



# 2018運動教練學會 春季學術研討會 論文集

主辦單位  運動教練學會  
Taiwan Sports Coach Association

 國立臺灣體育運動大學  
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協辦單位 臺體大運動教育學院  
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## 2018 運動教練學會春季學術研討會

### 理事長歡迎詞

國內體育運動相關學術團體相繼成立，帶動體育運動學術之蓬勃發展，中華民國運動教練學會為提供國人參與體育學術活動之機會，並推動體育學術研究風氣、彙集與分享體育運動新知，最終期能達成擴大學術研究成果的總目標。

有鑑於 2019 年東亞青年運動會，以及 2020 年在日本東京所舉辦的奧運等世界級運動賽會的接近，加上近來國際奧會所提出的 2020 奧林匹克 40 項議程方案等，皆有提及多元文化的課題，對我國未來相關運動組織的工作皆有重要影響作用，因此今年運動教練學會主辦「多元文化教育與運動」

（Multicultural education and Sport）為議題的學術研討會，發展專題演講與座談，落實臺灣與國際接軌等未來更完善的體育運動運作及管理機制。

在論文發表部分，各界踴躍投稿經審查後，將有海報發表 15 篇，希望建立體育運動學術及研究成果交流平臺；藉由大家集思廣益，期能提升體育運動研究與實務運作品質。

再次歡迎各位先進蒞臨。  
並祝研討會 圓滿成功

林華韋謹識  
民國 107 年 5 月

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## 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

會議時間：2018 年 5 月 11 至 12 日

會議地點：國立臺灣體育運動大學行政大樓

### 探讨大陆高校民族健身操教学存在的问题及对策研究

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#### 摘 要

**问题意识：**分析大陆高校民族健身操教学存在的问题，并提出改进的意见与建议，旨在提高民族健身操课堂教学效果及激发高校大学生民族健身操的学习兴趣，为高校民族操的教学方法、改革和发展提供参考。**研究方法：**通过 google 学术、airiti Library、中国知网搜索中文文献，以回顾的方式来了解大陆高校民族健身操教学存在的问题及改进意见。**研究發現：**高校把健身操的发展和现在的体育教学放在同等重要的位置，大部分高校都有健美操体育课程，但是极少数高校有民族健身操这一体育课程，即使有也存在着许多限制因素，发展势头不是很好，同时还面临着健身操师资力量不足、高校民族健身操教学方式和内容比较单一，不能发挥学生的主体性，教师教学水平有待提高、民族健身操理论成果较少等问题。大陆高校民族健身操发展的对策包括重视教师队伍的建立、改进教学方式、提高教师的教学技能、提高教师的创编能力、针对性的编写民族健身操教材、重视民族健身操、优化课程结构、增加比赛机会等。**預期結論：**学校广泛地开展民族传统体育教学是时代的要求，是民族文化发展到一定阶段的趋势。因此高校应该积极的自主推行民族健身操项目，大力促进民族健身操的发展。通过重视民族健身操教师队伍的建立、提高教师的教学技能和创编能力、针对性的编写健身操教材、优化民族健身操课程设置等手段来解决大陆高校民族健身操的发展遇到的困难，使民族健身操项目获得质的飞跃，相信在大陆各大高校的全力配合下，民族健身操运动能走的更远、更好。

**關鍵詞：**民族健身操、高校、教学

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會議時間：2018 年 5 月 11 至 12 日

會議地點：國立臺灣體育運動大學行政大樓

### 仇恨韓國人，成為韓國人

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#### 摘 要

臺灣在 2010 年亞洲運動會中，選手楊淑君在跆拳道預賽中，因為電子感應片之原因導致落敗。其中有韓裔菲律賓籍技術監督委員的關係，導致此事件對於「仇韓」的情緒爆發，接踵而至便是「仇韓」一度成為台灣社會的全民運動。臺灣之所以仇韓，是一種民族主義的展現。從 1970 年代中華民國外交困境開始，甚至全球化的時代中，這背後靈不曾遠離。二十世紀末以來持續加劇的全球化，產生的民族主義特徵之一，就是為「這裡」的「我們」貼上特定的民族和語言的標籤，來對抗從外頭「那邊」跑來、具有威脅性的「他們」，而韓國便是臺灣眼中的「他們」。二次大戰後，美國把台灣與南韓同時納為對抗共產革命的前線。隨著時間的發展，同時做為世界體系中的半邊陲國家，韓國與台灣互相競爭，南韓複製了過去的經驗，繼續透過依賴而發展；台灣則是節節敗退，進入了所恐懼的更邊緣依賴循環。要超越妒恨，有兩種想像。第一種是，透過模仿與投注更多的心力，想辦法成為競爭中的贏家，我們成為現在的韓國；第二種是經由互相理解互相補充，成為一種真正的區域合作。韓國與台灣不再彼此廝殺，而互相成為「我們」。當南韓不再是「他們」、而是「我們」，妒恨才有消失的一天。

**關鍵詞：韓國、運動、民族主義**

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## 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

會議時間：2018 年 5 月 11 至 12 日

會議地點：國立臺灣體育運動大學行政大樓

### 探討女性化運動的飲食失調問題與影響

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#### 摘要

【背景與動機】因女性化運動是具有審美性質的運動項目，多強調姿態展現、技巧柔美，雖然競賽並不為身材評分，但選手及教練卻非常在意，為了成績表現，選手被嚴格要求體態必須「瘦」、「苗條」，身材纖細能使動作更輕盈、增加藝術印象。然而，選手受到教練、同儕、其他外在壓力而控制自我體重與身體形象，使得重視身體形象的特殊項目普遍有著飲食失調的問題。【目的】因此本研究試圖了解女性化運動項目對身體形象價值的重要性，對於選手在改善身體形象的過程中，使用不正當的飲食控制調整體重，可能引發厭食症、嘔吐等飲食失調之情形。【方法】本研究以文獻探討蒐集與研究主題相關的文獻，有系統的查閱、歸類與分析資料，了解女性化運動與飲食失調之間的問題與影響。【結論】研究結果發現以身材形象提高成績表現的運動項目之選手，在教練、裁判、同儕間的社會壓力及成績方面需求，會使用極端的節食方式和過度運動來達到減重目的，選手不僅容易產生飲食失調問題，在長期壓力下還會引發生病、自虐等負面心理層面問題。

關鍵詞：身體形象、女性運動員、飲食失調

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# 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

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## 布農族的狩獵活動：傳統文化與現代的平衡

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### 摘要

射耳祭稱為 Ma-naq-tainga、Ma-naq-titi，約於 4 月至 5 月間舉行，是布農人一年中最盛大與隆重的祭典。射耳祭是小孩子成長最重要的祭典儀式，也是訓練狩獵的作戰能力、確立個體生命價值、獲取社會肯定認同的方式，是成年禮儀的必修課程。近年來，布農族射耳祭裡的『抓豬』活動引發動保團體的抗議，認為這個行為是在虐待動物。使得布農族人出來維護自己的傳統文化。自從 1972 年起，全台灣開始實施禁獵政策，隨之頒布「國家公園法」、「文化資產保護法」、「野生動物保育法」等相關法令，這樣使得台灣原住民傳統活動，與犯罪畫上等號。

本研究使用文獻蒐集，探討台灣原住民狩獵活動與運動文化、傳統文化活動與法規的灰色地帶、保護與延續傳統文化。原住民狩獵文化的過程結合了各種身體活動方式，發揮個人的身體運動能力來完成狩獵行為。狩獵活動透過身體運動方式發揮個人運動能力，並培養族人社會化行為，所以狩獵活動也可以視為運動文化一類。狩獵文化不單單只是一個狩獵的行為，是一個圍繞部落社會的重要族群規範，亦是原住民事適應自然環境累積的生活經驗。原住民族對其土地及四周環境具有一種特殊及悠久之關係，此項關係不僅止於土地本身，亦延伸至該土地上所有生活資源，其中狩獵、漁撈、採集等習俗為重要之部分，即使導入西方市場經濟，該習俗對大多數原住民仍具有重要性，且因提供生計，狩獵、漁撈、採集等乃構成原住民族文化不可欠缺之要素 (Sweeney, 1993)

**關鍵詞：布農族、傳統文化、歲時祭儀、動物保育**

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### 如何有效防範古蹟歷史建物—以消防角度來探討

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#### 摘 要

古蹟及歷史建物的妥善保存，是國家文化資產保護非常重要的一個課題，古蹟和歷史建築是無可取代、更是無法重現的歷史及文化價值；國內的古蹟歷史建築一般以木造建築及磚造建築居多，現今國內雖有訂定有關古蹟保存法令及古蹟及歷史建築消防救災處理原則，但一旦遭遇火災、地震或其它天然災害時，不僅僅是古蹟建物的損壞，更是歷史文物損壞殆盡的慘劇；又因古蹟不同於現代建築物，無法用現行的法規來規範及設置相關消防安全設備，不僅會破壞古蹟及附屬文物的完整性及結構安全，亦會造成古蹟文化保存價值的缺陷，因此，其防火措施規範，定要採取個案探討、深切分析及詳盡規劃。探訪過往國內古蹟遭受損害，最大究因就是「火災」，多為電器因素、人為縱火等因素，加上古蹟具不可替代性，故防範古蹟建物及相關文物免遭火災危害更顯得重要，若能做好事前火災預防工作，加強災時的緊急應變能力，必能有效降低災害所造成的損失。為此，面對國內珍貴的文化資產，如何建構有效保存文化資產的防火預防措施及防災管理計畫，首要推動「自救」、「共救」及「公救」三項原則，結合民間力量與政府單位來共同維護古蹟歷史建築，制定有關防災管理計畫及災害防救措施，才是有效保存及防護古蹟歷史建物的不二法門。

**關鍵詞：**古蹟、火災防範、災害防救

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會議地點：國立臺灣體育運動大學行政大樓

### 以南非種族衍生奧運參賽問題談奧林匹克與政治

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#### 摘 要

**問題意識：**現代奧林匹克自從誕生以來就充斥著許多矛盾與衝突，政治與權力如同洪水猛獸一般不斷入侵，迫使奧林匹克由原來「純粹運動競技」的理想，逐漸質變成為國家、集團間相互的對抗。而種族歧視（discrimination）是國際社會用來達到其政治目標的手段之一，因此種族歧視便以各種形式存在並出現於運動社會中的個人或組織的行為與政策中，而奧林匹克會當然也不能例外。現代奧運史中存在著許多種族問題，著名的如：希特勒意圖利用柏林（Berliner）奧運，吹捧納粹政權與亞利安人種的優越性、南非（South Africa）與羅德西亞（Rhodesia）因國內實行種族歧視而遭驅逐、墨西哥（Marcelo）奧運的「黑權事件」等，而南非問題是現代奧運史上糾纏最久的種族問題，在這事件中國際奧委會（International Olympic Committee, IOC）前後不一致與曖昧的態度，對於奧林匹克的「無歧視」原則實在是一個莫大的傷害。然而回首過去、展望未來，相信奧林匹克將會繼續帶領我們大步往前邁進，衝破一切艱難的挑戰，實踐體育是正義、是勇氣、是榮譽、是樂趣、是和平、是進步，在各民族間建立愉快的聯繫，使全世界的青年學會互相尊重和學習，使不同民族特質成為高尚而和平競爭的動力。

**關鍵詞：**南非、種族、奧林匹克、政治

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## 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

會議時間：2018 年 5 月 11 至 12 日

會議地點：國立臺灣體育運動大學行政大樓

### 籃球比賽犯規戰術使用與運動道德之爭議

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#### 摘 要

在現代運動中，經由媒體渲染、廣告代言、薪資多寡、社會期待等等因素，在比賽中獲勝已逐漸變成運動的唯一重點。選手及教練開始想辦法提高獲勝的機會，籃球比賽也因此開始出現了犯規戰術。為追求勝利開始使用犯規戰術來增加獲勝的機會，卻忽略掉了籃球比賽的本質是以球技來取得勝利，也產生了獲勝與運動道德間的思想碰撞。是然，本研究將使用文獻分析法，討論教練在比賽中為何會選擇違反規則的作法，犯規戰術與運動道德的關係，以及如何有效降低犯規戰術的產生。做為一個教練或選手，當在面臨道德和贏球的兩難當中，必須堅持自我的道德理念，提倡比賽的公平性，以球技來獲得最終的勝利。

