nineteenth century indentured labourers and their descendants, it was the possibility of foreign capital coming into the country, and therefore the wealthier members of the diaspora, that were of interest. As R.K. Jain has noted: 'The one angle that

has attracted the attention of the general public in India itself is concerned with the investment capacity of the NRIs in the wake of liberalisation and the structural changes in the Indian economy ushered in since 1991'.<sup>3</sup>

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and his finance minister Manmohan Singh set the liberalisation programme in place at the beginning of the 1990s. It was based on monetarist free-market principles, and brought new found wealth to many at the heart of India's urban centres of power, especially New Delhi, Mumbai and Bangalore. As Stanley Wolpert has described, the 'long-protected socialist economy' was stimulated by 'the winds of world market investment' creating the Indian economic miracle.<sup>4</sup> In five years the economy grew as much as during the previous forty years, and so for the 'most affluent third of India's nearly one billion people globalization brought hitherto undreamed-of levels of prosperity and material comfort'.<sup>5</sup> With depressing inevitability, these sweeping reforms brought little relief to what Wolpert calls 'the impoverished 300 million landless peasants and urban slumdwellers'.<sup>6</sup> And thus, the disparities between rich and poor were increased by these processes of "globalization", and made 'more disconcertingly glaring and harsh'.<sup>7</sup>

In other words, there is much to consider when India is 'opened up' to outside influence: it can benefit some communities who are in a position to take advantage, but leave others further marginalised. The NRIs have a slightly ambivalent position in the process of these changes. They clearly have a historical genealogical relationship with India, which has previously been formalised in the NRI status that offers certain social and economic privileges, and the current Government proposal is to consider dual citizenship. Their residence in other countries, however, means they are considered immigrants where they live, and migrants where they come from. Aytar Brah has explained that British South Asians can be 'in' but not 'of Britain',<sup>8</sup> this formula might be extended to suggest can be 'of but not 'in' South Asia. Perhaps more crucially, European and North American NRIs are in a sense 'Westernised', meaning that they have been socialised in a Western society even if that has been somewhat distorted by their 'otherness' as ethnic minorities. So their approach to India is informed by Western culture, and is based on Western resources and methods: their approach to daily life in the West is informed by consideration of what it means to be part of the Indian diaspora. This type of duality is important to consider when NRIs return to India, as is the effect such 'global' forces as foreign investment can have on an already fragmented Indian society.

Football has been affected in some quite striking ways by the new relationship of NRIs and Indian officialdom, and by the new global vision some Indians have been pursuing. Sports are not simply passive recipients of the processes that shape societies as a whole, however, they can act to transmit, shape and obstruct them as well.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, an analysis of these recent changes to football can illuminate some of the issues at stake relating to these broader themes of liberalisation, diaspora, and societal divisions. In this article I raise

three of these. The first is the global versus local tension within consumption patterns in India, which highlights the lack of 'national passion for football'.<sup>10</sup> The second is the influence of NRIs in their effort to raise the profile of the national team, but in a way that is structured by their position both as ethnic minorities in other countries and as post-colonial Westerners in India. The third is the way in which these previous two issues overlap and interconnect to reveal something of the greater complexity of NRI involvement in Indian affairs, and of flows in power in the networks of diaspora and 'homeland'.

### **The World Cup and the National League: Global Visions and Local Traditions**

Within India there are few sporting events that assume as much prominence in media discourses as the FIFA World Cup.<sup>11</sup> This event proved highly popular among fans of the international game, as it has done since 1986. Describing this, Siddarth Saxena has written that India 'is a country with the decibel level of a billion people, shouting themselves hoarse at television screens every four years'.<sup>12</sup> These fans had no representatives in the competition, but the success of other Asian nations was keenly observed with an envious eye.<sup>13</sup> The discrepancy between coverage of this event and the regular season of Indian club football, which hardly gets a mention in most national newspapers, shows there to be many Indians who like to 'jump on the bandwagon' of the World Cup. There is a split between this level of football in India, which is a middle-class form of globalised consumption, and the populist club-level football that has always been traditionally working-class. Of course, the missing level in between has been success at national level for India, and it is this in particular that NRI involvement has been trying to promote.

