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Rugby union football in Australian society: an unintended consequence of intended actions¹

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The place of rugby union football in Australian society presents a rich context to play and display critical social issues, particularly, identity formations and contestations. This essay examines the development of elite rugby union in Australia from its inception to professionalization. In its amateur development, the processes of colonization and cultural impositions created its culture and legacy. With the overlapping of sporting and economic networks, rugby union entered the professional era. This essay argues that the development from amateurism to ‘shamateurism’ to professionalism was uneven and contested on various levels. Whilst the development of rugby union in Australia was both a reflection and manifestation of globalization it did not totally parallel the globalization of sport in general, indeed rugby union football remains a particularly ‘glocal’ game. The points of resistance and departure, this essay concludes, distinguish the identity of rugby union from other sporting institutions and their wider social contexts.

In Britain in 1895, as a consequence of the process of class-distancing, the sport of rugby split into rugby union and rugby league.² The division of rugby in the Antipodes lagged just 12 years behind that and, despite its colonial context the determining social dynamics were very similar. In Australia each of these sports maintained its social distance until sport, per se, began to become increasingly intertwined with a growing number of aspects and layers of social activity. Australian rugby union football at the elite (professional) level is now penetrated and supported by an array of professionals from various fields including: medicine, media, management, economics, advertising, personal management, sports administration, stadium management, sports psychology, exercise physiology, sports analysis and coaching. This extension of the figuration that constitutes rugby union is demonstrated by the extent of the team that supports the Australian national team, the Wallabies. During the Rugby World Cup (RWC) in France in 2007 the ‘team’ that represented Australia included a playing squad of 30, supported by a non-playing staff of over 20.

Contemporary rugby matches at the elite level are commodities characterized by the collective efforts and influences of both the producers (the players and their support staff, the administrators and the officials) and the consumers, both the live spectators and the television audience. The consumers are very demanding and, as a corollary, so are the game’s commercial sponsors that support the sport through the various levels of sponsorship, advertising and purchase of corporate boxes and entertainment suites at the major venues. The major direct revenue source for the Australian Rugby Union (ARU) and

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the State Rugby Unions and the Super 14 franchises in New South Wales (NSW) (Waratahs), Queensland (Reds), ACT (Brumbies) and WA (Force) however, comes from the allocation of funds from the television broadcasting rights.³

This largely linear-historical analysis considers the process of the development of rugby union football in Australia as a feature of the emergence of the global sports formation.⁴ The diffusion of sport and its later globalization has travelled a very distinct temporal-historical pathway⁵ and the development of rugby union football demonstrates this process. Yet, consistent with Roland Robertson's assertions that, although globalization is about the creation of a 'single place', it is not about the development of a homogeneous global culture,⁶ this analysis of Australia's rugby union culture will demonstrate both sameness and difference from other 'glocal' forms of the game.⁷ Arjun Apparadurai suggested that a series of unpredictable global flows or 'scapes' that interact with each other are the virtual structures along which people, technologies, beliefs, capital and mediated images are globalized.⁸ This discussion of the development of the culture of rugby union football in Australia, particularly at the elite level, will focus upon the changes in the nature of the relationships the players have had with the game at significant nodal points and how they have contributed to the current nature of rugby union football in Australian society.

The culture of the game emerges

Football, in the generic sense,⁹ was part of the cultural hegemony of British imperialism, and it became a central element of the cultural fabric of the dominant social groups in colonial Australia.¹⁰ The first rugby club formally established in Australia was Sydney University Rugby football club, circa 1865. Then the game was played by various 'Gentlemen's' clubs and later at The King's School and other leading educational institutions.¹¹ The founding in 1874 of the Southern Rugby Football Union, which became the New South Wales Rugby Union (NSWRU), saw the real beginnings of the institutionalized form of the game in Australia. The first inter-colonial rugby match, played in 1882 in Sydney between NSW and Queensland, not only provided an avenue for the promotion of the game in the colony of Queensland, it also offered a focus for rugby football in New South Wales and may well have offset the further encroachment of Australian football and Association football in New South Wales.¹²

In Australia, the development of modern sport, a product of the colonial British middle class,¹³ developed its own character partly as a pragmatic response to the competitive and rugged nature of the colonial environment. It was thus consistent that colonial rugby players and supporters could accept what is now common as the modern corporatized sport concepts of competition, premierships, gate money, training and coaching (some coaches/trainers were even paid), without any resultant loss of the game's amateur status and image. It was this practical philosophy of the early directors of rugby football that established its character in the colonies, and indeed, many of these attitudes have persisted.

Central among the features of Australian rugby union football are the associated social mores and the belief system players, administrators and supporters subscribed to,¹⁴ and even though today it has become a professional sport, the ARU's current mission statement still zealously advocates the game's unique culture.¹⁵ Rugby union has distinct origins and throughout its history it has been the players that have created and reproduced the game's culture. Their displays and efforts were and still are the major elements in the game's discourse. Rugby's unique form, its uncompromisingly violent nature, its highly complex set of 'laws' and its subtext of heroism, selflessness and camaraderie have made it

a game that only the 'committed' could appreciate. This still describes the game as it is played today. Significantly, in the professional arena, its traditions, passion, pride and 'camaraderie' are elements even the most instrumental technically rational coaches would never completely expunge from their coaching rationale.

Prior to its recent professionalization the critical moment in the history of the rugby union was when it split into league and union. The bifurcation, precipitated, superficially at least, by player demands regarding loss of earnings and match payments, was more about the uneven distribution of power that existed in the game. In the 1900s officials of the NSWRU, supposedly the guardians of the game,¹⁶ assumed the position of 'owners' and 'controllers'. In metropolitan Sydney, the heartland of the Australian game, tensions emerged between the largely working-class player-base and the NSWRU officials who had ignored the players' demands.¹⁷

The democratization of rugby in Australia

As the founding rugby union in Australia, the officials of the NSWRU had naturally assumed the mantle of controllers, of the game. This meant that the NSWRU was the *de facto* national rugby union and this is exactly what it was until the formal establishment of the Australian Rugby Football Union (ARFU) in 1949. Thus, it could be said that a direct link in sporting ethos, attitude, beliefs and culture can be drawn from the original committee of the SRFU (est. 1874) to the founding of the ARFU in 1949. The custodians of the game in Australia or, to use Carling's irreverent expression, the 'old farts'¹⁸ (the amateur voluntary administrators and officials), were for the Australian game's first 75 years, New South Welshmen.