**關鍵詞：**籃球、犯規戰術、運動道德

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# 2014 年俄羅斯索契冬季奧運舉辦時對同性戀 的態度

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### 摘要

究針對 2014 年俄羅斯舉辦冬季奧運對於同性戀態度進行研究分析，2006 年開始，俄羅斯各地方開始修法，禁止同性戀的宣傳。並於 2013 年在全國通過聯邦級別的禁止向青少年傳播「非傳統性關係」的禁令。對此，俄羅斯官方則堅持表示在俄羅斯不存在對同性戀者的歧視，也沒有侵犯性別少數族群人權的法律。但根據全俄研究民意中心調查發現將近 90% 的俄羅斯人支持反同性戀宣傳法。本研究利用內容分析法以相關資料為依據進行探討，資料包含網路新聞、報章雜誌等，經過研究發現俄羅斯仍有不人道的私刑，對性少數人群施加暴力，我們也可以從新法上看到俄羅斯政府所表明的態度，2013 年一份調查發現，74% 的俄羅斯人認為同性戀不應該被社會所接受，只有 16% 的人士認為同性戀應該被社會所接受。此外，16% 的受訪俄羅斯人表示同性戀者應該被隔絕於社會，22% 認為他們應該被強制治療，5% 認為同性戀者應該被「清除」。由此我們可以了解俄羅斯對於同性戀是相當仇視。雖然近年全球同性戀的權益受到重視，但隨著俄羅斯總統普丁的再次連任以及俄羅斯國內對於同性戀的相關立法，可知俄羅斯國內同性戀權益將不會受到保障以及處境會越來越艱難。

**關鍵詞：**2014 索契冬奧運、俄羅斯同性宣傳法、俄羅斯 LGBT 權益

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# 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

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## 跆拳道品勢的文化轉變與興起

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### 摘 要

本研究探討跆拳道品勢在過去只有單一的公認品勢，發展到現今已有新品勢與自由品勢，有許多高難度動作的表演型態與競賽對打元素的高難度動作來提升可看性，在品勢發展的過程中有了很大的轉變，世界跆拳道聯盟也希望未來品勢能夠被列為奧運比賽的正式項目。本研究方式採文獻分析法，主要以相關資料為依據進行探討，資料包含網路新聞、報章雜誌、個人書籍、報導等。研究發現由於空手道對打與型的部分在 2020 東京奧運(自選項目)被列為競賽項目，因此讓性質相近的跆拳道也積極應對，針對品勢可看性與精采度部分做加強，因此品勢結合了對打與表演的元素，提升動作的難易度，進而提高觀賞度來增加競爭性，因此衍生新品勢與自由品勢，新品勢由亞洲跆拳道聯盟(ATU)所新研發的套路，並由世界跆拳道聯盟(WT)大力推廣提，讓品勢項目更具觀賞性以提升能見度。預期結論從原本枯燥乏味的公認品勢，到現在涵蓋表演與對打元素的新品勢，動作的難度提高，確實成功提升可看性，加上創意的呈現，讓自由品勢的表現更多元，而在 2018 年的雅加達亞運也首度將品勢列為亞運項目之一，世跆盟也將在之後的國際賽增設品勢項目，這對未來跆拳道的品勢發展有很大的發展與成長，而每兩屆奧運會檢討一次奧運競賽項目成效，討論去留或刪減項目的可能性，跆拳道品勢的改變也是為了將品勢推進奧運

**關鍵詞：**跆拳道、新品勢、自由品勢

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## 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

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會議地點：國立臺灣體育運動大學行政大樓

### 多元文化運動之族群衝突—以足球為例

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#### 摘 要

**問題意識：**本研究探討在足球團隊當中因為移民的關係，所以在團隊中便會有不一樣的族群，相對也會因文化不同而產生衝突，進一步探究藉由多元文化運動是否有效改善族群衝突。**研究方法：**透過文獻蒐集與內容分析法。**研究發現：**不一樣族群當中，每個族群文化皆不相同，因而在同一團隊當中產生許多文化與價值觀等衝突，但在藉由各種文化運動交流下，許多族群之隔閡也隨之逐漸化解，因此改善了許多分歧矛盾與衝突。**預期結論：**利用足球運動文化交流影響融合各族群的民主意識、化解各族群排斥…等，也藉由足球比賽讓全球各國從未接觸過的不一樣族群，將因接觸足球賽事，甚而為了贏得比賽，導致不同族群因此互相配合達成目標，將族群間的隔閡也漸漸提升成為更好的多元民族文化。

**關鍵詞：**xxx、xxx、xxx

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## 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

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### 多元文化運動交流-以外籍移工為例

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#### 摘 要

**問題意識：**本研究在探討外籍移工來臺，打造多元文化無排斥移民在臺運動，並進一步探索多元文化運動交流。**研究方法：**透過文獻蒐集與內容分析法。**研究發現：**因人力缺乏緣故而外籍移工來臺短暫工作，對於國內民眾是否對外籍移工接納以及後續影響，甚至在外籍移工人數眾多之縣市推廣移工多元文化運動，促進外籍移工利用運動文化交流來增進對臺影響。**預期結論：**近年來因臺灣勞工人力缺發，引進外籍移工，導致外籍移工人數眾多，因此為了讓不同民族傳統的或個人群體融入社會，讓移工在閒暇之餘利用臺灣現有場地進行多元文化交流。因此藉由舉辦各種運動賽事等多元文化運動來促進各種外籍移工交流，讓各種國家之移工能在閒暇之餘進行運動交流上，也可藉由這些運動賽事之文化交流，使得民眾可以在理解各國文化同時，逐漸降低不認同感並接納移工。

**關鍵詞：**多元文化、移工、移工運動

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# 後現代主義解析職業運動全球化的競爭態勢

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## 摘要

問題意識：近年來，職業運動全球化因應後現代主義風潮，改變職業運動體制中單一的意識型態，進而提倡尊重不同性別、膚色、種族、族群的運動價值，使得每一個體都能獲得基本的人權和尊嚴，而且融入不同國家運動選手，呈現職業運動大融爐的多元景像，根據以上，本文以「後現代主義解析職業運動全球化的競爭態勢」為研究主題。研究目的：解析後現代主義運動職業化與職業運動的隱喻與解構、了解後現代價值觀之職業運動發展取向、我國職業運動發展之困境。研究方法：採用文獻分析與論述分析法；研究發現：後現代主義的衝擊之下，全球職業運動走向多元化，重視資訊能力及科際整合，包括運動俱樂部、運動商業廣告、國家文化意象及國家形象代表等，對於民族發展與國家意識影響深遠。預期結論：1、企業或財團對於職業運動的推展擔負起帶頭的角色。2、健全運動員正確的價值觀。3、職業運動強調人格與技能的完整性。4、重視專業倫理與專業精神。5、塑造運動員的專業形象。6、職業運動管理應強調彈性與溝通協調。

關鍵詞：運動職業化、種族中心主義、女權主義

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## 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

### 身材條件刻板印象與游泳運動表現之探討-以2017年世大運與全國

#### 運動會1500公尺項目為例

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#### 摘要

**研究目的：**本研究主要探討世大運與我國游泳選手身材差異現況並探討配速模式與運動表現。**方法：**主要資料來源是以 2017 世大運及全運會官方網站公布游泳項目男子 1500 公尺之分段時間，然後進行基本資料與分段速度之計算，主要以描述性統計呈現平均數與標準差之研究結果。**結果與討論：**整體而言，國外選手平均速度比我國選手快 0.1 公尺/秒，其平均身高高出 0.13 公尺/秒，身材上的差距可能是影響的主因，但如果將平均速度利用身高標準化後，以我國選手(0.929 倍身高/秒)幾乎高於國外選手(0.907 倍身高/秒)，這顯示在身高方面我國選手的劣勢，但在技術層面上是優於世大運選手的。配速的應用方面，我國與世大運選手配速模式，大部分主要是維持速度到了最後 50 公尺才進行衝刺。但我國全運第一的選手配速模式為最後 400 公尺緩增泳速，達最大速度時也僅為世大運選手的平均速度。**結論與建議：**根據本研究結果，配速方式仍是可以再探討的問題，建議可根據個人體能條件-有氧與無氧閾值診斷進而調整比賽的配速狀況，在運動生理學的協助下再提升選手成績。國內選手的游泳技術訓練這方面，站上國際舞台是沒問題的，建議若可從選材方面進行挑選身高較高的選手進行訓練，另外，對於身材劣勢唯有利用體能訓練補足，維持原有的技術然後加強阻力訓練的品質，相信可以使我國游泳選手與世界水準更接近。

**關鍵詞：**身體質量指數，配速，自由式，

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# 全球化對於臺灣在地化運動發展之影響

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## 摘要

問題意識：本文主題以全球化對於臺灣在地化運動發展之影響。研究目的：了解全球化的內涵與趨向，全球化運動與在地化運動之間的關係，與全球化對臺灣運動發展的取向等。研究方法：採用論述分析法，針對問題加以解析與釐清，從全球化所衍生的麥當勞化、美國化及同質化社會經濟現象，也形塑全球與地方運動彼此互動，產生「混合」、「差異」、「同質性」等複雜而且無法預測的結果。研究發現：美國是目前最強大的資本主義社會，其制度代表著市場力量，那麼全球化運動市場就不可避免地伴隨著美國運動的趨勢。預期結論：本文研究全球在地化臺灣運動發展提出五點結論。1、積極迎向運動全球化。2、加強體育運動學術研究工作。3、加強產官學策略聯盟。4、加強培養全民的雙E能力。5、珍惜並活用臺灣的多元文化資源。

關鍵詞：全球化運動、在地運動、美國化、麥當勞化、同質化

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## 2018 年運動教練學會春季學術研討會

### 重量訓練刻板印象對棒球選手基礎能力及相關肌群之探討

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#### 摘要

台灣棒球重量訓練之刻板印象，就現況而言仍有許多選手觀念中，僅強化運動專項相關肌群卻忽略作用與拮抗平衡原則，故本研究目的探討六週重量訓練對棒球選手基礎能力及相關肌群之影響情形。參與者：隨機挑選每週維持2-3次的4名棒球選手，進行維持六週重量訓練，比較重量訓練前後棒球選手投擲、打擊及最大肌力之進步影響情形成果，以成對樣本t檢定比較重量訓練前後之差異情形。針對棒球選手須訓練上下肢，過去對重量訓練有著刻板印象缺乏知識與器材不是如現今完善，近幾十年重量訓練概念與器材普及化，運用重量訓練所訓練肌群轉化為棒球訓練將訓練肌群運用於棒球選手之表現為主要目標。結果顯示六週重量訓練對棒球投擲及打擊距離並無顯著提升，三頭肌伸展則有顯著提升效果，此結果顯示選手平日重量訓練內容傾向專項肌群忽略了作用拮抗肌平衡的原則。未來將由6週的重量訓練延長至10週，並在增加參與者人數，期望藉由此研究結果能對棒球訓練之發展朝向專業化與科學化。

**關鍵詞：**作用與拮抗、重量訓練、肌力

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# 籃球比賽犯規戰術使用與運動道德之爭議

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## 摘要

在現代運動中，經由媒體渲染、廣告代言、薪資多寡、社會期待等等因素，在比賽中獲勝已逐漸變成運動的唯一重點。選手及教練開始想辦法提高獲勝的機會，籃球比賽也因此開始出現了犯規戰術。為追求勝利開始使用犯規戰術來增加獲勝的機會，卻忽略掉了籃球比賽的本質是以球技來取得勝利，也產生了獲勝與運動道德間的思想碰撞。是然，本研究將使用文獻分析法，討論教練在比賽中為何會選擇違反規則的作法，犯規戰術與運動道德的關係，以及如何有效降低犯規戰術的產生。做為一個教練或選手，當在面臨道德和贏球的兩難當中，必須堅持自我的道德理念，提倡比賽的公平性，以球技來獲得最終的勝利。

關鍵字:籃球、犯規戰術、運動道德

1 **Basketball game in foul strategy and use the relationship**  
2 **between sports moral**

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6 **Abstract**

7 In the modern movement, through the media rendering, endorsements, salary  
8 amount, social expectations, among other factors, the winner in the game has gradually  
9 become the sole focus of the movement. Players and coaches began to think of ways to  
10 improve your chances of winning a basketball game and thus began a foul strategy. In  
11 pursuit of victory began using foul tactics to increase the chances of winning, but  
12 ignored the essence of the game of basketball is a game to win, also had thoughts of  
13 winning and sportsmanship between collisions. Is however, this study will use literature  
14 analysis, discuss why coaches in the game will choose violation of the rules of practice,  
15 the relationship between the foul strategy and ethics of sport, as well as how to  
16 effectively reduce the generation of foul strategy. As a coach or player, when faced with  
17 an ethical dilemma and win them, we must adhere to the moral self-concept, promoting  
18 fairness of the game, in order to obtain the final game victory.