Many of those who watched the World Cup in India were taking the role of consumers, they were simply enjoying the spectacle in all its well-packaged, slickly-marketed and over-hyped glory. Inevitably, as Siddarth Saxena's commentary hinted, there is a certain transience to this type of consumption; it emerges every four years to feast at the table of delights, while assiduously ignoring the parlous state of Indian domestic and national teams. As such, it can be seen that consumption follows success. The fact of cricket's massive support at Test level as contrasted with the almost non-existent demand for watching the sport's domestic teams shows up this same tendency.<sup>14</sup> The main difference between cricket and football in India is the absence of opportunity for national allegiance at truly international football events like the World Cup. Instead, viewers of this tournament choose their favourite international teams on the basis of the style of play, the star quality of their individual talents, or on the basis of some loose cultural connection. In other words, such fans are approaching the game from a specific social position and using the cultural capital of the international sport to make statements about their own status,<sup>15</sup> this in spite of the fact that their country did not qualify. They have their own

agenda and their own reasons for establishing a specific type of relationship with the sport. This is based on class and intellectual capital, as Saxena notes:

There is a growing upper class following for football in India. Their prevalence may have been sporadic - a four-yearly feature each time a World Cup came along - now it is a committed band of knowledgeable, statistically-smooth supporters. The difference, or development if you like, is immediately discernible in the fact that Brazil - once an immediate favourite of all and sundry among Indian watchers - had to perform to all their class to win over the defectors, while England and Spain, perennial underachievers at the World Cup, were among the hot favourites. It is understandable given their success in European club football.<sup>16</sup>

The reason why European clubs are familiar to middle class fans is through ownership of cable TV facilities. Brazil remains the favourite among working-class fans in places like Kolkata, Kerala and Goa where local football cultures thrive. Therefore, it can clearly be seen that support for particular non-Indian teams depends on class and status, and many who ignore local football display their knowledge of the European leagues and the World Cup as symbols of the link to the global community, and their ownership of the requisite technology.

These types of fans are to be contrasted with the traditional working-class fans of local football who attend matches involving domestic clubs on a regular basis and sees the World Cup through the lens of despair. They have far more emotional attachment to a favoured club side and to the national team, but also invest their 'fandom' with regional and ethnic affiliations. While they are fans of the World Cup, it is the 'mythologies' of local rivalries that occupy most of their sporting attention.

This type of football culture is expressed through club football. In Bengal, fans fanatically follow the Kolkata League, a competition organised by the British, which was first won by an Indian team in 1934, and which was India's premier league competition until 1996. In all likelihood, it will be won by East Bengal or Mohun Bagan, both Hindu teams but the first is representative of the recent migrants from what is now Bangladesh, the second is the team of the indigenous West Bengalis. This is a rivalry to match any in the world, it attracts over 130,000 fans, the choice of allegiances divides the populous city, and it marks off Bengalis from other Indian communities as fanatical football lovers. There are other teams in Kolkata, notably Mohammedan Sporting, the team representing the Muslim community, which dominated Indian football in the 1930s and 1940s and remained a presence until the 1980s. The traditional 'Big Three' have grounds on the city's 'maidan', and so take centre-stage in the spatial geography of the urban sprawl, lying between the Victoria Memorial, cricket's Eden Gardens, the Nataji Indoor

Stadium, a First World War memorial and adjacent to statues of Marx and Lenin. A statue of Gostho Paul, who played for Mohun Bagan in the 1920s also graces the 'maidan'. The grounds are in a state of disrepair, largely consisting of nailed together wooden seating that warps during the monsoon season. The clubs are also community facilities, however, where members congregate at any time of the day. This usage is structured upon specific identity lines, for instance, Mohammedan Sporting's clubhouse includes a picture of Mecca and the men who sit in its gardens dress in traditional Islamic outfits.<sup>17</sup>