The split of rugby football into union and league in Australia in 1908 was largely due to the fact that the NSWRU refused to accept proposed changes to the rules under which the game was played and governed, particularly in regard to match payments.¹⁹ The tensions surrounding the split²⁰ emanated from deep-lying beliefs and prejudices that further exacerbated the growing class divide that had developed in many Australian cities by 1908.²¹ Fuelled with a good deal of anti-English sentiment and the sense of alienation from the 'mother country', the working class in Sydney readily adopted rugby league football, viewing it as a symbol of their struggle for nationhood; as the union game so apparently reeked of English imperialism.²²

Although the quest for political autonomy was achieved and the nation of Australia being declared in 1901, the declaration of war in 1914 saw Australian society again divided, this time on grounds of loyalty, religion and parochialism. This division extended into the sporting community, and various administrative bodies became embroiled in the question of whether or not to continue to play competitively during the war years. To continue to play was viewed by the Protestant Empire loyalists as being tantamount to treason. To discontinue and thus support the British was viewed, by those of Irish Catholic origin, as condoning Britain's 'occupation' of Ireland, particularly after the Dublin massacres in 1916.²³ The upshot of the divergence in the decisions made by the administrators of the two rugby codes, at this time, coupled with tensions emanating from the Great Strike in 1916 and the largely sectarian-based positions in the national debate over the introduction of conscription in the same year, positioned rugby union and rugby league at opposite ends of what, in effect, became a debate about loyalty. The rift further assumed a class basis, with the rugby league fixtures being heavily supported by the working class. This polarization established the ground rules for the future relationship between the two codes.

Following the war, rugby union in Queensland was in a parlous state. During the 1919 season, in the state capital Brisbane, player numbers were so low that the teams played with no breakaways and, when the Brothers and the University of Queensland clubs switched to rugby league, the game appeared to have died in Brisbane. In the NSW capital Sydney, after competitive play had been suspended during the war, rugby union football had been swamped by rugby league football, as this code in Sydney had continued to be played throughout the war.²⁴ Thus, the war widened the schism between league and union, with each code being seen to be the champion and vehicle of disparate political, social, religious, economic and even moral groups in Australian society.²⁵

Issues of national loyalty, political affiliation, class, sectarianism, parochialism, sporting ethos, as well as amateurism, generated how the players, administrators and supporters of each rugby code viewed each other. The cultural identity and the underpinning motivating philosophy of those playing and administering rugby union football in Australia, up to the professional era, were shaped by the loyalties established during and immediately after the First World War. The two rugby codes were to remain ardent rivals, diametrically opposed in philosophy, based largely on the dichotomy of amateur versus professional sport, but amplified into and through class, or a perceived sense of class, education (private v state schools), occupation, and surprisingly on issues relating to sporting conduct. The mutual disaffection was not, however, simplistically founded; many working-class men played union and some rugby union clubs were based in working-class suburbs or towns, and, ironically, many clubs had strong links to the Catholic church and colleges whilst others, though not exclusively, were Public School (GPS) old boys clubs. However, union was viewed commonly as the preserve of the middle and upper middle classes.²⁶ The sport itself was referred to as the game played by the 'rah rahs'.²⁷

The Second World War, Wallabies and the ARFU

Rugby union continued to be affected administratively, financially and in regard to its support base due to the dislocation it suffered because of the virtually complete cessation of play during the First World War. The game struggled to gain viability for the next 20 years and, just as the Second Wallabies²⁸ arrived in the UK to begin their tour in 1939, the Second World War was declared, and the tour was cancelled. Again war was to become a modelling force in the process of rugby union's development in Australia. However, unlike during the First World War, rugby union continued to be played, albeit in a seriously limited manner, at club and school levels, in both NSW and Queensland, throughout the course of the Second World War.²⁹

Immediately the war ended, play, at the elite level, resumed with interstate and international matches being played in 1946.³⁰ Again, it was hardly a case of 'normal play' being resumed. At this time that sport began a metamorphosis as the fourth phase of global sportization began to emerge.³¹ Sport became intertwined with post-war industrialization, and gained greater commercial and political currency. The resultant shape of global sport, and the changes that later occurred in rugby union in Australia, demonstrate that the nature of globalization and its outcomes may well have been both uncontrollable and unintended, but they certainly sowed the seeds for future power struggles that emerged during the third phase of Australian rugby union's evolution, as it moved from a quasi professional ('shamateur') state to full professionalism.³²

The establishment of the Australian Rugby Football Union (ARFU) in 1949 was an outcome of the struggles and rivalries between the NSWRU and all other states' rugby

unions, particularly Queensland's.³³ However, much of the momentum came directly from the International Rugby Football Board (IRFB),³⁴ as global controllers of the game.³⁵ In 1949, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa became full members of the IRFB.³⁶ This recognition of the allied ex-colonial territories was expedient and necessary, as collectively they had already become very powerful and internationally successful rugby playing nations. The 'shift' in power and the recognition of southern hemisphere rugby also illustrates the implicit regionalization and polyculturalism that are central dimensions of globalization.³⁷ This was particularly apparent with regard to the game's growing popularization in the Pacific island nations, which illustrated the emergence of an increasing variety in the number of forms of rugby union football. The impact of Pacific Island rugby players, their physical attributes, flair and power has in recent years been particularly significant.³⁸ Indeed, the 'Pacification' of rugby union football in Australia is currently well under-way.³⁹

'Doing it tough': the very amateur years

The period from 1950 to 1980 was characterized by a sense of 'business as usual' with the hegemonic control based in Sydney: NSW dominating on and off the field as it had during the previous 50 years. Its power manifested itself most precipitously in 1962 when NSW refused to play Queensland on the grounds that the northern state players were just not competitive enough: the previous season they had lost heavily to NSW in Brisbane and in both clashes in Sydney. Even more embarrassingly, Queensland had been defeated by the rugby union minnow state of Victoria (14-9). The NSWRU attempted to justify its decision by citing Queensland's poor results from 1949 to 1961; they had won just four of the 43 matches played against NSW during this period. Queensland rugby union not only struggled for viability in its rivalry with NSW but also within the state against an energetic rugby league, particularly in Brisbane. By 1959 there were only 16 clubs playing union in the whole of the state.⁴⁰ Although the clubs' support was enthusiastic and their supporters loyal, the QRU was virtually bankrupt.⁴¹ The QRU had no ground of its own, renting an oval, at a pepper-corn rent, from the Brisbane Grammar School, and it was only the windfalls it received from the Fijian tours in 1952 and 1954 that allowed the QRU to begin to develop the game in the state's clubs and schools.