19  
20 **Keywords:** Basketball, Foul strategy, Sport moral

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## 1 壹、前言:

2 籃球比賽中，球隊教練為了贏球，已經把犯規變成戰術之一。現在也有許  
3 多人開始研究犯規戰術的可行性、如何執行和考量執行的時間點，來獲得執行  
4 犯規戰術時的最大利益，以獲得最終的勝利。目前不管高中聯賽到 NBA，越來  
5 越多的教練也開始執行犯規戰術來增加自己球隊獲勝的機會，大家漸漸地開始  
6 認同這是比賽中的一部份，然而往往忽略掉的是犯規的意涵。犯規在各種比賽  
7 中都是違反規則的精神，而把犯規當作戰術，就偏離了運動家的精神，也違反  
8 了運動中的道德觀念。本研究使用文獻分析法，探討犯規與犯規戰術的產生，  
9 教練為何會使用犯規戰術，並從各個方向來改善使用犯規戰術的機率，例如:基  
10 層教育、教練的觀念、裁判的教育等等，而減少籃球場上的道德危機，這值得  
11 我們進一步來了解。

## 12 貳、犯規與犯規戰術

13 在討論犯規戰術和道德間的關係前，應該先了解常見的犯規行為和如何有  
14 效的利用犯規戰術來爭取更大獲勝的機會，來思考教練為何在比賽中會選擇違  
15 反規則的行為。

### 16 一、犯規的發生與原則

17 在籃球比賽中，因為是開放且具競爭性運動，犯規是無可避免會產生的，  
18 犯規是指球員與對手發生不合法接觸及/或違反運動道德的行為，違犯者每一次  
19 犯規都應在紀錄表上登記，並相應執行罰則（中華民國籃球協會，2012），規則  
20 的設立意指減少在比賽中產生野蠻、暴力之行為，而常見的犯規包括有:

#### 21 (一)、侵人犯規（personal foul）:

22 是指不論在活球或死球時，球員與對手發生接觸的犯規。球員不得拉、阻  
23 擋、推、撞、拌或者伸展他的手、手臂、手肘、以及肩部、臀部、腿部、膝  
24 蓋、腳部或彎曲身體佔據「不正常」的位置（超出圓柱體）妨礙對手的行  
25 進，或用任何粗暴的動作進行比賽。被犯規球員如無投籃動作，則發界外球

1 恢復比賽，若有投籃動作，則判給罰球。

2 (二)、進攻犯規 (offensive foul)：

3 在進攻時，進攻球員與防守球員發生非法的接觸，例如衝撞防守球員、用手  
4 推開防守球員等等，又或者是為了搶球，進攻球員用手推、拉防守球員，則  
5 發界外球恢復比賽。

6 (三)、防守犯規 (defensive foul)：

7 在防守時，使用非法接觸影響進攻球員投籃或上籃的動作例如：手拉、推、  
8 擠等等，又或者為了搶球，對進攻球員用手推、拉進攻球員，如被犯規球員  
9 有進行投籃動作，則判給罰球，若無投籃動作，則發界外球恢復比賽。

10 (四)、違反運動道德犯規 (unsportsmanlike foul)：

11 根據裁判判斷，若一名球員不是在規則精神與原意下致力於比賽而造成接  
12 觸、致力於比賽但造成過度接觸 (粗暴犯規)、防守球員從後面或側面意圖  
13 阻止快攻而與對手發生接觸，並且此時在進攻球員與對方球籃之間沒有防守  
14 員等等情形，應宣判是違反運動道德犯規。

15 從上述常見的犯規可以了解到幾個重點：首先、在籃球比賽中，肢體碰撞是  
16 無可避免的；其次、正常的碰觸對方身體是不會造成犯規，除非你是非法或惡  
17 意的碰觸對方身體；最後、因此主要的犯規來自於非法的碰觸對方身體。而犯  
18 規所造成的處罰，往往也與比賽中的勝負有著極大的關係。

19 二、犯規戰術的使用時間

20 在籃球比賽過程中，往往為了爭取時間採取犯規戰術，以至於減少時間的  
21 流失，增加追分的機會，又或者是降低對方能獲得追平或超前的機會。金加升  
22 與林文波 (1999) 指出在戰術運用上比分落後方會採用犯規戰術，其運用犯規  
23 戰術的策略：

24 (一)、讓對方罰球進2分時，獲得擲界外球進攻的主動，若對方兩罰只罰進一

25 分，甚至兩罰都沒進時，就有優勢爭搶籃板球，以最多得分 (投3分球) 來

1 逐步縮小比分差距和超前對方。

2 (二)、在比賽快結束時，如果落後球隊不使用犯規戰術，進攻方就可以減緩進  
3 攻的時間，使時間減少，減少落後球隊追分的機會。如落後球隊使用犯規戰  
4 術，送進攻方上罰球線罰球，罰球球員可能會因為影響到比賽的關鍵而造成  
5 罰球進球率降低，這時落後球隊就可以把握機會追上比分。

6 (三)、這一種戰術雖然充滿著賭博式的意圖，但這就有可能影響到比賽的勝  
7 負。

8 至於運用犯規戰術的效果如何，林忠民、林如瀚、劉有德（2007）分析  
9 NBA 2006-2007季後賽運用犯規戰術之研究，探討16隊籃球教練在共79場比賽  
10 中，比賽結束前3分鐘是否運用犯規戰術，以及時間與比數的關係。研究結果發  
11 現：犯規戰術使用率為57%，而NBA教練比賽結束前3分鐘比分差在13分左  
12 右，落後的隊伍因比分差距也不會運用犯規戰術。運用犯規戰術與未運用犯規  
13 戰術的比例將近1：1，就賭博性戰術來說，雖然研究中運用犯規戰術的成功率  
14 僅有4%，但為了爭取反敗為勝的機會，在一戰定生死的關鍵比賽中卻很重要。

15 從上述討論可以發現，在NBA比賽場上教練在犯規戰術的使用率為57%會  
16 使用，而成功機率僅僅只有4%，可以發現其實對比賽勝負的影響並不大，但卻  
17 有50%的教練為了勝利會使用犯規戰術來提高獲勝的機會，從這就可以探討犯  
18 規戰術與運動道德間的關係。

### 19 參、運動道德與犯規戰術

20 教練在執行犯規戰術時，往往只考慮到比賽的勝負，並沒有考慮到使用犯  
21 規戰術對於運動道德的影響，也沒有尊重籃球比賽的規則，這其實是違反運動  
22 道德的，而這之中的關聯可以從運動道德的內涵開始談起。

#### 23 一、運動道德的內涵

24 運動道德，又可稱之為運動家精神，然而運動道德的行為規範包含許多，例  
25 如：惡意犯規、打架、不服判決、服用禁藥等等都屬於違反運動道德的行為（王

1 秋燕，黃恆祥，2003)，運動道德除了這些規範國內也有許多學者為其下了定  
2 義，像是方慈惠（1998）認為運動道德就是能在運動的過程中，能體認到自  
3 己的存在與人際關係，進而培養適應社會的能力。張淑卿（2002）則認為運動  
4 道德的形成取決於社會道德的發展，同時也必須考慮到運動員本身的看法或價  
5 值，而運動道德的要求凌駕於運動規則之上，其中「公平」及「正義」是運動  
6 道德的重要原則。曾麗娟、陳定雄（2001）將運動道德列舉出下列項目：互助、  
7 合作、犧牲、鼓勵、忍耐等等原則，其最重要的是運動道德不只在運動場上表  
8 現出來，而是在日常生活中也能運用出來。綜合上述可以了解到運動道德應包  
9 含同理心、公平競爭、運動員精神、正直、面對挫折、合作及尊重規則和工作  
10 人員（黃致傑、陳鎰明，1995）。研究者並配合籃球賽事在下文中進一步為其提  
11 出解釋：

- 12 (一)、同理心：指一個人能覺察與了解他人感受的能力。如果我們有同理心，  
13 我們便可以體認競爭對手，並試著去瞭解他們的感受與觀點。
- 14 (二)、公平競爭：指所有的參賽者瞭解和堅守的不只是比賽的正是規則，也包  
15 括合作的精神與確保比賽公平所需要的不成文規則。
- 16 (三)、運動員精神：當我們成功而投注激烈的競爭與亢奮的情緒時，仍須受到  
17 對運動精神的涵養所調和，也就是當兩者有衝突時，道德標準會比戰術的利  
18 益作優先考量。
- 19 (四)、關心和尊重規則和裁判工作人員、社交傳統、對手並完成自己的運動承  
20 諾，以及以較正面的態度參與運動。
- 21 (五)、正直：運動員或教練道德自我效能：當自己面臨道德與利益兩難時，能做  
22 出正確選擇的信念。
- 23 (六)、面對挫折：發展自己面對並接受挫折的能力。
- 24 (七)、合作：在運動競賽中，是提供展現休戚與共、互助合作情境的最佳機會  
25 在教練下達執行犯規戰術的同時，球員和教練就違反了上述的幾項要素，

1 如:公平競爭、運動員精神、尊重規則及正直等等，也就是說犯規戰術的執行與  
2 運動道德的理念是背離的，而許多教練為了贏還是會使用犯規戰術來提高贏得  
3 比賽的機率，這對於運動道德是一種傷害，教練及選手應該尊重運動道德，而  
4 不是破壞。

## 5 二、犯規戰術與運動道德間的關係

6 從上述運動道德的概念，可以發現犯規戰術其實是違反運動道德的行為，  
7 不過現代運動因為媒體的渲染、廣告代言、得牌的獎金等等因素影響下，轉變  
8 為只有獲勝才是一切，因此教練們還是會採取這種賭博式的方法，只要可以增  
9 加獲勝的機會，來拚看看可不可以反敗為勝，但這也造成了球員、教練在贏球  
10 與運動道德之間的理念衝突，也造成了賽場上的不公平競爭，然而越來越多教  
11 練及選手使用犯規戰術，潛移默化的使大眾對犯規戰術影響比賽的公平性漸漸  
12 忽略，變成犯規戰術只是一種為了贏的手段，而不是破壞賽場上運動道德的元  
13 兇。

14 犯規戰術與運動道德息息相關，運動道德是在運動比賽中，運動員應遵行  
15 的運動規則條文的法則（曾麗娟、陳定雄，2001）。刻意地為了凍結時間或者為  
16 了增加一點點的獲勝的機會而使用了故意犯規的戰術，因此影響到了自己與社  
17 會對於運動道德的看法，造成了大家對犯規戰術的誤解，然而競技運動場上，  
18 重要的是自我的努力奮鬥、還有發掘自己的潛能，當然比賽場上得到勝利是對  
19 自我的一種肯定，也是一種追求，也伴隨著為自己帶來許多名聲及利益，影響  
20 許多人為此加入這些運動項目中，但當為了贏得勝利獲取冠軍時，卻使出了違  
21 反運動道德的一些戰術及手段，這項運動將會失去自己在社會上存在的價值，  
22 身為在籃球運動場上的選手及教練，必須捍衛自己的使命，減少勝利於酬賞的  
23 重視程度，強調比賽的過程與努力的程度，來為籃球運動打造一個公平競爭的  
24 環境。

## 25 三、如何避免犯規戰術的增加

1 強調比賽的公平性，清楚的認識犯規和運動道德的概念，建立良好的競爭  
2 平台，國內有學者探討了如何提升公平競爭的一些方向如:選手、家長、體育老  
3 師、運動組織、教練、裁判及新聞媒體等等（黃英哲，1993）。本文為其提出解  
4 釋:

5 (一)、選手：要清楚的瞭解到比賽公平的重要性，對犯規有良好的認知。

6 (二)、家長：家長必須從小教育自己的小孩，並鼓勵公平的競爭，也避免不必  
7 要的競爭。

8 (三)、體育老師：老師不只要教導學生運動技能，也要在教導學生技能時，  
9 提倡良好的公平競爭，並糾正競爭時的一些違規行為。

10 (四)、運動組織：為犯規戰術設定專門條款，以懲罰不公平的競爭

11 (五)、教練：在運動道德的教育上，教練對選手的品性影響是非常大的，所以  
12 教練無時無刻都要保持著公平公正的態度，來教導選手。

13 (六)、裁判：必須負責比賽能否完全按照規則來進行。

14 (七)、新聞媒體：經由新聞媒體的傳達，會產生非常大的影響力，必須嚴重譴  
15 責違反運動道德的選手及教練，使競爭環境更加的公平。

16 從上述可以瞭解到，降低犯規戰術的使用要從許多層面開始做起，而必須  
17 從小就開始教育，學童通常經由模仿學習如何分辨是非，模仿的對象有許多，  
18 例如：父母、教師、運動明星等等（陳其昌，2010）。在學校接觸體育活動時，  
19 體育教師要使小朋友了解到各項運動的規則，家長關心孩子參與活動時的公平  
20 競爭，避免出現犯規的行為，而運動教練需以身作則來使運動員參加比賽時保  
21 持著公平競爭的態度，而公平公正的裁判也是不可或缺的要素，最後就是新聞  
22 媒體的報導，使大眾了解各種比賽違反運動道德的一些行為，以避免自身參與  
23 運動競賽時不小心違反了運動道德。可以發現這些層面都是一環扣著一環的，  
24 如果有一個環節沒有做好，也許就無法降低犯規戰術的使用機率。

25 肆、結語

1           本文主要是在探討犯規戰術與運動道德間的關係，在文中可以了解犯規與  
2 犯規戰術的產生，以及教練使用犯規戰術的使用時間與效果，來理解犯規戰術  
3 與運動道德間的關聯，並提出建議使犯規戰術的使用機率減少。在現今各級賽  
4 事求勝已變成是唯一，在前文中可以得知，為求勝會使用犯規戰術的教練佔 50  
5 %以上，而成功獲得勝利的機率雖僅只有 4%，但許多教練還是願意去賭這機  
6 率，而繼續使用犯規戰術，進而造成了違反運動道德的行為。

7           目前國內的教練對運動員的指導往往只顧技術，以及眼前的成績，但卻忽  
8 略了道德、品行、責任與行為的教育，造成在獲勝與運動道德間衝突時，選手  
9 及教練選擇的都是獲勝。此時應該強調比賽場上的公平性，以爭取良性的競  
10 爭，不是使用犯規戰術來增加自己獲勝的機會而破壞掉了賽場上的初衷，這也  
11 會間接地造成未來有更多種多樣化的犯規戰術的產生，然而這就必須從基層的  
12 教育開始，一環扣著一環，不管是從選手、家長、教練、體育教師、媒體等等  
13 一步一步建立起良好的公平競爭的環境，教育運動道德的基礎，強調比賽中的  
14 過程、自我訓練與賽場上的比較及比賽場上的態度，減少對冠軍與酬賞的追  
15 求，以達到減少比賽中犯規戰術的產生。

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# 後現代主義解構職業運動全球化的競爭態勢

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## 一、解析後現代主義運動職業化

隨著社會的發展越來越多的職業形成專業化，社會職業發展方針以提高職業的社會地位及從業人員專業水平。呂建國和孟慧（2002）認為職業是一個人為了不斷取得個人收入而連續從事具有市場價值的特殊活動，這種活動決定了從業人員的社會地位；葉至誠（2001）將職業概括為可以從中得到利益的一種活動。因此，職業運動即可定義為，運動員利用該項運動帶來的收入維持生計。職業運動員係透過簽訂合約，並根據業績獲得相當比例的金錢，對運動員而言是一件以個人能力與運動成績表現計價的工作，所有職業運動員在運動市場上有如商品，經由經紀公司依據運動員本身專業能力、年齡、運動項目與健康狀況有不同的價碼，在目前市場上無統一的價碼，主要根據個人的運動表現、年齡、參賽成績，並透過主雇協商方式，簽定一定長度的合約而稱之。

後現代主義大師 Lyotard（1988）認為：後現代就是在現代中，把「不可表現的」放進表現本身，給予更強烈的意義。運動職業化是一個發展的概念也是一種狀態，是一個不斷發展出專業精神和專門的技術，並依此具有謀生的能力，例如醫師、律師、藝術家和學者等，運動職業化是一種職業資格的認定，更是一個不斷更新的自我追求；顯然，運動職業化過程貫穿在整個職業運動生涯當中。Doll（1993）認為後現代主義是現代的延續及超越，具備不確定性、自我組織、吊詭及遊戲四項特質。由於職業分化日益精細，職業結構越趨於複雜，現今運動也成為一項「職業」，職業運動員的主要工作包括：肌力訓練、定期練習、參加聯賽、運動保健等，也就是說，「運動」是一種實際存在的社會職業。在長期的與訓練環境的互動過程中，需要職業運動不斷調整自己的訓練思路、訓練理念，豐富職業知識和技能，逐步提高自身的素質，從而表現出與特定職業運動相符應的角色。所以，職業運動發展是一種「動態」發展的過程，職業運動員必須不斷充實自己才能在發展過程中保存活力。

成熟的職業運動至少應該具備三個方面的特徵與標準：一是職業運動素質：職業運動必須有職業理論知識作為依據，有專門的技能作保證。因此，職業運動員必須接受過專業運動訓練；二是職業運動道德：運動員必須承擔重要的社會責任，要求職業運動員應將社會利益、服務對象的利益放在首位的從業精神，即是說對職業運動員有較高的道德要求；三是職業運動團隊的自主權，作為職業運動團隊，在本行業內具有職業的自主權，如對運動員的聘用與解職。從職業實際工作來看，無論是訓練工作所需要的職業理論知識、職業技能，還是運動訓練工作

所承擔的社會責任、社會利益和對運動員所承擔責任、利益以及工作的自主權。我國職業運動還難稱為職業，至少還是不成熟的職業，具有「半職業」或「準職業」的屬性。因此，我國職業運動是一個還沒有達到成熟職業狀態的、正在形成中的職業。由於我國的國情及歷史因素，職業運動的社會地位不高，職業運動不像醫生、律師等職業所具有的不可替代性，甚至比同類其他職業也稍顯遜色。職業地位和社會地位的不高必然帶來工資、福利等方面降低，這就使得很多人不願從事該項職業，同時還使一些優秀運動人才外流，至高薪的歐美與大陸等國家謀生與發展。要使職業運動這個職業得到社會的認可，使職業運動不斷激發熱情，職業運動職業化就是大勢所趨，也是提升職業運動社會地位的內在需要。

後現代主義解構現今職業運動市場是多元也呈現多樣貌，運動職業化有些國家是由政府資助，不以市場為導向（東歐地區）；但是在歐美或亞洲地區是由企業廠商資助以市場為導向。1988年後現代主義襲捲全球浪潮，再加上1988年洛杉磯奧運電視轉播創造龐大商機，造成全球運動意識的轉型與職業運動員蓬勃發展，此刻運動商業管理系統形成，追求運動商業化的利潤、運動俱樂部產生及職業聯賽等。運動職業化的出現激起運動管理市場，職業運動員競賽門票銷售、廣告、俱樂部的轉讓、贊助廠商曝光與行銷、電視、運動彩券、廣播、網路商機和其他商業活動。

運動職業化應具備專門領域的技術和知識，現今全球據有穩定與規模的職業運動約計有四十餘個職業運動組織，也顯示運動菁英、競技運動與職業運動取向的強勢作為，後現代階段運動已普遍走向職業化，成為一種高消費及階級象徵時代所趨（Coakley, 1998）。運動職業化的現象主要以金錢和物質利益取得，以賺錢為主，受商業主義的滲透與支配，相較於業餘運動是受到歧視，有階級和對身體活動有偏見，其主要原因業餘運動過度重視運動的精神面、教育的意義所使然。後現代主義觀點提出對運動職業化現象的批判發現，職業運動中運動員無法控制自己的運動經驗，也無法像一般同年齡層的夥伴，享有一般的生活層面，因此運動員身份認同的發展受到限制，是單一化宰制的現象。運動職業化的特徵屬於官僚式、標準化、可以量化加以預測與控制，受到後現代主義者所批判。

後現代主義反抗職業運動的利益取向與視運動員唯物等低層次的價值觀，職業運動太過於單調與制式化缺少倫理的氣息，例如賭博打假球、商業化的包裝等，這種反規格與反理性的風格影響職業運動價值觀，並間接影響民眾與學生運動的思考方向。後現代主義所欲建立，每位職業運動員主體的發展、多元種族的參與，反對職業運動財團對運動員的壓抑與霸權，重視職業運動員主觀的想法，認為職業運動存在的意義是在於競賽的舞台情境中，並由自己去詮釋與建構。後現代職業運動拒絕接受現代理性所建立的原理原則，因為現代性的單一、線性及規則制約，有礙於職業運動員的發展（Simon & Michael, 1994）。這股思潮對於職業運動的發展亦造成不小的衝擊，首先是多元文化的呈現，即在職業運動上，能破除「種族中心主義」，呈現多元化的樣貌，吸引不同膚色、種族、宗教的運動員進入職業運動，更包容他國優秀運動員跨國加入組織。另外，後現代主義主張一

種「邊際中心」互相解消的策略聯盟、聯網組織的取向，職業運動的發展逐漸走向沒有國界的全球化景況，利用科際整合與資訊，提升他國運動員更寬廣的學習視野。

綜上所述，可以了解到後現代主義對於職業運動的影響有多元文化的呈現、破除邊際中心的融合等，然而職業運動的發展走向全球化趨勢，現今職業運動是一種平面化、商業化、消費式的現象。

## 二、後現代主義職業運動的隱喻與解構

後現代主義的理論家 Lyotard 特別對歷史脈絡感到興趣，因此採取現代化的歷史作為他們探討的出發點，解構職業道德所潛藏的價值。1987 年英國社會學家 Burns 和 Stalker 的歷史觀點認為資本主義起源於西方國家，在此階段生產量多於供應商的需求，資本家較強調消費者的需求與新技術的刺激。Bell (1973) 認為第三階段工業化，西方從工業主義轉變為後工業主義，影響美國職業運動組織的國際化，跨國尋找新市場（外籍運動員）和美國職業運動產業越來越重視新的行銷技術（電視轉播、廣告、網路、形象塑造）。以下依據後現代主義職業運動的隱喻、解構，分別加以探究。

### （一）後現代職業運動的隱喻

1、反霸權：後現代主義認為現代化職業運動組織是霸權的意圖，現代化職業運動組織以資本家霸權的命令，達到合理與普遍的規約。在馬克思主義的理論上，霸權解釋為統治階級的興趣作為普遍性實踐，而後現代主義者講究社會的解構與變動，解構與釋放自己想法反對習性及反對經濟合理性（郭實渝，1996）。因此，以後現代觀點看職業運動組織的信念，應當重新調整組織的結構、合理的運動員薪津、運動員應建立批判與實踐能力，即具備運動專業的倫理道德。

2、語言標籤：後現代主義選擇組織重建，重視人們或組織價值的尋求，後現代主義職業運動組織運作，重視運動員與教練參與組織事務性的決定，組織領導者授權教練自主運作的模式。反對以語言標籤，針對發展中國家及第三世界的運動員存有刻板印象，例如黑膚色或非洲人不應當稱呼為黑人、白人為優越民族的意識形態、亞洲或非美籍運動員以市場低價等不合理的制度（Kew, 1997）。

3、反管理：後現代主義以「沒有結構之下人的存在」觀點。許多後現代主義者相信世界是無形的、零碎和交互的，沒有隱藏的順序，後現代主義者挑戰像神話般巨大的敘述，質疑科學和技術合理性（王岳川，1993）。後現代主義者對於職業運動組織採用官僚與階層化、合約控制採取極端的懷疑，對於職業運動財團採用權力的控制與剝削予以斥責。