The mythologies of Goan clubs are different, but again serve to focus specific types of community identification. The state has provided some of the League's most impressive teams, but Goans are not seen to be quite as fractious in their support patterns as Bengalis, and this is perhaps a consequence of specific types of club ownership.<sup>18</sup> It is the large families who have made their money in mining that control Goa's top clubs such as Salgoacar, Dempo and Churchill Brothers. As corporate entities they do not attract fanatical supporters, instead the one club that is seen as a 'real fan's team' (or the 'people's club') is Vasco da Gama.<sup>19</sup> It also, by its very name, invokes historical traditions of religious and commercial contact with Europe, South America and Africa, and thus symbolises difference from the rest of India by reference to an alternative colonial past and an alternative religion, namely Catholicism.<sup>20</sup> It is viewed very much as a community club, and portrays its culture as rooted in Portuguese imperialism, notably borrowing its colours and imaginings of style from the Vasco da Gama club of Brazil.

The two great football playing states in India, Bengal and Goa, have traditionally met only on the occasion of the Santosh Trophy, but since 1996 the National League has really been a battle between these states and their contrasting cultures of football fandom, styles of playing, and methods of organisation.<sup>21</sup> It is therefore the rivalries at local level that are the obsessions of most Indian fans. There are, however, two approaches discussed here: the first is solely focused on the global to the expense of the local; the second is passionately local with an occasional turn to the global. But both the turns outward and the turns inward act to thwart efforts at nationalist unity behind the Indian team. This is almost the opposite of cricket where the global and national can co-exist, but to the expense of the domestic. This is the essential paradox of Indian sport as a whole.

Football is still the country's number one sport in the hinterland, just outside the urban social landscape, while regional cricket, growing primarily through the impact of TV, is set back by an absence of local rivalries.<sup>22</sup> And thus, in India itself the politics of centre and periphery mark out sporting territories, and those communities socially and geographically distant from power are the ones that play and watch domestic football. The intervention of NRIs has been at the 'middle level', between the local and the global. They have offered to assist the development of the national, but two issues may

prove controversial here. First, that the initiatives put in place by NRIs often have other agendas reflecting local concerns in 'the West'. Second, that there is a shift of power, resources, and representation away from India and to the urban centres in England, Germany or the USA.

### **Anti-racism, Commercial and Sporting Tensions: Tours to England**

A series of initiatives have been launched in Europe to help promote the sport among 'The Global Indians', to 'build bridges' between NRIs and India, and to help further the chances of the Indian team. The most recent and most prominent of these were the two matches played in England between India and Jamaica in the summer of 2002. On 30 August, a crowd of 1,200 at Vicarage Road, Watford, saw Jamaica run out 3-0 winners. The follow-up game, held at Molineux, Wolverhampton, on 1 September was a closer affair, ending O-O and attracted 4,000 fans. In the choice of opponents, there was clearly much consideration of 'race relations' in Britain, since both teams represented large diasporic communities in England. Indeed, the President of the All India Football Federation (AIFF), Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, commented that the games served 'the greater cause of racial equality'.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, even a cursory consideration shows there to be more at stake than simply the greater good of Indian football, and that English issues lay at the heart of these tours.

The games played in England were of a different nature again, though the themes of local anti-racism were present, they were directly linked to a sense of India as 'home'. This was the third time the Indian national team had visited England for friendly matches. In previous visits (in the summers of 2000 and 2001) they had played games against teams from the English First, Second and Third Divisions, and in 2000 had one match against Bangladesh. There have been several reasons cited for these tours.<sup>24</sup> The first is to promote anti-racism and the development of under-represented British Asian football, similar to the UK Asian Football Championships. The second is to give Indian players experience of playing in a more professional environment against established teams. The third is to establish links between NRIs and India that may eventually see further exchange of players and coaches, and the inclusion of NRIs in the Indian national team. It is, however, the unstated reasons for the tours and their implications that highlight the complexities of diaspora, power and competing agendas. Although it ought also to be made clear that even the stated reasons are not necessarily as straightforward as they first appear.