Even with an increase in loyalty, intensity and parochialism of rugby union in Queensland, its state team could not match the power of NSW until the late 1970s; Sydney remained the rugby union capital of Australia. NSW continued to dominate the interstate contests and the Australian national team selections from 1950 to 1979. The turning of the tide was heralded with Queensland's historic 42-4 victory against NSW at Ballymore in 1976. The win was seen by die-hard Queensland supporters and the long-suffering QRU administrators as assuaging 34 years of bile resulting from the 1962 snub. Interestingly NSW did not beat Queensland again until 1980.⁴²

Prior to the late twentieth century's increasing commercialization and finally the professionalization of rugby union football, the dominant driving and directional influence of the game unquestionably came from Sydney. All centres of the game in Australia fiercely clung to the game's amateur ethos, even though many flagrant contradictions, such as, 'boot money'⁴³ and 'under the table' expenses, emerged in elite international sport, particularly in Europe.⁴⁴ The appeal of amateur rugby was sustained by its implicit cultural history which Gruneau argues was 'beyond mere amusement or crass commerce'.⁴⁵ The tensions evoked by this were rapidly assuaged as the twentieth century closed.

The television-union synergy: the demise of the dockyard brawl

In the last 20 years global rugby union football has gained a higher level of marketability and attractiveness to television and sponsors by improving the product.⁴⁶ The massive strides in coaching and administration that occurred in the 1970s throughout the world, combined with the growth in televised coverage, meant that technically better and far more attractive spectacles became available not only to wider domestic audiences but globally.⁴⁷ The advance in technical, scientific and medical aspects of the game was intertwined with the deeper penetration of the sport by economics, management and communications. Essentially rugby union shifted from being a player-centred activity to a market-centred one. Even the laws of the game were adjusted to make it more accessible to a wider audience. The relationship between players and supporters (the audience) changed as it became primarily based upon commercial functions rather than on mere support. The higher level of skill and the improved power of players, combined with the adoption of more expansive playing styles, produced a far more marketable product for television broadcasters and sponsors. Critics of contact sports, notably in the 1970s by neo-Marxists, such as Brohm, reinforced the view of rugby football as the most ‘uncivilized’⁴⁸ of football codes; ‘a perfect illustration of the fascistic delirium ... a case book of the deliberate cultivation of brutality’.⁴⁹ The untamed, or so it was thought, mayhem of the ‘traditional’ rucks and mauls; the dangerous impacts of the unrestrained scrum contacts; lineouts that were viewed by critics as being nothing short of ‘dockyard brawls’; and the tolerance of the dispensing of swift, heavy and violent justice, meant the game still had a foot firmly planted in its mob-football origins.⁵⁰ Prior to its shift into the entertainment sector, the entire sub-culture of rugby union was very much the domain of the players; it was characterized as the players’ game.⁵¹ Central to this was the fact that the vast majority of administrators, officials and coaches were predominantly ex-players. Management support thus came from those steeped in the culture of the game and tolerant of its uncompromising physical nature, largely manifested in tight-forward dominated and dour contests. The spectators were an integral part of the game’s sub-culture. They came largely from the rugby community and the games were not, in essence, about entertainment but rather were about identity, loyalty and parochialism. In Australia any series win against a leading nation, irrespective of the quality of play, was heralded. The national broadcasting authorities generally begrudgingly televised such matches, and the rugby unions involved did not receive a fee of any kind from them.⁵² By comparison, the combined global television rights to the Rugby World Cup (RWC) in 2003, which was watched in over 200 countries, by an audience of 3.4 billion people, cost the broadcasters hundreds of millions of dollars.⁵³

End of the game or end of a phase?

The growing level of television exposure, driven by the emergence of satellite broadcasting in the 1980s, meant matches could be seen live from around the world, and thus the economic capital of test rugby union increased. The live television broadcasts of the Wallabies’ ‘Grand Slam’⁵⁴ winning tour of the UK in 1984 not only besotted committed Australian supporters, but also the success also created a new body of fans. As the game became truly professional in name and practice in 1995, the demands of television and the commercial exigencies of mediasport became even more dominant.⁵⁵ The professionalization of rugby union football emerged as an outcome of the intersection of various wider social, cultural, ideological and global forces. Pragmatic economic decisions were made by the game’s administrators in reaction to an irrepressible climate

for change; rugby union had moved inexorably into the next phase of its development. The game that once had been the staunchest amateur football code embraced the 'filthy lucre' with almost indecent haste in 1995. The relatively large offers from the media barons and the sponsors were just too good to turn down.

The diaspora of postmodernism and globalization unlocked the institution of rugby union football as it had so many other sports. The consequences are manifest and, for the rugby traditionalists, have been lamentable.⁵⁶ Skinner, Stewart and Edwards contend that the emergence of professional rugby union represents the collapse of the traditional game. The result of the assault of the ravaging forces of commercialism, have 'undermined'⁵⁷ the 'traditional sport values, practices and structures' of rugby union football.⁵⁸ However, Maguire⁵⁹ departs from an essentialist perspective. He argues that this phase is part of the on-going process of the game's development with the continued commodification, democratization and further politicization of the game being features. Amidst the globalization of sport and a commingling of rugby cultures in the game, the fundamental game-form still remains distinguishable from other sports although the superstructure is quite similar.⁶⁰ Rugby's emergence from 'shamateurism'⁶¹ is not some insidious link to consumer capitalism but a part of a tightening of the social interdependency and overlapping of functions as an outcome of the game's development. It should not be viewed as an invasion; rather it places rugby union football as being interconnected with sport per se and the wider society, and not as a separate splendid cultural island.

Professionalism has altered the game in many ways, not least by the very demands and constraints it puts on the players, not only those at the top but those approaching the elite representative levels. It is suggested that the early contractual agreements young players enter and the concomitant obligations may well stunt their social, academic, professional, even their spiritual, development. By way of criticism, those looking back nostalgically to the amateur elite era always talk of the characters, the camaraderie, the sacrifices, the enduring friendships and the fun that emerged.⁶² The intensity of the physical, psychological, temporal and travel demands and the single-mindedness required of playing a game as a job, as opposed to engaging in it, albeit obsessively, as a pastime, has thrust the modern elite players very clearly into the world of economic rationalism, accountancy and marketing. Elite Australian rugby players are now celebrities and have become significant elements in contemporary popular culture which, though offering 'Hollywood scales of reward'⁶³ and the implicit cultural power, also comes with a heavy burden of being in the public gaze and under constant scrutiny both on and off the playing field.⁶⁴

Financescape, mediascape, rugby

The game of rugby union football is now firmly instituted as a major feature of hyper-commercialized corporate sport. The Rugby World Cup (RWC) competition, as a global media-driven sports festival, ranks third (albeit distantly) behind the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup, with regard to the size of the global television audiences, which for the 2003 RWC, held in Australia, was 3.4 billion.⁶⁵ The 2003 RWC directly contributed an additional A\$289 million to the country's GDP and another A\$494 million in additional roll-on industry sales.⁶⁶ The consequent tax-take to the Australian government was estimated to be in the vicinity of A\$100 million. Over 1.8 million spectators attended the matches and the festival brought an additional 65 000 international visitors to Australia.⁶⁷ The true significance of the sport's penetration of the market in Australia can be gleaned from the fact that in the World Cup year, 2003, Australian sport

businesses contributed close to A\$8 billion to the GDP, which equalled the individual areas of 'printing, motor vehicles, investment and insurance'.⁶⁸

At the elite level rugby union football in Australia is now a feature of global mediasport which is part of the corporate cultural capitalism.⁶⁹ Media oligopolies now morph, market and deliver televised sport to the billions of fans on both pay-TV and free-to-air networks. The top flight of matches played in Australia is now defined by three televised competitions: the RWC, which, as a concept and a commercial entity is literally owned and organized by the International Rugby Board (IRB) and staged in an Olympiad-like manner every four years; the annually-contested Super 14 competition, which involves 14 teams drawn from New Zealand and South Africa with five teams each and Australia which has four; and, the follow-on Tri-Nations competition which consists of home and away fixtures between the national sides from these three nations.