4、無區別：後現代許多解構者不加以建構巨大的敘述，他們透過反省和實踐，發現新的可能性、無區別的組織形式。女權主義給後現代職業運動組織結構另一種新的詮釋，認為官僚是男性的副產品和白色男性所擁有，對於職業運動發展權力集中在有色人種和控制少數的白色男性中，這些批評職業運動性別歧視和種

族的結構 (Coakley, 2001)。後現代女權理論的觀點，認為運動應當性別平等，應當具備女性職業運動環境。

5、多元化：職業運動組織主要成員為運動員與教練，運動員的養成由原先國家所培育。現今全球化潮流，職業運動員及教練可以經由跨國公司仲介至他國工作，職業運動員及教練的培育也可經由跨國專業團體訓練而成，彌補了國內技術與環境單一價值的侷限，而改以採用多元的方式，提供多項的選擇，滿足不同個體差異的需求，進而刺激該國職業運動的環境品質。

## (二) 後現代職業運動的解構

1968年以後全球體育的改變，許多運動逐漸朝向職業化，在此之前業餘運動傾向於紀律和毅力的表現，以後現代看法此時期過於理想與浪漫，並不符合現今職業運動背後所隱藏的利益與人性作用。現代化職業運動主要的目標就是勝利，也是最重要的焦點，而不是發展性格和毅力 (Coakley & Dunning, 2000)；後現代主義者反對職業運動為求勝利而違反運動道德的行為，對於隱藏和控制的制度應當尋求解放。從現今職業運動我們可以很清楚查覺一些職業運動員反社會的行為，如在一些職業運動棒球、舉重、自行車和田徑，普遍使用興奮劑的禁藥，為了勝利與高額獎金不擇手段違反道德。後現代以象徵性觀點，認為後現代職業運動價值觀，不描繪命令和團結，由不確定性、圖像、複雜和矛盾加以著手 (Cooper, 1993)。

從現實層面來談，職業運動員受到贊助商和不法的民眾金錢的誘惑，使用興奮劑、打假球或故意表現差，以掩蓋獲取不當的經濟收益。忠實的觀眾與球迷，對於英雄與偶像的標準都是崇高與完美，他們存在於高的道德境界、不受誘惑與貪婪，當運動員表現出粗暴行為 (使用禁藥或打假球)，會使得球迷與觀眾對你的期待將會破滅，產生負面的想法，例如歐洲自行車選手使用興奮劑令人觸目驚心，其背後隱藏著非法團體與組織的煽動，再加上意志不堅定的球員容易造成利益團體的操控。

運動員邁向職業化帶來最顯而易見的好處即是高額的薪資，受到資本主義市場機制與利潤優厚影響，企業願意投資職業運動團隊，利用職業運動員當作公司行銷的工具，此互利關係必須在雙方皆得利的原則下才能永續發展，職業運動才能永續經營。然而職業運動團隊面臨危機的原因有三：職業運動的客戶 (觀眾) 銳減，減少門票收入，職業運動經營就發生危機，這也是最直接能理解的原因。另一項使職業運動無法經營的原因是，企業不懂運動，僅以職業運動比賽所得之利潤為考量，會在經營幾年之後面臨轉移或解散。最後，公司財務發生危機，贊助的職業運動團隊有如公司的老狗事業，本季比賽結束將面臨轉讓、出售或解散。以上皆是贊助單位單一的考量，對於轉讓、出售或解散之後的運動員出路即成問題，在此潛藏的意識可以發現，運動員的運動生命短暫，又面臨職業運動市場不穩定的狀態下，年輕的運動員難免會避而走險做出反社會的行為。更顯示出，職業運動在贊助公司與運動員之利益關係矛盾現象。

美國職棒發展成熟，發展至今已經超過百年，現今美國稱棒球大聯盟為「美

國棒球工業」，各國職業運動的經營者對特定運動項目的狂熱與執著，或是企業直接將經營球隊的虧損費直接列成行銷品牌的費用。依國內職棒為例：經營一支棒球隊是賠錢，球員的薪津自然就低，企業也無法永續經營。所以我國如果一直無法改善這個產業的經濟結構問題，經營球隊無法賺錢，球員也只能維持這種薪水結構，反而會造成一流的選手為了薪水只能不斷的往美國或日本打球，國內將會失去一流的選手比賽而失去精彩度，觀眾越來越少，打假球的事情也絕對還會繼續的發生。

當今職業運動不成熟之下，政府應當負起「扶助與推動」的角色，積極介入與輔正，絕非身為旁觀者。俟企業經營穩定與職業運動成熟，政府才能成為旁觀的輔導者。職業運動的成功必須仰賴媒體，透過高觀賞價值的運動吸引消費者，透過媒體的高曝光度擴大市場，這樣複雜的市場關係也使得運動不再單純；與後現代主義相符合的多元主義，應破除原先職業運動的單一刻板的意識，取代之以尊重各族群與跨國運動人才，職業運動才有光景 (Clegg, 1990)。

職業運動的經營為營利導向，職業運動競賽群體包含：選手、工作團隊和節目等管理有關連的事業，這些事業側重觀眾的消費，亦即重視以行銷和促銷活動，銷售比賽的門票及其相關產業。依美國職業運動的推廣與經營組織為例，其所需的經營人員和職務設計有下列職務：董事長（老闆）、經理、人事（教練與選手）主任、預算主任和行銷、促銷與公共關係主任等。由於職業運動員如同運動商品，運動員與組織之間必須經由經紀人的仲介，透過合約建立雙方的關係。職業運動員應自覺提高職業化水準，明確其職業化對自身的重要性，把職業知識和技能的學習看作自己的工作，喚醒職業運動的職業化意識。

### 三、後現代價值觀之職業運動發展取向

職業運動為社會發展重要縮影，也是反映出社會的動態，而職業運動的發展亦會被社會所操縱。職業運動是國家競技體育發展到一定階段的必然產物，競技運動職業化是指將競技運動作為職業分工和競技運動向專職轉變的演進過程。Shank (2002) 認為職業運動項目的成立受區域性運動項目的喜愛程度、民族性運動項目的喜愛程度、運動技術水準和國家經濟發展程度所影響。每個國家的社會發展都有一套特定的價值觀念，而這套價值觀念往往受到政治、經濟及文化三方面操縱，以下分別加以說明。

#### （一）政治方面

運動單純化與政治無關，但事實上，這樣的想法已經不存在目前的運動生態中，後現代運動潮流永遠不能逃避政治的影響。後現代社會容許不同聲音與多元的思考，政治介入運動或政治影響運動組織是必然的現象，由於每個國家的民族意識不同，產生不同的價值觀，甚至利用運動為媒介，會凝聚人們共同的價值觀與共同語言 (Rose, 1982)。例如：古巴和大陸運動基本上由國家控制、有潛力運動員得以集中訓練、傑出的運動員為國家所僱用、商業機構贊助等，皆為政治影響運動。甚至政府以「抵制或杯葛」的手法，就是政治慣用的手段。

後現代認為「職業運動」這個詞，以刻板印象來看待。因為職業運動從字面解釋，是指那些投身於運動作為一種職業，也是「受薪僱員」的關係（Lyotard al., 1978），如英國的職業足球運動員、美國職籃、中華職棒等。這些人是具備專業的從業人員，職業運動包含專職運動機構內，決定該項的體育活動，職業運動員為國家意識型態與國家行銷重要象徵，受到政府的支配與控制，無形中成為政治利用的工具（優秀運動員參與政治選舉活動或參與助選活動、政府行銷廣告代言人等）。然而，北歐國家政府支持運動俱樂部，培養優秀運動員，政府採用民主和平的價值觀看待任何的運動項目，後現代職業運動不論年齡、性別、社會和種族歸屬，身體和精神狀況以及居住地，不受政治霸權而限制。

## （二）經濟方面

二十世紀末後工業主義興起，西方國家在此階段，生產量多於供應商的需求，資本家組織的依賴性導向，強調消費者的需求與新技術的刺激（即產品的開發、設計、消費者研究、市場研究、廣告、銷售、商標），職業運動國際化以尋找新市場和越來越重視新的技術發展。資本主義的工業化發展，部分職業運動團體因缺乏資金或競賽市場（觀眾與門票收入不足），這些運動團隊完全依賴企業贊助自謀生存，當社會經濟狀況不佳時，部分職業運動團隊將面臨解散或轉讓的命運。甚至職業運動為了獲取贊助，就必須要有好的比賽成績，這可能助長了暴力及欺詐事件。受到企業贊助的職業運動團隊，有可能失去個人自主性。

國家經濟狀況影響贊助職業運動企業營運情形，因為職業運動團隊必須依靠贊助廠商與企業團體支助才能生存，贊助對運動發展十分重要，它可以增加運動員收入（Siegfried、Andrew, 2000）；社會經濟穩定運動事業才能穩定發展，例如靠運動這行業維生的人員包括運動員、教練、球隊職員、場地維修工人、運動公關及宣傳人員、運動記者、場館經理、訓練員、運動播報員等，及廠商運動科技發展器材、穩定的材料價格、運動醫療設備、訓練設施強化等。都受到國家的經濟興亡而影響職業運動的推展。

從另一個角度思考，美國職業運動蓬勃發展所帶來的經濟效益，例如助長當地城市經濟增長、強化公共運動的設施與媒體事業發展，創造就業機會與當地財源收入，當地居民依此為榮。另一方面，這些職業運動團隊提供非金錢的好處，例如職業運動賽季結束會進入學校參與體育活動、弱勢公益活動與資助公共的運動設施，進而對城鎮居民謀福利。

## （三）文化方面

文化是人們對生活方式的總合描述，在不同的文化背景和意識形態影響下，不同國家有不同的民族喜好和傳統的運動發展，甚至以宗教團體對某些運動的發展，形成運動的社群。例如：YMCA 與籃球運動，這些國家在文化的影響下，形塑某項運動的風氣，並帶給人們共同的意識與價值觀念，當此項運動文化深入人們的生活一部分，自然能夠在社會中普及進而走向專業取向，職業運動團隊將能順利產生（Kew, 1997）。

從以上職業運動產生受制於國家文化取向，當國家運動風氣興盛，隨處能接

觸到此單項運動項目、資訊與媒體大力傳播，自然能興起此單項運動的風氣；眾多民眾參與的運動，對於單項運動走向菁英與專業的職業運動自然不成問題。其實以後現代非線性思考，除了人心改變之外，我們應當審視職棒運動環境是否應當重新檢討與變革。職業運動員是觀眾與社會的英雄形象，運動英雄主義是美國運動社會文化現象，這股風潮也形塑美國英雄風格，優秀的職業運動員具有高度的價碼，在運動場上英勇作風，表現出職業運動中個人主義風格，再加上社會觀眾的期待與濃厚的商界強人色彩，自然在職業運動員心理上產生壓力。職業運動員受到英雄文化的期許與獲得低的薪資心理感受是矛盾的，當運動員價值觀偏差時，就會產生反社會的行為。

#### 四、我國職業運動發展之困境

現今後現代思潮批判資本主義引導的職業運動，往往形成以「主雇利益」為導向，例如：打假球風波探究其根源，仍然起因於大環境的改變，職業運動員薪資少、比賽場次少，基於金錢的誘因而悖離運動道德所使然。探究後現代職業運動全球化，我國職業運動發展的弔詭情結具有以下困境。

##### （一）職業運動團隊的數量與品質兩難

我國職業運動的發展趨於不穩定的狀態，目前職業運動面臨普及與特殊的困境，究竟要追求國內職業運動數量的增加，亦或講求職業運動品質的提升？例如職棒與業餘棒球的比例應如何調整？業餘棒球與高中棒球數量如何提升？職棒運動員的數量增加或以運動員品質水準考量？是目前我國職棒運動面臨的困境。

##### （二）職業運動組織科層化與專業衝突

傳統國內外的職業運動組織仍以科層運作模式，根據合約簽訂能夠快速達到組織目標或進行解雇動作，可能產生反功能或負面的結果，失去職業運動員的專業自主與價值（Coakley, 2001）。從後現代主義觀點，科層組織與專業自主的矛盾與衝突，此乃職業運動的另一項困境。