The organisers of the tours, Sapphire Enterprises, are interested in financial gain. This should not be surprising since they are a profit-making company, but it means high ticket prices that deter ordinary fans and the presence of large family groups. To see India play Jamaica would have cost £20 for an adult and £10 for a child, so £60 for a family of four. Moreover, the marketing of Sapphire produced merchandise was also a prominent feature of the tours. In emphasising commercial motives, Sapphire undermined the

potential for large-scale attendance of British Asians at the games. One consequence was that locals felt excluded, and this was enhanced by the refusal to allow the Indian players to visit schools or community football clubs.<sup>25</sup> Instead there were high profile dinners at institutions like the Gymkhana Club in London. Other British-Indians criticised the tours as superficial publicity ventures that did little to connect them with events in India.<sup>26</sup>

Despite noting the anti-racist implications of the tours, Priya Ranjan Das Munshi has shown little interest in English community relations. Perhaps it is unsurprising that Indians are not inclined to empathise with British-Indian issues, but this raises the question of why the AIFF agree to these annual tours. It is made even more intriguing by the fact that the national team's coaches have expressed a preference for playing other Asian teams that represent their usual opponents in Asian Games in World Cup qualifying groups. One Indian journalist suspects there to be implicit collusion between Sapphire and the AIFF that ignores the wishes of the team coach. Instead, the journalist pointed to the fact that 'Indian officials like travelling to England for shopping'.<sup>27</sup>

In essence, therefore, neither the anti-racist objective nor the football promotion objective is being fulfilled by these tours. The Indian players found the crowd sizes disappointing, the media in India piled on the humiliation by criticising the defeats to lower league clubs, and the inclusion of NRIs in training sessions only led to the Indian players being insulted by their 'snobbish' and 'condescending' attitudes. A final point to make here is that the games played over the last three years have been specifically marketed (though not very well) at British Asians, the assumption being that 'white' people would not be interested or are not the desired constituency.<sup>28</sup> Either way, the barriers to 'racial harmony' were not broken down any further since the crowds have been only drawn from ethnic minority communities.

### **Football Academies, Websites and the Search for NRI Talent**

The World Cup is the pinnacle of football, the games in England are part of India's efforts to improve the national team, but they are many who are interested in the longer-term developments beginning with youth teams. One of the most significant advances towards building 'global' bridges came in August 2002, when the first International Indian Football Series was held in Germany. This involved four teams: India (under 17 national team), India (under 16 TATA football academy), England (under 17 Indian select side), Germany (under 17 IFG select side). The first two of these teams were made up of players from India, the TATA football academy being the most renowned school of excellence in the country. The England and Germany teams consisted of NRIs, but 'IFG' stands for 'Indian Footballers. in Germany', a project designed to identify and develop German players of Indian origin organised by German-based NRIs such as Arunava Chaudhuri.<sup>29</sup> He runs the website indianfootball.com, was consultant to the Indian national team for their tours to

England in 2000, 2001 and 2002, and has commentated on matches for the Indian state television network Doodoorshan. This tournament in Germany allowed young Indian players to visit Europe in a bid to improve their knowledge of the game as played by more successful countries.

These events are notable for the conscious development of NRI players in a manner that is integrated with Indian youth football. The identity dilemmas were on show simply in the naming of the teams, a complicated exercise in trying to classify NRIs as both Indian and as German/English. Nevertheless, the idea was to locate an event ostensibly about Indian football in Germany, thus working from the same notion as informed the England tours, that experience of Western football would benefit Indian players. Chaudhuri's website is the most informative on Indian football, but it is also the most revealing about how recent changes are affecting the character and the culture of the game. When logging on initially the viewer is confronted by a 'pop-up' advertisement for the Sapphire produced national team strip. The 'front page' is evenly split between news from Indian clubs and events taking place overseas involving NRIs. The archive of articles is a mixture of commentaries on the uncertainties of Indian football and the continued efforts to promote NRI football in various countries. The importance of this website is that it offers international readers an impression of the game as played in India and as currently being assisted by NRIs. In this sense, it could be viewed as a practice in the production of knowledge: a site of representation that offers a very specific perspective on what is a large and complex subject matter. It is an NRI view of Indian football and thus enhances the interests of NRIs and their partners. Notably absent are dissenting voices who have criticised the tours to England, the AIFF's management of the game, the inefficiencies of local administrators in Indian cities, and who have alleged that corruption exists throughout all levels of football. Information is in this sense censored and sanitised, perhaps unsurprising given Chaudhuri's links with the AIFF and Sapphire.