The crescendo effect of the growing intensity of the rivalry built up in the 13 rounds and finals of the Super 14 competition, screened entirely on Rupert Murdoch's Fox Sports network, serves as an entrée for the annual Tri-Nations competition, also broadcast by Fox Sports and various free to air channels. The extent of the advance of the relationship between the game and television is indicated by the fact that, in December 2004, the ARU signed a five year A\$421 million broadcasting rights deal with News Ltd., compared to 1995 when the ARU's contract with Channel 10 was only A\$2 million. The free-to-air rights for the 2007 RWC, successfully gained in Australia by the Network Ten group, for a reported A\$10 million, is potentially more significant when the make-up of the rugby union audience, 'a strong "AB" demographic [high-end professionals]'⁷⁰ is considered. David White, Ten's general manager, suggested that this deal is expected to produce 'some solid commercial returns'.⁷¹ The commodity, international rugby union football in its various forms, comes not only as a product itself, but with an array of advertised merchandise and sponsors' products. However, in Australia this is a recent development. The process, of which this is a part, obviously has its origins, as has been discussed previously, in the earliest days of the game's history in colonial Australia. Following a somewhat sterile period in terms of development after the Second World War the game took a significant step forward in the mid-1970s with the emergence of new approaches to the game's administration, management and coaching; a new breed of players also emerged.

The success of the Australian teams that followed in the 1980s, particularly the 'Grand Slam' winning Wallabies of 1984, saw rugby union begin to become a serious commercial target. The inaugural Rugby World Cup (RWC) in 1987 and Australia's victory in the final of the second Rugby World Cup against England at Twickenham in 1991, and the concomitant financial spin-offs from sponsorships and the expansion of television coverage were changing the image of the previously conservative game. It was becoming a very attractive commercial product. In 1993, the introduction of South African sides, Natal, Transvaal and Northern Transvaal, plus Western Samoa, in to the Trans-Tasman 'Super 6' competition played between NSW, Queensland and four New Zealand provinces,⁷² further expanded the commercial potential of southern hemisphere rugby union football and the journey into the professional era was well under way. NSW became known as the 'Waratahs', Queensland as the 'Reds', and the latter team went on to win the 'Super 10' final against Natal in Durban by 21-10. This result, in the main, was the consequence of the total training regime introduced in 1991 by the coach John Connolly. Preceding home matches, the team trained four nights a week from 6.00pm to 9.00pm. They did weight sessions at 6.00am for an hour three mornings a week, had a light run on Saturday afternoons and played on Sundays.⁷³ The same level of intensity in training and

playing was undoubtedly a feature of all the franchises taking part in the Super 10 competition. However, taking Robertson's advance of his five-phase model of globalization into consideration, it is suggested that the game in each of the participant countries had become glocalised,⁷⁴ with the local rugby union cultures forming part of the global game yet simultaneously creating definitive local varieties. Rugby union football in all three nations demonstrated the intensification of the 'interpenetration'⁷⁵ of local traits, playing styles, social characteristics with the global elements of governance, media, commercial obligations and demands, and cultural homogenization.

The number of international games was increasing. During the 1994 home season six tests were also played with Ireland touring in May, the Italians in June and Western Samoa in August; the highlight of the season was the one-off Bledisloe Cup test match (v NZ), which Australia won by 20-16. A total of 171,198⁷⁶ spectators attended the tests and millions more watched them on television. The demands on the players, who, in the main, had also to maintain full-time careers, were tremendous. The attraction of accepting a 'contract' to play in Europe, or to switch to rugby league, had become even more tempting as rugby union players were training more and playing more frequently than their professional colleagues in rugby league. Union players were not being financially rewarded, whilst the game was becoming more and more profitable for the IRB, the national unions, and the individual state and provincial unions. In an attempt to reduce the defections, Queensland introduced an element of pseudo-professionalism with the institution of a Players' Trust in 1991.⁷⁷ This saw a proportion of sponsorship monies and allocated funds from the ARU being divided amongst the players on the basis of the number of games played. This was a critical event in the game's move to full-professionalism. Though players were not being actually paid to play, there was recognition that they should be rewarded for their efforts and compensated for the additional demands the game at the elite level now made. By using the Players' Trust as they did they were able to circumvent the IRB's regulations regarding amateurism. Being able to 'compensate' its elite players the ARU could stem the tide of players taking lucrative contracts to play union in Europe and, of course, of switching to rugby league.⁷⁸ Initially vilified by the IRB, the model was adopted by the Five Nations Unions in 1994 as an intermediary stage prior to the advent of full-professionalism a year later.

'Full-on' professionals emerge

In 1994 rugby union football was moving inexorably to full professionalism. Media moguls Kerry Packer and Rupert Murdoch went into battle for sport-content for their respective television networks with rugby league, initially, being the primary football target. Union was soon drawn into the contest. The audacious and very nearly successful effort by Ross Turnbull and Geoff Levy to launch the World Rugby Corporation (WRC) in 1995, with Kerry Packer's backing via his PBL Corporation, proved to be the catalyst which thrust the rugby unions of South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, as the newly formed collective: 'South Africa, New Zealand, Australia Rugby' (SANZAR) into a defining media agreement with Murdoch's News Ltd..⁷⁹ This agreement placed the southern hemisphere unions firmly into the professional era, giving them an assured level of funding and administrative control of the game at the elite level in the southern hemisphere.⁸⁰ The three unions realized that they had all but lost control of the sport with the WRC nearly becoming the company that 'owned' rugby union. Though the southern hemisphere rugby unions retained administrative control, the players had demonstrated

that they were key producers, and that the product, rugby union, could not continue without them. The unions may have won this battle, but rugby would never be the same.⁸¹

In a unique move the elite, now essentially professional, players in Australia, immediately assumed the high ground in employment relationships with the ARU. This emerged with the signing of an agreement penned by ARU director, Ian Ferrier, which was designed, through massive financial incentives, to keep the top players in union. The Ferrier agreement, signed on 16 August 1995, not only directed the majority of the monies from News Ltd to the players in the three Australian franchises (the Waratahs, the Reds and the Brumbies), it also gave the players representation on the states/territories unions' boards and on the board of the ARU. A players' association, the Rugby Union Players' Association (RUPA) was established to protect and control the professional rugby players' interests.⁸² The formalization of professionalization, globally, came with the signing of the Paris Declaration on 25 August 1995. This was ratified by the IRB in September that year. The declaration stated that rugby union players could openly receive financial payment for playing. The line had now been crossed. The last great bastion of amateurism in all football had fallen.⁸³ The game had now to respond to commercial needs, at the elite level at least, and would further morph as it moved into the next phase of its development.