##### （三）職業運動發展形成科技與人文失衡

Friedman（2005）世界是平的一書，說明資訊無國界，現今職業運動跨國行銷，職業運動國際化與科技化的現象，形成科技理性的過度膨脹與運動商業化標榜，造成職業運動員價值理性的淡薄，使得職業運動的發展產生科技與人文不均衡的困境。

##### （四）職業運動經營以計劃控制與自由市場拉扯

國家與民族思想和意識型態與職業運動發展有關（Lyotard, 1988）。一般而言，社會主義國家或開發中國家之職業運動，主要採用計劃控制的模式；資本主義國家與已開發國家，以自由市場作為職業運動經營的機制。

##### （五）職業運動系統的實現與理想

職業運動系統屬於社會的次級系統，與社會系統有密切的關聯，任何一項職業運動的創立是艱辛，為使其穩定與長久發展，必須職業運動組織單位與政府政策相契合。從後現代觀點強調多元民主社會，因此現今國內職業運動組織（企業

贊助)與政策規範(政府)在認知上產生差距,形成矛盾的局面。

## 五、結語

後現代主義精神的概念可緊斂在「解構」與「多元」兩個概念上,這樣的理念正衝擊著目前的職業運動環境,原先的社會秩序正遭遇後現代主義的挑戰下,職業運動的腳步亦需掌握本土化、多元化、科技化、國際化的原則而邁進。如此一來,才不致於在後現代主義的雜音之中錯亂了腳步而迷失了方向。後現代主義的諸項特徵,很明顯在我國社會發展已具有很濃厚的氣氛,因此,在未來的職業運動方向應該順應此潮流,提出有效的作為以肩負起時代的使命。

企業或財團對於職業運動的推展擔負起帶頭的角色,也是職業運動永續經營重要功成。在職業運動目標方面,應特別重視職業運動穩定發展,健全運動員正確的價值觀。在職業運動訓練方面,應秉持全人發展的原則,避免反社會的行為,強調人格與技能的完整性。在職業運動專業方面,重視專業倫理與專業精神,更重要應具有敬業精神,免除僅求「獲勝」的單一取向。在職業運動組織領導者,應放下權威的角色,塑造運動員的專業形象,結合行銷與媒體傳播,吸引觀眾的認同,將觀看職業運動視為民眾休閒生活的一部分。在職業運動行政管理方面,應強調彈性處理、權變領導、溝通協調等方式,兼重職業運動組織效能與運動員成就感,以共同達成職業運動的理想目標。

總結,在後現代主義的衝擊之下,我國職業運動應踏著多元化的腳步前進,同時揚棄職業運動為達獲勝永恆不變的理念,現今臺灣 SBL 籃球賽,雖然球員是靠球團支付的薪水生活,但由於市場未成熟,吸引不到媒體及觀眾,所以無職業運動之名,卻有職業運動員之實,但由於並非職業聯盟,所以可以吸收許多學生球員,也因此衍生許多學生課業、干擾教育等問題。目前要使職業運動穩定成長,唯有職業運動員加強本身的專業能力,並樹立良好的社會形象,才能吸引更多的觀眾和企業贊助單位。因此,本土的職業運動員必須積極投入訓練,以提高技能,當職業運動組織成熟及贊助企業收支穩定,另一項隱憂將會相繼出現:「球團為達勝利以獲取更高的利益,將會向國際尋找更優秀的運動員」。到時對於本土運動員亦會產生更大的衝突。

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# 全球化對於臺灣在地化運動發展之影響

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## 一、前言

全球化是一個複雜多元的概念，學術界至今沒有一個統一的定義，全球化反映了 70 年代中期第三次工業革命以來，西方社會以及整個世界的巨大變動，這種變動涉及政治、經濟、社會、文化等領域，涉及國家政策與國際關係及國與國之間在政治、經濟貿易緊密互相依存、世界基本格局與人類前途等不同範疇的重大問題。全球化亦可以解釋為世界是平的 (Friedman, 2007) 和將全球視為一個整體，在現代科技不僅加速科學創新的傳播，也加速文化的傳遞，文化可在極短的時間內，傳至世界各地；另外，移民也是文化全球化的重要影響因素 (Fowler, 1994)。

齊格蒙特-包曼 (Zygmunt-Bauman) 於 2003 年發表文章內容指出：全球化是現代社會中流動和擴張的過程，全球化發生於十七世紀歐洲現代化社會，包含傳統西方理性主義、科學技術的進步以及資本主義的發展等。當資本主義發展進入二十世紀，現代化似乎發生轉向，對於傳統的理性主義已經被獨立系統的經濟、技術和科學的法律職能所取代，現代化理論的發展也隔斷了現代性和西方理性主義歷史之間的內在關係，此時，現代化已經成為促使資本主義生產方式乃至於全球化社會形成的一種社會生活、一種行為制度與模式 (Giddens, 2000)。現代化已經等同於自足、自律的社會發展過程，現代化已經脫離西方本體論淵源，轉向一種巨大實在性力量。這種力量引領全球經濟、政治力量不斷重組，改變著全球各地人們的思想觀念和生活方式，乃至潛移默化地建構或形塑各種地方性知識與文化 (徐偉傑譯, 2007)。

全球化社會現象的發展或許可解讀運動休閒產業的崛起，或是追求偶像的崇拜心理，然而卻存在我們重要的根本事實，藉以維繫整個現象的發展，那就是「運動」已處於全球化的網路中。每天我們能透過報章雜誌、電視傳播或網際網路報導，獲得世界各地各型運動賽會的消息，或是關心自己所喜歡的明星運動員，加上現今商業媒體的包裝運作下，誰都無法擺脫與運動掛鉤，或消費運動相關產品的事實；Miller 等人 (2001) 提出現代運動五個特徵，分別為全球化、組織化、美國化、電視化及商業化。另外，Cashmore (2000) 將運動全球化歸類為三個階段，第一階段是指創造全球性賽事，例如奧運；第二階段，全球性通信發展，如 1962 年進入通信衛星時代；第三階段，運動商品及製造的全球流通。

現今運動賽會發展就可以說明全球化現象。從參與的數量方面：2004 年希臘雅典奧運參賽國已突破了兩百國，上萬人參與的規模；從傳播方面：2006 年

世界盃足球賽期間，一個月內世足官方網站超過四十二億瀏覽量，來了解世界最受歡迎體育運動賽事最新動態。從遷徙的面向而言：2006-2007年NBA「國際球員」再創新高，有83名國際球員，來自塞爾維亞、法國、斯洛維尼亞、瑞典、中國等37個國家（李玉芳，2007）；從商業面向而言：Nike、adidas運動設備及器材遍佈世界各地，並成為各地賽會的重要贊助商。這些社會現象充斥在我們生活週遭，也顯示出運動全球化的事實。

以下首先釐清全球化的內涵與趨向，進而了解全球化運動與在地化運動之間的關係，最後探討全球化對臺灣運動發展的取向。

## 二、全球化的內涵與趨向

全球化是一個實際的政治議題，也是一個經濟的議題，亦是一種思想文化議題，全球化可界定為世界五大洲各國之間相互聯繫，在接觸數量方面產生巨大的轉變，各國之間交流與合作頻繁，也是全球運動發展重要管道。

### （一）全球化的內涵

全球化不僅是一種狀態或現象，同時也是一種過程，它是一種非常複雜的互動現象，同時也是一種非線性的過程，簡單地說全球化就是全球人類社會的萬事萬物互為影響且漸趨於一致的歷程（桂宏誠，2001）。Taylor等人（1997）運用多元因果邏輯（multi-causal logic）分析的方式，視全球化是運用經濟、文化、政治等不同方式促成跨國界連結的過程，經濟全球化是指經濟國際統合的系統。Hall等人亦提出全球化二元衝突的概念：普遍論與個殊論、調合論與差異論、統整論與分裂論、中央集權與鬆綁分權、並列與融合等（Porter & Vidovich, 2000），因此，全球化概念本身隱含著二元的對立論述，也呈現多元的經驗與面貌。

「世界是平的」作者弗里德曼（Friedman）認為：全球化的服務更加豐富和保存文化，而不是摧毀它，因為每個人有自己的聲音和表達自己的看法。Beck（1998）認為全球化指的是在經濟、訊息、生態、技術以及跨國文化衝突與市民社會的各種不同範疇內，可以感覺到的人們日常行動日益失去了國界的限制，全球化代表空間距離的消除，人們無自覺地被投入跨國生活形式中。全球化的過程中有三個主要層面：1、經濟全球化與經濟市場、自由貿易區域、全球的貨物及服務交易、跨國企業的快速成長有關。2、社會全球化是指單一國家正在國際組織中改變（如：建立歐盟與長久的聯合國組織），是興起全球化的社會現象。3、文化全球化是指全世界的資訊、符號及信號系統的潮流及其反應。上述三種解釋基本上說明了全球化的本質內涵，並且全球化與經濟、社會、文化發展相謀合。

### （二）世界全球化的趨向

世界全球化的趨向係透過文化帝國主義的意識與擴張，將美國的文化及自由市場的意識型態輸出到世界其它國家，例如迪士尼卡通，各地方的特色及差異將會被全球化浪潮所淹沒，變成沒有根的現象及齊一的美國價值體系。因此，世界全球化的趨向主要具體現象：美國化、麥當勞化及同質化。

1、美國化（Americanization）：指國家或地區在經濟的發展中，延續美國資本主

義掠奪的本質、賺錢的邏輯，也把無止境的競爭當作必然，「因為全球已經有很多的資源可以滋養、負荷另一個美國」。十八世紀時，英國推動工業革命教會世界各國何謂「生產」，二十世紀約占全球人口百分之五的美國人，竟可以消耗全球約四成的資源，如此也教會世界何謂「消費」；二十一世紀後，重視多元文化的後現代意識，尊重全球各國自由發展，也讓全世界各個國家和地區學會「永續發展」。此時，我們瞭解全球化促進國家經濟的發展，也反觀二十一世後現代意識，各國開始去美國化，追求本土發展的意識。

2、麥當勞化 (McDonaldization)：1996 年 George Ritzer 提出「麥當勞化」的概念與「美國化」的現象相符合。所謂麥當勞化簡單的說有幾個共同的特性，即效率、可計算性、可預測性及非人科技的控制，George Ritzer 認為「麥當勞」將此四項表現的最為明顯，因此稱為麥當勞化。這種速食組織吞噬了世界其它地區，其特色就是效率、可計算、可預測及控制，Ritzer 認為大學、喪禮、旅館等都會麥當勞化，但這種現象對服務業而言是有好處的（林祐聖、葉欣怡譯，2002）。

麥當勞化所代表的不僅是速食文化的變遷，他已經影響了整個社會，最令我驚嚇的是，我們人生的第一地點：醫院，也深深的被麥當勞化。利用科層組織，醫院有專門人員負責調撥人力，同時也把醫護服務像商業行為一樣變的可計算了。就像麥當勞一樣，醫院讓病人排好隊，有效率地把藥分送到病人手中，電腦化的文件處理，這些都提供醫院以及病人便利，但理性化的管理有好也有壞，過度公式化的醫療過程，很有可能使得醫生與病人的關係互動減少，進而影響到醫療品質，這種務實的結果會改變「手段-目的」的理性，而沒有更高遠的社會目標視野。工作不再需要高深技術，而只是枝尾末節的簡單任務而已，其他如：量販、標準化的選擇，而忽視了社會生活的意義及美學。Ritzer 假設世界麥當勞化的程度少一點，人們就會比較有生存的潛能。

3、同質化 (Homogenization)：全球化如何塑造日益增進的世界經濟融合，全球化必將導致出現文化同質 (homogeneity)。一個發達的社會來說，國家制度必然是民主制度，它必然要跟全球性市場連為一體。在這方面，存在著很大程度的制度和意識形態的同質化。但在文化層面上，我們尚不清楚同質化的進程是否也會如此迅猛，在某種程度上文化同質化受到了實在的抵抗。

綜合以上，我們仍應當思索一個問題，為何全球化會導致美國化？因為在很多方面，美國是當今世界上最發達的資本主義社會，而它的制度則代表著市場力量的邏輯展開。因此，如果確實是市場力量在推動著全球化，那麼全球化就不可避免地伴隨著美國化。