This technological and representational development signals a shift in emphasis that may in fact be a shift in the balance of power. In the run up to the first tour, Chaudhuri wrote to members of the embryonic Indian Football Supporters' Club (IFSC) that, 'The future of Indian football lies to some extent in England'. In retrospect, he was underplaying his own role - he ought to have added 'and in Germany' to the end of the sentence. As far as the English contingent is concerned, the history of influence began when Jas Bains, co-author of the 1996 report *Asians Can't Play Football* worked in partnership with the owner of Sapphire, Raj Prohit, to bring the young East Bengal and Indian national striker Baichung Bhutia to England. Sapphire was employed as his agent and was successful in convincing Bury FC to sign him in 1999 after trials with Aston Villa and Fulham. Based on the twin ideas that British Asians formed a potentially large market for football consumption and that Indian football might benefit from NRI assistance, the plans for national team tours

were hatched around the time the Bhutia deal had been signed. Bains contacted Chaudhuri after discovering the indianfootball.com website, and soon the German side to the partnership was developing. The IFSC was established to link NRI fans, the search for NRI talent was initiated, and many over-optimistic ideas thrown up by Chaudhuri to imply that NRIs were the saviours of Indian football. So, for instance, he has continued to press for AIFF acceptance of NRIs and other foreigners despite established rules forbidding non-nationals for representing the country.<sup>30</sup> One of the latest claims was that, following Vietnam's lead, 'strong foreigners in the National League should play for India . . . it would make a great difference to the fortunes of the Indian national team'.<sup>31</sup> In other words, the not very implicit suggestion is that Indians are not capable of developing their own football talent, they need assistance from NRIs or other foreigners. This view has not been fully articulated but nevertheless it has informed much of the NRI intervention over the past five years. The transfer of Bhutia to Bury was framed as a learning experience for the player; he would consent to this view by communicating how hard he was working to build up his stamina and to learn about the English game.<sup>32</sup> These last points raise a controversial and difficult concern about power and diaspora, about how those external forces, with the resources of the 'West', are imposing their ideas and visions onto Indian identities, bodies, and organisational systems.

### **Power and Post-colonialism: a Shift to the West?**

Of course, Indian fans and journalists accepted that the standards of play were higher in Europe. The media presented the tours as 'exposure' trips that would hopefully show administrators and players something about the systems of organisation and development in more successful contexts. The players, however, have been irritated by the NRI attitude that India depends on them for any progress, while an Indian sports journalist has criticised the 'condescending' approach the NRIs have to India as a whole.<sup>33</sup> In the summer of 2000, Jas Bains said, 'I helped put British Asian football on the map, now I hope to put Indian football on the map'.<sup>34</sup> Around the same time, Chaudhuri communicated his concerns over the lack of professionalism in the Indian and Bangladeshi training camps.

Thus, in effect, some NRIs are assuming positions of authority based on their understanding of European football systems, their access to resources and their ability to organise large-scale events. There are echoes of colonialism here: India is being presented as weak, chaotic, corrupt and inefficient, External agents present themselves as benevolent and charitable, looking to bring the fruits of 'civilisation' to a 'backward' country. Of course, the complicating factor here is that NRIs are of Indian origin, their families are migrants, they have suffered discrimination in the West, and do have genuine concerns about racism at a local level and the position of South Asia at an international level. These efforts to stimulate Indian football may be read simply as a parallel to the

economic relationships now developing between NRIs and Indian businesses, or even more simply as 'a love for India and feelings of belonging'.<sup>35</sup> There is a critical edge, however, to what has been happening in football: localised, foreign agendas have been at the heart of many recent changes, and it seems that decisions are not being made purely for football reasons or with the intention of long-term talent development. So there is a combination of a sense of Western superiority emanating from NRIs, which is evident in the grand revolutionary plans they have for India, and a sense that the NRIs' aims are not always congruent with those of 'indigenous' Indians. Moreover, the distance between NRIs and their Indian compatriots was never more obvious than when the national team made its first visit to England in July 2000.