External restraints

Currently television now dictates much of the image of elite rugby union football, and how it is played in terms of both manner and the laws. Many technical modifications have been made to the laws to either make the game more attractive to spectators by taking out the more turgid phases of the play, or to take out the open displays of gratuitous violence, which are now viewed as being unacceptable. Typical of the technical manipulation of the laws are the major changes made to those governing the lineouts. The previously acceptable displays of 'manly' violence so typical in lineouts are no longer tolerated by society. As Elias would argue, this is a consequence of the effect of the civilizing process⁸⁴ of society.⁸⁵ Other changes in the laws that now allow the lifting and support of jumpers at the lineout were purportedly made to speed up the transition from the restart. However, this change also proved to be a marketing miracle for the game's promoters, for the sight of jumpers soaring into the air was very attractive to the new wave of supporters being drawn to the game, particularly the younger spectators.⁸⁶

On-field regulation of the game has also moved into the professional era as witnessed by the adoption of a card system (red and yellow). Cards are issued in football, (soccer, as it is known in Australia), to players who are deemed to have seriously violated the laws. However, in rugby union both cards evoke dismissal from the field, though for the yellow it only represents a suspension of 10 minutes. The red, as in football, means the player will not return to the game and will have to face a judiciary hearing, at which he or she may (as the game is now also played by a growing number of women) will receive a further penalty of a fine and/or a period of suspension, which now is far more imposing with the loss of earnings (for the elite male players), enormous fines and potentially the cancellation of playing contracts being possible outcomes.

The control and sanitization of all Australian football codes, including rugby union, is evidenced by the fact that players who have committed an offence unseen by on-field match officials face being cited post-match on the basis of video evidence, initiated either by the opposition's management or, in the case of an international rugby union matches, the IRB Match Commissioner. The emergence of this form of censure is further evidence of the 'game-play' of rugby union becoming increasingly bureaucratized with the

previously standard external regulation of the play by referees now becoming policed and regulated. Offences are classified in terms of their seriousness or level of cynicism (professional fouls). The full coterie of match officials: referees, touch-judges and television match officials (TMOs) are all involved in deciding the necessary action needed to be taken when individual transgressions occur. The presentation of a card to a player, done in a very deliberate manner, adds a deal of 'theatre' to the referee's performance and is an explicit demonstration of the regulation and accountability of not only the players but also of the match officials. In televised sporting contests match officials are now under heavy scrutiny, as evidenced by the video refereeing, as are the actions of the players.

This altering of laws to diminish violence and injuries is not unique to rugby contemporaries. It has been an on-going process. Almost as soon as the major football codes became institutionalized they came under the influence of societal demands to curb the violent tenor of the games.⁸⁷ This process continued with rugby union throughout the twentieth century and continues in the twenty-first century. Not unexpectedly, the movement gained pace and judicial teeth with professionalization in 1995. To gain a wider supporter-base and obviously a bigger television audience, the new 'owners' of the game, the alliance of media and corporate capital advertisers, had to increase the excitement to 'spectacularize' the proceedings, in effect to 'sex up' the whole thing. On the one hand they had to offer better skills, more scoring, more speed, more power and more collisions to attract audiences and sponsors alike, but on the other they could not tolerate the previous levels of gratuitous violence typical for Australia which was most apparent in the traditional international clashes with England, Wales and New Zealand. Nor could they condone the low scoring arm-wrestling type, attritional clashes that such 'battles' often produced, hence the lineout and scrum law modifications plus the almost total banning of rucking, particularly of players. The professional era meant that the whole game including administrators, players, coaches and officials were required to become better prepared, more compliant and, thus, better units of production.⁸⁸

Conclusion or new beginning?

In the final of the RWC 2003 the Wallabies came very close to achieving what would have been for them the ultimate sporting success, victory in the final of a 'home' Rugby World Cup final. The fairy story ending did not eventuate; in fact, the final against England turned into a horror story with the home team losing to England in extra-time to the 99th minute drop goal by Jonny Wilkinson in front of 82,957 spectators with the rest of the rugby union world looking-on through one of Rupert Murdoch's affiliated television stations.⁸⁹ Tough rugby, great theatre and even better entertainment: for this is how the new owners of rugby rate success. Although Australia was defeated, the success of the RWC itself in 2003 was a massive financial coup for the ARU. As a mega-sporting festival, the tournament demonstrated the game's global economic efficacy. The impact on the Australian economy of hosting the 2003 RWC was estimated at producing an increase of over A\$1 billion,⁹⁰ whilst the IRB, through its subsidiary company IRB Ltd, which owns the RWC and all marketing, advertising and television rights, made a profit of £44 million (approximately A\$111 million). The ARU as host national union was estimated to have made a profit of A\$87 million.⁹¹ Record global television audiences for rugby watched the RWC 2003 whilst the associated roll-on effect for the sponsors and advertisers around the world would have been immense. Thus, the tournament was clearly a financial success for the ARU; the product of effective sports administration, event management, stadium presentation and the delivery of the event.

The changing face of Australian rugby union football over the course of the history of the RWC very closely matches the modernization of Australia's economy, which in itself has been metamorphosed since the late 1980s.⁹² Both have been significantly affected by global forces and both are axiomatically linked. The professionalization of rugby union was not solely hastened by the attitude shift that flowed on the global ideoscape,⁹³ which saw a sudden change in the system of amateur rugby union players and administrators globally. Instead the professionalization of rugby union, and the emergence and development of the culture of the game in Australia were the unintended consequences of a host of direct and very conscious decisions at all levels of the game. These decisions, made throughout the sport's history in Australia, were never designed with any sense of social engineering in mind, though very specific social consequences were intended. As was apparent at the time of the First World War, while the bifurcation of rugby was intended, the cultural split was not, although it was manifestly accepted by both sub-cultures. Reflecting upon the colonial days of rugby's history in Australia, it can be seen from Galtung's⁹⁴ suggestion, that even an imperfect (or amateurish) form of imperialism (hegemony) can achieve ideological, economic and political dominance. This was evident in the case of the emergence of rugby in both NSW and finally Queensland, when, almost by accident, rugby football achieved a competitive position in the battle for football supremacy.⁹⁵ The global flow of cultural ideas, including a belief in valuing participation in sport for leisure and later profit, was an important ideoscape and a central dimension of the cultural imposition of British Imperialism: it was, as Charles Tennyson said, the Victorian British that taught the World to play.⁹⁶ Imperialism was a forceful form of globalization. This cultural diffusion, of which sport was a central feature,⁹⁷ was one of the most vigorous global movements that emerged in the nineteenth century and has continued apace ever since. The global movement that embraced sports also conveyed ideological and philosophical belief systems regarding the ethos of sport and the merits of physical activity per se.