### 三、全球化運動與在地化運動之間的關係

全球化運動與在地化運動之間的關係，筆者以全球化與在地化兩者複雜的互動、運動全球在地化的思維等兩個方向加以詮釋。

#### (一) 全球化與在地化兩者複雜的互動

「全球化」是指有關社會及文化力量的擴展（如：消費主義、衛星通訊、文

化產業、移民等)，而「在地化」是指小規模的地理區域之傳統及生活方式（如：倫理傳統、語言、宗教）。全球化的過程可以視為全球與地方彼此互動的過程，其結果是複雜而且無法預測，最後會產生「混合」、「差異」、「同質性」（Dyreson, 2003）。以下分別針對「混合」、「差異」、「同質性」加以說明。1、文化及生活方式會產生「混合」現象：這點可以從 Lyotard 的都市形貌及 Homi Bhabha 的後殖民現象獲得解釋，指涉全球化的產品或力量會受在地條件不同而有不同的採用及規範。2、透過全球化可以再確認「差異」及「在地性」：復興倫理信條、爭取天賦的權力及宗教基本教義派可以視為是對全球化的防衛反擊，他們要捍衛既有的生活方式與價值，並避免外國及全球化的影響。3、在某些情況下會產生「同質性」：在許多已開發國家的中產階級都有許多共同的品味、偏好及生活方式，而傾向於略去或將地方文化及生活方式的影響降到最低。

西方文明全球化促使西方文明的衰落，世界產生多樣化的文化，說明全球化發展是一個辯證的過程，說明在地性發展是全球化的另一面，是全球化不可分割的一部份。而且，隨著在地性發展的力量，可能成為全球化力量的主導。以大陸地區發展為例：目前大陸地區經濟發展一個重要原因，是大陸地區積極融入了全球化的世界經濟體系，這個觀點從另一個側面反映了地方性力量與全球化力量之間的互動與可轉換性，也就是說，全球化是一把雙刃劍，既塑造了地方性，也被地方性塑造（陶東風，2001）。

在地性運動與在地經濟發展是一樣的，在全球化（奧林匹克運動會）的同時，也改變全球化的內涵，例如世界各國、地區和社會，在此時間內運動的發展有「唯奧運項目」的傾向，奧運項目日漸興盛，非奧運項目日漸萎縮（黃東治，2006）。「唯奧運項目」與「唯金牌」傾向，是西方理性主義的表現，其弊端越來越被地方性力量所反思，其性質越來越被地方性實踐或生活所改變，其所形成的在地性知識越來越多得到累積，其結果是流行於各地方民眾的社會中，傳統性的地方運動項目的價值受到重視，其規則逐漸昇華為主流的遊戲規則（盧元鎮，2003）。日本的柔道、韓國的跆拳道和大陸的武術，都是以它的民間力量和品質魅力所支撐，不同程度地受到奧運會的衝擊，也影響奧運項目的發展，同時受到地方乃至全球人類生活世界的普及和廣泛流行。

當然，奧林匹克運動和奧運會是全球化與地方性運動之間的互動過程所集結表現的場所。由於全球化奧林匹克運動會舉辦，促使東西方文化形成了一種強大的結合力，東西方文化交流更得以順利進行，作為全球化運動標誌的奧林匹克運動也因此受益最大。除此之外，經濟、文化、宗教等地方性運動也在其領域與全球化相互建構。

## （二）運動全球在地化的思維

運動全球在地化具有以下思維：主流運動成為全球化運動趨勢、運動成為全球在地化趨勢、全球在地化對國家運動發展定位的調整、全民運動卓越化和社區化並行發展、運動環境的全球在地化等五點加以說明。

### 1、主流運動成為全球化運動趨勢

每個國家發展運動項目，都有其某種思潮和理念加以支持與落實，在近年來拜全球化資訊傳播迅速之賜，更加緊走向國際化，運動成為全球人的關注，主流運動會成為全球化運動，並在世界各地生根，例如籃球與足球運動。

## 2、運動成為全球在地化趨勢

「全球在地化」顯示地方與全球直接對話，反映在近年臺灣的運動文化。2009年高雄世運會、2009臺北聽障奧運、2017世界大學運動會，皆顯示國內與國際交流的一系列整合方案，包括舉行的開幕藝文活動和周邊附屬展演活動，顯示本土與國際多元文化的交流，無形中臺灣與國際接軌，並促進舉辦城市的形象與形塑微型的全球化指標。

## 3、全球在地化對國家運動發展定位的調整

在競爭全球在地化的思維中，民族國家隨著全球化國際社會組織的崛起而宣告式微，而國家內的中央政府管制也隨著地方化的社會運動興起而宣告失靈，這正是警告了國家角色必須有所調整，運動改革亦然（Roberson, 1992）。在臺灣，近年來之運動改革自民間乃至政府，即以「運動走向國際化」為改革方向，如全民運動普及化、競技運動國際化等，反映出運動人口的倍增與競技水準的提升。

## 4、全民運動卓越化和社區化並行發展

運動全球化帶動了全民運動卓越化的發展，Castells 指出技術能力乃是全球化經濟競爭力的根源，而全民運動一方面提供了必要的運動人力資源，另一方面，也提供運動技術創新與運動產業發展，此外，全球化變遷影響運動的另一趨勢就是國際化。思索國內運動卓越化與國際化之趨勢，國內民間也早已推動另一波在地化的運動藍圖，也就是全國各地成立運動社團與打造運動島計畫（行政院體育委員會, 2010）；2013年教育部體育署全民運動針對國內幼兒、青少年、中高齡運動休閒活動的推廣，並輔導地方政府、團體、社區與企業機構辦理運動休閒活動（教育部體育署, 2017）。

## 5、運動環境的全球在地化

Beck 曾指出全球化的轉變造成全球環境問題與生態風險，全球性的經濟工業甚至引起全球經濟利益與區域環保的衝突，但在另一方面，全球化卻又是助長全球環境運動的一大助力。在運動環境方面，世界各國從 1970 年代之後開始發展運動環境，從場館興建重視環保與綠建築，並展現在地的人文藝術特色（教育部體育署, 2017）；強調運動環境零污染運動，也就是環境綠化與休憩為重點。

# 四、全球化對臺灣運動發展的取向

## （一）從運動觀點思考全球化現象

從運動對象觀點思考，運動員為運動過程的主體，現在已經不再受地理疆域束縛的社會公民，而是自由流動受世界開放性影響的世界公民，例如國內運動員已經能向大陸與歐美運動市場流動。從運動的目標思考，政府無法再界定於「運動僅是培植國力，而是提昇國人自主運動能力。從運動的歷程思考，運動是置於開放系統中的學習活動，因全球資訊流通，國人對於運動認知的來源是多元化，

國人應建立自我管理的能力，成為運動歷程的核心。從運動的投資思考，全球化開闊國人的視野，全球職業運動員自由流動，其受益者不再是根深蒂固的本國，運動人才逐漸屬於是資本主義世界中的企業主，使得政府運動投資的傳統思維，受到重大的挑戰。

除了上述運動全球化對於運動對象、運動目標、歷程及投資的影響，我們仍可感受到全球化對臺灣運動機構的衝擊，包括體育運動行政組織的調整，運動員的來源以及運動人才的培育等問題。

## （二）全球在地化對臺灣運動的影響

全球化與本土化的過程當中，是互為因果且有互補的作用。本土化是一個國家、一個民族、一個地區在文明或文化上經久而形成起來的，它既是本身固有的，同時也是在全球化過程當中被重新形塑而成（Waters, 1995）。全球化則是各個不同的「本土」在進行相互交往的過程中被形成和發展起來的文明或文化特質。沒有互動就難以構成全球化，沒有互動也就無所謂本土化，因此本土是全球性交往的主體。

我們不能因怕被全球化而拒絕與其他本土的互動，更不能一味排斥非本土的文明，因為全球化的趨勢是無法避免的，既然要重視本土化，也不能一味的認為只要是本土的就是好的，而是應該藉著全球化的風潮中，用心吸取優質且適合我們所用的來加以「本土化」，這才是明智之舉。因此，面對全球化的趨勢，臺灣沒有排斥或逃避的理由，更沒有不去面對的本錢，因此，臺灣的運動相關單位，除了本身應努力設法去因應，更要從各項運動措施，引領臺灣人民培養恢宏的氣度，除了在本島上發揮大格局、大包容的胸襟，來善待居住在這裡的每一位住民，更應該要有走出臺灣面對世界的抱負和準備。在面對現代的全球化，臺灣的運動應建構出一種具有臺灣風格的本土化運動，而不是全盤移植接收或頑固地守著原有的本土運動模式自傲自憐。全球化的風潮雖遇到了反全球化的反動，但無可諱言的，全球化的趨勢正襲捲整個地球村。臺灣是一島國，又介於美、日、大陸三個列強勢力的交錯地帶，因此，臺灣更須努力面對全球化的衝擊。運動是國民強身之本，在面對全球化的衝擊與本土化的訴求之下，臺灣的運動發展正面臨嚴酷的考驗與廣大運動市場的追求。

## （三）全球化臺灣的運動發展走向

### 1、積極迎向運動全球化

在面對運動全球化的衝擊之下，臺灣體育界應該勇敢去面對，從中吸取優質且符合臺灣需要的運動思潮、理論或策略。歷史告訴我們，「閉關自守」或「夜郎自大」的結果，最後總難逃落伍的命運。

### 2、加強體育運動學術研究工作

面對全球化我們不能照單全收，在收單之後還要研究如何融入臺灣社會文化的精神，使之適合臺灣運動發展所用。臺灣運動學術界應儘早拋開對於歐、日、美運動學術的過度「依賴性」，加強開拓具臺灣本土風格的運動研究法，以行動研究解決運動現場實際的問題。鼓勵運動學術界、行政人員及全國體育教師全面

參與體育運動研究工作。

### 3、加強產官學策略聯盟

產業界與學術界及政府三方面通力合作，不但能提升運動的價值，發揮學術界的立即功能，創造三贏的局面最重要的是它能提升運動的綜效功能。產官學策略聯盟的做法，目前已在臺灣地區萌芽，面對運動全球化的衝擊，臺灣應加強產官學策略聯盟的措施或是產學合作、官學合作、校際合作之模式，讓理論與實務相得益彰。

### 4、加強培養全民的雙E能力

為了因應全球化的趨勢，培養臺灣國民與世界接軌的能力，臺灣應繼續加強培養國民雙E能力，這裏所指的雙E係指英語（English）和電子化（Electrical）的使用能力（Fowler, 1994）。

### 5、珍惜並活用臺灣的多元文化資源

多元族群與多元文化是臺灣的特色也是臺灣的重大資源，在臺灣本土化訴求逐漸升高之際，如何統整並活用這些重要資源，並將從全球化吸收並過濾後的外來文化與本土的這些重要資源融合，使之成為嶄新的、獨特的、進步的臺灣運動文化，則是臺灣體育界責無旁貸之事。

## 五、結論

全球化的趨勢與經濟的發展，加速經營環境變化的速度，這些變化的速度與範圍已擴及全球，運動產業的發展受到社會變遷的趨勢影響，各國必須思考如何透過國家的政策來主導本土的資源分配與整合，發展各國本土運動產業和防止跨國企業的經濟宰制力量，加速本土運動產業的發展特色。Friedman 世界是平的論說，不知是否忽略了制度性因素的影響，而誇大了運動市場與科技產業所帶來的「平坦化」(Levelling)的效應？例如在缺乏全球再分配機制下，全球化能為大陸、印度等資源豐富的國家帶來發展的機遇，但也會為眾多落後小國帶來了更大的壓力。另一方面，全球化正使得國際間的貧富差距縮窄，但卻使得國內的貧富差距擴大。因此，在我們思考、討論全球化在各方面的影響的時候，運動世界的經驗就很有啟示作用，例如以足球世界與經濟世界之間是否畫上等號。

在足球世界中，全球化是能使各國「利益均霑」，是因為足球世界並非單純由市場來決定利益分配。國際足協的規定，國家隊能受惠於人才的流動，富國球隊並不能拒絕任何一個小國的國家隊徵召它們的球員。在經濟領域，情況就並不一樣，聯合國、世界銀行、IMF 等國際組織並沒有國際足協的權力，也沒有類似的規條來再分配全球化帶來的利益。在世界經濟中全球化帶來的利益，現今只能透過市場機制來進行分配，所以市場條件較優越的國家所能獲得的收入必然較高，由此可見，全球化對不同地區的影響並非一成不變，而是按照它們自身的條件而轉變。Milanovic 等人（2011）認為超越市場因素的全球管治制度的調節底下，全球化所帶來的利益可能更平均分配到不同地區和國家。國際足協儼然一個世界政府（一個有實權的聯合國），能夠訂定一些有利落後國家的利益分配機制，

配合足球人材全球流通的市場，反而提升了足球新興國家的水平。

其實，運動的世界裡，以類似的社會主義的規條來制約資本主義市場的情況並不稀奇，資本主義最發達的美國，在 NBA 及 MLB 中就設有薪金上限及球員選拔制度，使球隊之間的水平差距不致過分擴大，以維持比賽的可觀性，也就是利用經濟控制運動組織的運作最佳寫照。

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# Globalization, World-system, and Baseball

Junwei Yu<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Sport athletes' migration is becoming a global phenomenon, which is catalyzed by capitalist economy. The author attempts to analyze the sports labor movement by using world-system theory proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein, who divided the world into three zones, core, semi-periphery, and periphery. Accordingly, the author will divided the baseball world into three sections in addition to isolated area. Apparently, the Major League Baseball (MLB) is the core that absorbs the best players around the world, while the East Asian domestic leagues, such as Japan, Korea, and Taiwan are in the zone of semi-periphery. Latin American players belong to the periphery feeding the core and the semi-periphery.