At this stage, it was clear that few British Indians had heard of such teams as East Bengal, Mohun Bagan, JCT Mills, or Salgoacar. In fact, few British Indians knew there was much football in India, and they certainly did not know any of the Indian players. As the sociologists, Les Back, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos have noted in their recent book on racism in English football: 'the attraction and symbolic pull follows the Indian team as it returns to the airport'.<sup>36</sup> Their concern was to highlight the problem of transience, that these football matches did not inevitably leave a lasting impression on racial equality in English football. The motif of the airport is, however, worth further consideration. In England, the concern is what happens once the Indian team has landed in London and play their games in various cities. This sense of closure once the team returns to the airport is revealing because it implies both distance and disinterest from what is actually happening in India itself. This is another mode of consumption, the search for a finished product to visit England once a year and show the British public how capable India is at football.

These types of attachments show there to be layers of identifications within Indian football, not simply any coherent sense of commonality. There is a significant danger that Indian football fans will feel aggrieved that the future of the national team is influenced by people who have interests outside of India and who have no understanding of the game as it is played in India. As one Indian sports journalist stated:

Most people in Indian football do not like these changes [introduction of the National League, etc], as they feel these outsiders [including NRIs] lack knowledge of the traditions and difficulties of Indian football. Outsiders keep saying scrap the state leagues, Durand and IFA Shield tournaments and start a National League. We do not have the money to sustain a national league. Without the state leagues and traditional tournaments, Indian football will be in a mess as only a few teams will be playing.<sup>37</sup>

Evidently, not all changes are viewed as being for the good of Indian football. Likewise, when India has lost games to lower league English clubs, the non-football loving public has poured further scorn on the country's football fans. So the situation is that NRI understand little of Indian football as played at the domestic level, Indian fans show some signs of disaffection with the changes being forced upon them from outside, and each NRI initiative has its own localised agenda. Perhaps most critically, the effort to 'improve' the national team is divorced from club football and is done in a way to benefit NRIs more than Indians themselves.

### Conclusion

A number of recent books in sports studies have explored the various processes of globalisation that are reflected in modern sports and that are influenced by the energies and passions of modern sports. It has become accepted knowledge that simple theories like cultural imperialism, Americanisation, hybridisation or creolisation, mask the complications of cultural exchange and adaptation.<sup>38</sup> In the case of Indian football, notions of globalisation are difficult to apply. From a historical perspective, it can be noted that there have been various phases of cultural encounter, the broadening of political horizons, and movements of populations in and out of the country, that could be analysed through the schematics of globalisation. What has been discussed in this essay is the flow of power both inward and outward, the pressures evident from within to 'liberalise' while the pressures from outside come from NRIs seeking to impose their own images of India upon football. There are all sorts of agendas, partnerships, collusions and conflicts. With the overall aim to reach the World Cup finals, the interesting set of developments is going to be on the issue of how this is to be achieved and what implications it has for how three main groups interact: NRIs, the Indian middle classes and the Indian working classes. The evidence so far suggests that partnerships based on commerce and other non-football interests forged between specific groups of NRIs and middle class Indian administrators will shape the game in the forthcoming years. Most middle class Indians will ignore the sport until it becomes successful. It is the traditional, working class, Bengali, Goan, Punjabi or Muslim football constituencies who have the most to lose from the 'globalisation' of the game in the twenty-first century.