The first point of departure for the two forms of rugby during the take-off phase of the globalization of sport⁹⁸ was the split into league and union which created the initial form of professional rugby. The penetration of elite rugby union in the late twentieth century by global market capitalism, was, to all intents and purposes, the final chapter in the solidification of the symbiotic relationship between major sport and the 'financescapes'⁹⁹ and, as has been shown, this relationship was so powerful that it easily unpicked the ideological fabric of the last bastion of football amateurism, rugby union. Once the media moguls started to covet rugby union in 1995 it became embedded as part of the 'media-leisure/sport-capital nexus'.¹⁰⁰ Its culture, its community, along with the very manner and style in which it was played, were to change forever. The laws of the game were modified to cater for non-devotee fans and the most fundamental cultural artefacts of the game and the tone were reshaped so that the new fans, attracted to the new mediated televised form of rugby union, could tolerate it. The question now became – would the fans stay loyal?

Current state of play

The 2007 Super 14 series was categorically a disaster for the Australian franchises and the responses from the corporate sector and the 'new' fans and, perhaps some of the old. If the poor sales for the 2007 home test series were anything to go by, the situation is somewhat alarming. The inept performance against Wales in the first test in 2007, in front of a record-low crowd of 40,872¹⁰¹ for the Telstra Stadium in Sydney, demonstrated the market sensitivity that has become a feature of what is now just another one of an increasing

number of top-level sports entertainment product available to the 'new' fans. Perhaps what should be of greater concern to the ARU is that many of the empty seats were those normally filled by the traditional fans from the rugby community who were also disenchanted with the product, although for more esoteric reasons? In the second test against Wales, in which the Wallabies produced another indifferent performance, they were booed from the field at half-time. The new fans were clearly not pleased; nor perhaps were the traditional ones.

In reaction to the apparent impending doom facing Australian rugby union the ARU board, still made up of amateur sport administrators and volunteers, did not turn to its traditional power base for a solution but (back) to the ultimate professional sports administrator, John O'Neill. O'Neill was previously CEO of the ARU from 1995–2003 and it was he who guided Australian rugby union through the turbulent waters of the advent of professionalism and then so successfully to and through the RWC in 2003. O'Neill was waved goodbye to by the Australian 'old farts' of the ARU who believed they could reclaim 'custody' of *their* game after the enormous success he had just delivered to them. However, in 2007 the amateurs conceded; the game is now unquestionably the domain of the professional. As RUPA chief executive Tony Dempsey reflected, 'The game as an industry has matured'.¹⁰²

The concern now is that elite Australian rugby union, as part of Rupert Murdoch's media stable, must score well in television ratings. Defeats and poor performances do not help the cause. Australia's insipid performance in the RWC 2007, with its very disappointing defeat against the team in the quarter final, did little to advance the game's marketability in Australia. The good news is that, community, schools and junior rugby union were all thriving before the RWC in 2007, as witnessed by an overall increase in participation rates from 148,750 in 2002, just before the RWC in Australia, to 193,382 in 2006.¹⁰³ Concern must exist at the ARU that rugby union football's popularity may have plateaued in 2006.¹⁰⁴ With football continuing its rise in popularity, rugby union as a product may falter compared with football, as well as Australian Rules football and rugby league, in the popularity stakes, which would have very serious economic repercussions for the ARU.

The quest for a new Wallabies' coach in late 2007 was unprecedented as, for the first time foreign coaches were considered for the post, with Robbie Deans being the successful candidate. This could be viewed as an indication that rugby union in Australia has possibly become less xenophobic and more, albeit thinly, cosmopolitan.¹⁰⁵ However, as the coach is in fact a New Zealander,¹⁰⁶ heralding this 'shift' may be excessive. Before Deans was interviewed for the position, the news of this precipitated a number of parochial comments, though legendary Wallaby captain John Eales openly supported the inclusion of the New Zealander in the list of candidates.¹⁰⁷ On the 14 December Robbie Deans was appointed as the Wallaby coach for a three-year period. He will be paid \$1 million a year and, very significantly, he will have the freedom to personally select his own coaching staff.¹⁰⁸ In light of the Wallabies' indifferent effort in the RWC 2007 and the economic consequences this is likely to have with sponsors and the fans, Deans' selection suggests that a major overhaul of the whole ARU philosophy, particularly at the elite level, is about to occur. In terms of this analysis, however, these events are indicative of the extent to which rugby union football is now immersed in global mediasport. There is a ready exchange of knowledge and personnel between sports locally and globally, which is exemplified by the career moves of the ARU's chief executive officer John O'Neill who is now faced by the market threat posed to rugby union in Australia by football, which is a 'monster' of his own making. After being ignominiously 'released' by the ARU in 2003 O'Neill was engaged by

the Frank Lowy-backed Football Federation of Australia in 2004 on the basis that he was the country's top sports administrator.¹⁰⁹ In 2004 O'Neill reinvented football in Australia; he created the 'A' League and then in 2006 saw Australia, the 'Socceroos', qualify for the Football World Cup finals for the first time in 30 years.¹¹⁰

Even though elite rugby union in Australia operates in a globalized context, it remains culturally distinct, which supports the rejection of the idea that globalization completely annihilates local cultures.¹¹¹ The development of rugby union football's culture and its place in the wider Australian sports culture attests to the notion that, although symbiotic relationships between local and global sport cultures exist, the impact of an individual cultural context is still the dominant influence in such relationships.¹¹² Rugby union football's development in Australia and the various points of resistance and departure that have framed this process will, it is suggested, ensure that rugby union in Australia will remain definitively Australian; whether this will bring it continued success remains problematic.

Notes

¹ Maguire, *Global Sport*, 215.

² Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*.

³ ARU, *Annual Report (Financial Statement)*, 2006, 6.

⁴ Maguire, *Global Sport*, 54–94.

⁵ Robertson, *Globalization*, 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 133–5.

⁷ Giulianotti and Robertson, 'Recovering the Social', 168.

⁸ Apparadurai, 'Disjuncture and Difference', 295–311.

⁹ Throughout the rest of the paper 'football' will be used in reference to Association football (soccer).

¹⁰ Cashman, *Paradise of Sport*.

¹¹ Hickie, *They Ran with Ball*, 38–119.