NOTES:

1. R.K. Jain has outlined three distinct phases of diaspora. The first involved ancient and mediaeval traders, the second was the movement of indentured labour bound up with 19<sup>th</sup> century colonialism and the third was twentieth century migrations to Western and oil-rich Middle Eastern countries. The legacies of the second and third phases mean that some diasporic populations are wealthier, more mobile, and more educated, than others. See R.K. Jain, 'Indian Diaspora, Globalisation, and multiculturalism: A Cultural Analysis', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 32, 2, 1998, pp. 337-60.
2. *India Today*, 13 May 2002, p. 1.
3. Jain, 'Indian Diaspora', p. 339. For an outline of the recent history of India's political and economic structures see S. Wolpert, *A New History of India* (6<sup>th</sup> ed) (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
4. Wolpert, *A New History of India*, p. 444.
5. Wolpert, *A New History of India*, p. 444.
6. Wolpert, *A New History of India*, p. 445.
7. Wolpert, *A New History of India*, p. 445.
8. A. Brah, *Cartographies of Desire: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 191.
9. J. Mills, 'A Historiography of Indian Sport', in P. Dimeo and J. Mills, eds., *Sport in South Asia*, a Special Issue of *Contemporary South Asia*, 10, 2, 2001, p. 218.
10. Shiv Visvanathan, anthropologist at the Delhi-based Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, cited in the *Hindustan Times*, 7 July 2002.
11. Most English-language newspapers cover the main events of international sport in some detail, even if India are not involved, of these the World Cup is one of the most important. Obviously, cricket Test matches involving India will be given more column inches, but international sport is not far behind.
12. *Hindustan Times*, 7 July 2002.
13. See P. Dimeo and J. Mills, eds., *Soccer in South Asia: Empire, Nation, Diaspora* (London: Frank Cass, 2001) for a discussion of the struggles Indian football has faced since the late nineteenth century.
14. See M. Rodrigues, 'The Corporates and the Game: Football in India and the Conflicts of the 1990s', in Dimeo and Mills, *Soccer in South Asia*, pp. 105-27.

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15. As R. Giulianotti has observed: 'In the East [football] symbolizes advanced modernity and entry to European culture'. R. Giulianotti, *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999) p. 169.
16. *Hindustan Times*, 7 July 2002.
17. Observations made on field trips to Kolkata, November 1998 and July 2001.
18. Interview with Shivanand Salgoacar, 10 January 2000.
19. Interviews with various individuals involved in Goan football, including Noel da Lima Leitao, Alberto Colaco, Dr Bonney, Brahmanand Shankwalker, and Mario Rodrigues, conducted in January 2000.
20. See Mills 'Colonialism, Christians and Sport: the Catholic Church and Football in Goa, 1883-1951' (this volume).
21. Goans view the distinction as one of cultural heritage, their Latin/Portuguese style that is creative and skillful to the point of being playful, up against the British heritage in Bengal of physical robustness and functionalism.
22. *Hindustan Times*, 7 July 2002.
23. *Indian Football*, Retrieved 14 September 2002 from the World Wide Web <http://www.indianfootball.com/specials/tour2002/index.html>.
24. These summarise various discussions in the summer of 2000 that included conversations with various people involved in organizing and promoting the tour.
25. Conversations with Mario Fernandes and Steve White of Leicester, June 2000. White was Headmaster of Rushey mead School, which has over ninety per cent ethnic minority pupils. He had hoped the pupils could get involved in the tour in some small way but his attempts to communicate with Sapphire were shunned.
26. Thanks to Daniel Burdsey for this information.
27. Email communication, 2 August 2002, to the author, from a journalist who preferred to remain anonymous.
28. I am making a different point here to the common misperception among 'white' people in Britain that anything designed for ethnic minorities is a form of 'inverse racism'. Instead, it seems to me that an opportunity was missed to present ethnic minority involvement in football as truly 'multi-cultural'. By encouraging 'white' people to watch the games some of the prejudiced ideas related to British Asians and sport might have been challenged. This in turn may have improved the chances of the tours having a lasting impact upon British Asian football in the UK.
29. See *Indian Football Homepage*. Retrieved 12 September 2002 from the World Wide Web, <http://iifs.indianfootball.com/>.

30.

31. Email from Arunava Chaudhuri to IFSC, 4 April 2002. Email history section on *FootballHistory*

32.

33.