¹² Horton, 'Football Identity, Place'.

¹³ Horton, 'Dominant Ideologies'.

¹⁴ Horton, 'A History of Rugby Union Football'; Hickie, *They Ran with the Ball*; Moran, *Viewless Winds*; Howell, Wilkes and Xie, *Wallabies*; Mulford, *Guardians of the Game*; Marples, *History of Football*; Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*; Starmer-Smith, *The Barbarians*; Wyatt and Herridge, *Rugby Revolution*.

¹⁵ The ARU express these sentiments in its mission statement thus:

Rugby Union is a game that develops leadership, team spirit, courage, sportsmanship, and friendship. These values and traditions develop from the first time a young player shakes hands with their opposite number, leading to a life long passion for and involvement with the game at all levels. Foremost, the game of Rugby embodies the best Australian values and the nation's indomitable spirit. The key values of the game of rugby consist of Australian pride, team work and camaraderie, love of the game, and tradition and heritage.

Australian Pride – Rugby embodies the best Australian values and the nation's unyielding spirit. Through its success on the International stage, rugby provides all Australians with a sense of pride, affiliation and belonging.

Teamwork and Camaraderie – Rugby is unselfish and focused on team play achievement. Its rugged nature is balanced by the concepts of fair play, sportsmanship, fun and ultimately mateship. This can be experienced at any age, any level and anywhere – on the field, in the stands or in the pub.

Love of the Game – Rugby engenders an abiding passion – an intensely personal pleasure in playing or watching. It creates an unaffected joy.

Tradition and Heritage – The ethos of rugby has shaped a code of behaviour that has transcended generations since 1823. Its time-honoured legacy creates a broader social environment.

¹⁶ Mulford, *Guardians of the Game*.

- ¹⁷ Fagan, *Rugby Rebellion*; Howell and Howell, *Greatest Game*, 2–25; Lester, *Story of Australian Rugby League*.
- ¹⁸ Wyatt and Herridge, *Rugby Revolution*, 84.
- ¹⁹ Fagan, *Rugby Rebellion*, 21–37.
- ²⁰ Fagan, *Rugby Rebellion*; Howell and Howell, *Greatest Game*, 2–25; Lester, *Story of Australian Rugby League*.
- ²¹ Horton, ‘The “Green” and the “Gold”’, 77–8.
- ²² Phillips, ‘Football, Class and War’.
- ²³ O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 253.
- ²⁴ Howell and Howell, *Greatest Game*, 35–42.
- ²⁵ Phillips, ‘Football, Class, War’.
- ²⁶ Parsons, ‘Capitalism, Class and Community’.
- ²⁷ This epithet, used somewhat disparagingly by working-class footballers in Britain and later in Australia, stems from the cheers of encouragement, ‘hoorah’, used at sporting events of the upper and middle classes, such as, rugby union games, cricket matches and particularly rowing regattas.
- ²⁸ Until the game became commercialized the title ‘Wallabies’ was generally only used with reference to the Australian teams that made the full British Isles tour involving tests against all four home countries and a complete itinerary of other matches against regional, county, club and university sides, following in the footsteps of the First Wallabies captained by Herbert Moran in 1908–09, who Pollard suggested favoured this exclusivity (Pollard, *Australian Rugby Union*, 860). The marketing potential of the tag ‘Wallabies’ or ‘Wallaby’ is immense and its adoption for all products and matches involving the Australian rugby union team is indicative of the extent of the game’s penetration by corporate cultural capitalism and its emergence as a feature of mediasport. The last full Wallaby tour took place in 1984 when the Eighth Wallabies completed the ‘grand slam’ against all four Home countries. The term ‘grand slam’ refers to beating all the four home countries on a Wallaby tour to the UK.
- ²⁹ Mulford, *Guardians of the Game*; Diehm, *Red, Red, Red*.
- ³⁰ In 1946 all interstate and international football was reinstated with NSW winning the traditional interstate series against Queensland three matches to nil. The entrenched (sibling) rivalry between New Zealand and Australia continued in 1946 when Australia toured New Zealand and the challenge for the Bledisloe Cup resumed. New Zealand toured Australia the following year and played two tests; over 53,000 spectators attended the matches in Brisbane and Sydney.
- ³¹ Maguire, *Global Sport*, 84–6.
- ³² Zakus and Horton, ‘A Professional Game for Gentlemen’, 163–73.
- ³³ Queensland, traditionally seen as the Premier state’s most serious rival had lost so much ground, in player strength and, naturally financially since its post-First World War ‘hibernation’, that it could only muster enough credibility or power to gain more than three votes of the ten on offer.
- ³⁴ Pollard, *Australian Rugby Union*, 48–9.
- ³⁵ It was in 1997, when the game had become fully professional and the international governing body made a political economic decision to move its headquarters to Dublin, that it became the IRB.
- ³⁶ Australia as a full member of the IRFB was able to play with special dispensation for several years with regards to the laws governing kicking into touch on full and the use of time-keepers; both have since been universally accepted. Australia also promoted the change to the point-value of a try, up from 3 to 4pts and the introduction, internationally, of replacements.
- ³⁷ Maguire, *Global Sports*, 21.
- ³⁸ The impact now extends to both rugby codes with players with a Pacific Island heritage being prominent at the elite level of both league and union. The New Zealand All Blacks, the Wallabies and all the Super 14 teams from both nations have many players with a Pacific Island background whilst in the National Rugby League (NRL) it is estimated ‘that 33% of the 375 players in the top 25-man squads at the 15 clubs are Pacific Islanders and the number is closer to half at the junior representative level’ (B. Walter, ‘Islanders in the Sun’. *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 25, 2006).
- ³⁹ The Wallaby squad for the home international series in 2007 has five players with a Pacific Islander heritage and the Australia ‘A’ squad has a similar number. 29.5% of the current squads from the three Australian Super 14 teams and the Victorian State squad are of Pacific Island descent. 55% of the Victorian squad, which does not play in the ‘Super 14’ competition, is

- Pacific Islanders. The Wallaroos (women's national team) have seven Pacific Islanders in their squad of 26 players. The growing trend nationally is indicated by the fact that the latest figures, provided by the Geoff Shaw, General Manager of Community Rugby at the ARU, indicate that players with a Pacific Island heritage make up over 40% of the Australian U/16 representative squads.
- ⁴⁰ Diehm, *Red, Red, Red*, 169.
- ⁴¹ Bickley, *Maroon*, 96–8.
- ⁴² Diehm, *Red, Red, Red*; Mulford, *Guardians of the Game*; Pollard, *Australian Rugby Union*.
- ⁴³ Wyatt and Herridge, *Rugby Revolution*, 53.
- ⁴⁴ Gruneau, 'Amateurism as a Sociological Problem', 575.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Wyatt and Herridge, *The Rugby Revolution*, 239–50.
- ⁴⁷ Potential global television audiences for the next RWC are assessed to be over 3 billion people. See http://www.imgworld.com/sports/team_sports/default.sps.
- ⁴⁸ This expression is used in a strict sense regarding violence, its restraint and the acceptance of violent behaviour in general, as well as in the sporting context.
- ⁴⁹ Brohm, *Sport, a Prison of Measured Time*, 17.
- ⁵⁰ Horton, 'A History of Rugby Union Football', 9–51.
- ⁵¹ Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*.
- ⁵² Zakus and Horton, 'A Professional Game'.
- ⁵³ Department of Industry, Tourism and Resources, *Economic Impact of RWC 2003*, 9.
- ⁵⁴ In Australian rugby union, 'Grand Slam' refers to defeating all the four home unions, England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland on a single British Islands tour.
- ⁵⁵ Wenner, 'Playing the Mediasport Game'.
- ⁵⁶ Hickie, 'The Amateur Ideal'.
- ⁵⁷ Skinner, Stewart and Edwards, 'The Postmodernisation of Rugby Union', 51.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., 60.
- ⁵⁹ Maguire, *Global Sport*
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, 226.
- ⁶² Howell, Wilkes and Xie, *The Wallabies* and Howell and Xie, *Wallaby Greats*.
- ⁶³ Rojek, 'Sports Celebrity', 683.
- ⁶⁴ O'Regan, 'Another Side of the Rugby World Cup'.
- ⁶⁵ URS, 'Economic Impact of the RWC, 2003'.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ P. Switzer, 'Scoring Big Time'. http://www.charteredaccountants.com.au/index.cfm?su=/charter/charter_archive/2003/june_2003.
- ⁶⁹ Wenner, 'Playing the Mediasport Game'.
- ⁷⁰ AAP, 'Ten secures Rugby World Cup rights'. <http://www.rugbyheaven.smh.com.au/articles/2006/11/15/1163266614941.html>.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² Mulford, *Guardians of the Game*, 217–20; Diehm, *Red, Red, Red*, 259–62.
- ⁷³ Diehm, *Red, Red, Red*, 264.
- ⁷⁴ Giulianotti and Robertson, 'Recovering the Social', 167–70.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., 169.
- ⁷⁶ Zakus and Horton, 'A Professional game', 172–3.
- ⁷⁷ Diehm, *Red, Red, Red*, 264–5.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷⁹ Fitzsimons, *Rugby War* for a complete outline of the whole process of battle for Rugby Union football in the southern hemisphere.
- ⁸⁰ Zakus and Horton, 'A Professional Game', 166–7.
- ⁸¹ Ibid.
- ⁸² Dabscheck, 'Paying for Professionalism', 1–9.
- ⁸³ Allison, *Amateurism in Sport*, 49.
- ⁸⁴ Elias, *Civilizing Process*.
- ⁸⁵ In their sociological study of the development of Rugby union football Dunning and Sheard discussed, historically, this notion of the growing intolerance of gratuitous violence in Rugby

- union football featured in their study entitled *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* which utilized Elias' theory of the civilizing processes to analyse the development of the game from its earliest folk origins (the barbarian phase) to the game that evolved at Rugby School and promoted to other English Public Schools and the universities, thus played and controlled by 'gentlemen', and to the bifurcation of the rugby code and the emergence of rugby league football in 1895 which along with the development of amateur rugby union as a 'modern' sport marked their 'players' phase. The current phase, which, since 1995 has seen the formal sanctioning of professional rugby union, should possibly be tagged the 'superstar' phase?
- ⁸⁶ G. Shaw, Personal Communication – conversation with author, October 23, 2003, Townsville.
- ⁸⁷ Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*.
- ⁸⁸ Zakus and Horton, 'A Professional Game'.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 184.
- ⁹⁰ URS, 'Economic Impact of the RWC, 2003'.
- ⁹¹ ARU, *Annual Report*, 2004.
- ⁹² Harcourt, 'The Game they Play in Heaven'.
- ⁹³ Apparadurai, 'Disjuncture and Difference'.
- ⁹⁴ Galtung, 'A Structural Theory of Imperialism', 81-94.
- ⁹⁵ Horton, 'Football, Identity, Place', 1362.
- ⁹⁶ Tennyson, 'They Taught the World'.
- ⁹⁷ Mangan, *Cultural Bond*, and Mangan, *Games Ethic*.
- ⁹⁸ Robertson, *Globalization*.
- ⁹⁹ Apparadurai, 'Disjuncture and Difference'.
- ¹⁰⁰ Jarvie and Maguire, *Sport and Leisure*, 234.
- ¹⁰¹ A. McBride, 'Wallabies Snatch Unlikely Victory Off Wales'. SportsAustralia.com. <http://sportsaustralia.com/articles/news.php?id=1389>.
- ¹⁰² *The Australian*, June 7, 2007, 16.
- ¹⁰³ ARU, *Annual Report*, 'Community Rugby', 2006. However, a circumspect analysis of these figures does reveal that the largest sectional rise is in the schools that played only irregularly in one off gala days or in 'knock-out' competitions. The current, apparently strong, figures demonstrated in comparison with other sports at junior levels of 8% are flattering as these include a massive new population of junior rugby union players (22%) in Western Australia, courtesy of the new Super 14 franchise, the Western Force. A dimension of these statistics which is very significant, culturally, is the continued increase in the number of registered senior players in women's rugby, to 1,915 in 2006. The Australian women's national team, the Wallaroos, placed 5th in the finals in 2002 and 7th in 2006.
- ¹⁰⁴ Sweeney Sports Report, 2006.
- ¹⁰⁵ Beck, 'Rooted Cosmopolitanism'.
- ¹⁰⁶ R. Guinness, 'ARU Ready to Offer Deans Triple the Going Rate to Tackle Wallabies Job'. <http://www.rugbyheaven.com.au/news/news/deans-could-get-triple/2007/11/28/1196036984356.html#>.
- ¹⁰⁷ John Eales, 'Interview'.
- ¹⁰⁸ M. Hinton, 'Deans is the New Wallabies Coach'. <http://www.rugbyheaven.com.au/news/news/deans-gets-wallabies-job/2007/12/14/1197568227944.html>.
- ¹⁰⁹ Frank Lowy, a post-Second World War migrant, Australia's second richest man, is founder and major share holder of the Westfield Group. He was instrumental in the complete restructuring of Australian football (soccer) in 2003, when he assumed control. He is Chairman of the Football Federation of Australia and has personally financially backed football's redevelopment. Securing John O'Neill's services in 2004 has been attributed solely to Lowy.
- ¹¹⁰ O'Neill, *It's Only a Game*.
- ¹¹¹ Giulianotti and Robertson, 'Recovering the Social', 168.
- ¹¹² Robertson, 'Glocalization', 27.

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