Keywords: globalization, world-system, baseball, core, semi-periphery, periphery

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## **Globalization and World-system**

As Ulrich Beck stated, 'By globalism I mean the view that the world market eliminates or supplants political action – that is, the ideology of rule by the world market, the ideology of neoliberalism.'<sup>2</sup> In a similar vein, Yergin and Stanislaw said that "As countries anchor themselves in a world of open and connected markets, they are to a significant degree transferring control of the commanding heights from the traditional state apparatus to the dispersed intelligence of the market. And the extraordinary fast flow of information, made possible by the rapid diffusion of accessible technologies, has helped reinforce the sense of common momentum."<sup>3</sup> In neo-liberalists' view, globalization increasingly opens up opportunities and advantages to all states. Simultaneously the world is entering a global capitalist economy boosted by the creation of WTO, demanding privatization, deregulation, and trade liberalization of each country to let goods and services to flow fluently in a 'borderless world'. People think globalization is overall a good thing which every country could enjoy benefits during the process where market is the only arbiter without state interference.

However, some people argue the opening of market simply another form of neo-colonialism. As Martin Khor puts it, "Globalization is what we in the Third World have for several centuries called colonization."<sup>4</sup> Although empires had disappeared, a new form of economic neo-imperialism occurred by controlling over world trade backed by their robust economies.

According to Immanuel Wallerstein, "the only kind of social system is a world-system which we define quite simply as a unit with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems. It follows logically that there can, however, be two varieties of such world systems, one with a common political system and one without. We designate these respectively as world empires and world economies."<sup>5</sup> "Our modern world-system is a capitalist world-economy. It functions by giving priority the ceaseless accumulation of capital, and this is optimized by the creation of a geographically very wide division of labor, today a division of labor that is worldwide. A division of labor requires flows – flows of commodities, flows of capital, flows of labor; not unlimited or unrestricted flows, but significant ones. This means that the

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<sup>2</sup> Beck, Ulrich. 'What is Globalizations' in David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds) The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p100

<sup>3</sup> Yergin, Daniel A., and Joseph Stanislaw. 'The Woven World' in David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds) The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p322

<sup>4</sup> Scholte, Jan Aart. 'The Globalization of World Politics' in Baylis, John and Steve Smith. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, p15

<sup>5</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel. The Essential Wallerstein (New York: The New Press, 2000), p75

state boundaries must be permeable, and so they are.”<sup>6</sup> Generally speaking globalization is a process and world-system is a structure.

A capitalist world-economy is oriented around three zones, core, semi-periphery, and periphery, based on division of labor and unequal exchange between those sections. The core dominates and controls the exploitation of production and labor, while the periphery was forced to sell cash crops directly to the core. The semi-periphery is in a subtle position, which is both exploited and exploiter. Wallerstein argues that semi-periphery is needed to run capitalism smoothly and avert polarizing the world-system.<sup>7</sup> However, the concentration of capital, techniques, advanced labor in the core combining created stories and myths of Western society makes it unassailable in the system resulting in two outcomes. One is consolidation of the core and marginalization of the periphery. The other is that “highest wages are paid in the core and lowest relative wages in the periphery.”<sup>8</sup>

Athletes migration highlight the interconnectedness between sports development and globalization accelerated in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> Before the onset of intensified globalization, international relations was mainly organized on the basis of Westphalian system, under which a government or sovereign had the monopoly of armed violence on its designated territorial domain. Political, economic, and cultural policies were directed by the state to serve its national interests. In the case of Taiwan, for instance, players endowed with great talents were forced to stay domestically unless they finished serving in the army, which had been considered paramount in the past to cope with PRC threat. Yet the process of globalization renders absolute statism penetrable.

Domestic pro leagues in Western countries could be seen as large multi-national corporations searching for new markets to sell products, seeking for new sources of raw materials, and pursuing cheap or skilled labors. This system is effectively de-skilling semi-peripheral and peripheral countries because core states grab all the talent athletes with higher salaries and better working environment. It does not mean non-core countries could not obtain good athletes in their leagues, since the logic of the market is conducted under the concept of free movement. But all they could get are merely second-class or rejected players from the US as salaries offered are less than that of the core. It is similar with free agent system where richer clubs get world top players while other poor clubs receive ordinary players unwanted by rich ones.

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<sup>6</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel. ‘The National and the Universal: Can There be Such a Thing as World Culture’ in Anthony D. King (ed) *Culture, Globalization, and the World-system* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1991), p98

<sup>7</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel (2000), p89-91

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p56

<sup>9</sup> Bale, John and Joseph Maguire (eds). *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World*. (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1994)

The asymmetrical exchange heavily in favor of the north.

Globalization of baseball can be illustrated by foreign players on MLB opening day roster in the 2003 season. 230 (27.8%) major leaguers were born outside of the US.<sup>10</sup> The percentage has climbed steadily from 19% in 1997 to nearly 28%. The top four largest imports are all in Latin America, the Dominican Republic (79), Puerto Rico (38), Venezuela (37), and Mexico (17). Furthermore, 2851 (46%) out of the 6196 foreign-born players signed to minor league contracts. The Dominican Republic again leads the chart with 1437, followed by Venezuela (793), Puerto Rico (113), Mexico and Canada (95 each), and another 27 countries make up the rest.<sup>11</sup>

### **Core, Semi-periphery, Periphery, and the Isolated**

In diagram 1, Concrete line and spotted line mean better players and lesser players respectively. The former indicates that country's homemade stars or foreign players are making 'upward migration' to the core. The latter refers to lesser players of the core make 'downward migration' reluctantly to semi-periphery. These arrows do not necessarily represent the migration of native-born player. Instead it shows the player migration of foreign players from certain league to another league. For example, Taiwanese stars have not been to KBO, but its foreign players would go to KBO due to higher salaries. The world-system structure is changeable and dynamic. One country can oscillate between semi-periphery and periphery. But it is impossible to usurp the core status from the US, which offers staggering sum of money no country can match.

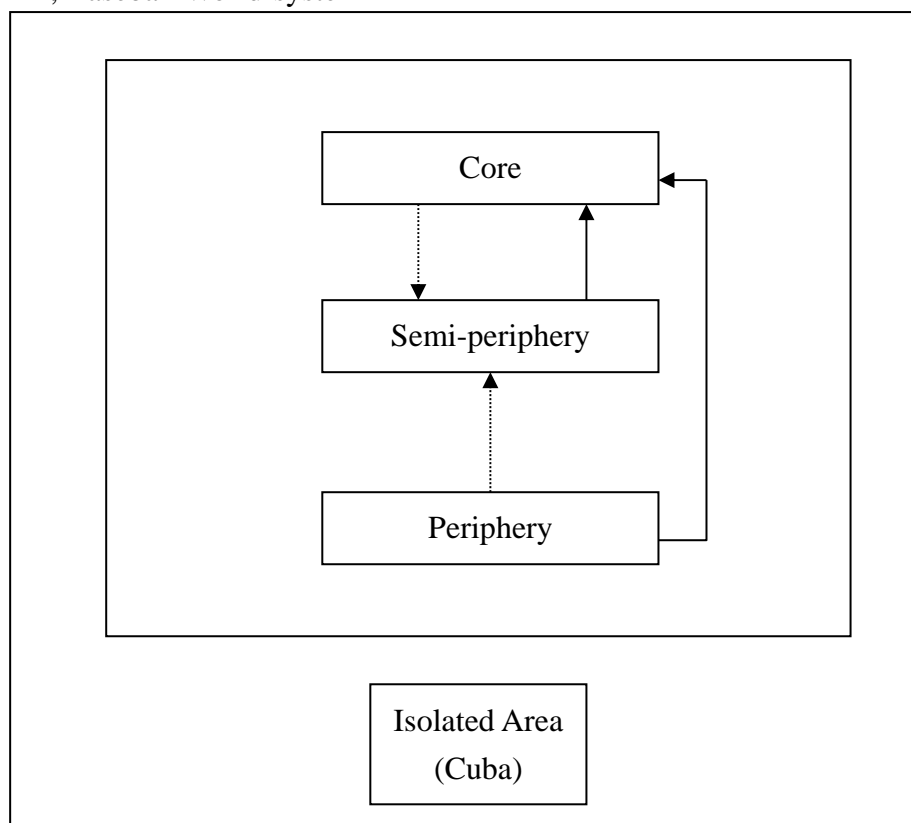
The geographical distribution of baseball world-system is characterized by one country's economy and culture. Ultra-commercialism and baseball-as-a-popular sport contributed the hegemonic status of the US in terms of baseball. In East Asia, baseball is part of societal culture in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. Although in Italy and the Netherlands where other sports overshadowed baseball, their economies allow them to create independent leagues that could afford quality foreign players, thus achieving semi-peripheral status. By contrast the shattered economies of Dominican Republic and Venezuela condemned them to the periphery, though baseball is their favorite sport.

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<sup>10</sup> AP (Associated Press, 02/04/2003). Available online: [http://www.cnnsi.com/baseball/news/2003/04/02/foreign\\_players\\_ap/](http://www.cnnsi.com/baseball/news/2003/04/02/foreign_players_ap/)

<sup>11</sup> Available online: <http://www.minorleaguebaseball.com/news/>

Diagram 1, Baseball World-system



### Core

The US is the only country that belongs to the core in terms of baseball world-system. It provides big bucks for people in semi-periphery and periphery that are irresistible to reject. Therefore the US absorbs the capital, the techniques, and advanced labor domestically and internationally catering for American consumers. The logic of market economy is simple, that is people go where money offers the highest. In the age of increasing openness and interaction, the strict boundary set up by Westphalian system is becoming permeable.

Since no one can match the big money offered by the Major League, the US naturally becomes the hegemony of the system. Let us see the wages provided by MLB clubs. In the 2003 opening day payrolls of 25-man roster, five teams paid over \$100 million while New York Yankees tops the elite with nearly \$150 million.<sup>12</sup> The minimum wage for a MLB player is \$25,000 a month. A MLB organization normally has six minor league teams and one baseball academy in Dominican Republic. Some clubs would add Venezuelan baseball academy in the equation.<sup>13</sup> Roughly one organization owns 150 minor league players, which is astonishing compared to other sports. The pipeline is so long and torturous that it is estimated that only one out of

<sup>12</sup> Available online: <http://fantasy.sportingnews.com/baseball/articles/20030404/466890.html>.

<sup>13</sup> In 2003 there are 13 MLB clubs operating in Venezuelan Summer League.

ten drafted athletes can make it to the big show.

To reduce the cost to a minimum, clubs need to keep expenses as low as possible. Looking at figure 1, it is clear that there is huge salary discrepancy between major and minor league. So many minor leaguers need to play winter ball in Latin America or find another job during off-season. Top rounds of drafted players would get large sum of bonus fees, but rest of draftees do not. Yet the incentive of MLB is so tempting that players are anxious to have a shot. From the diagram, we can see that better players in semi-periphery and periphery are making ‘upward’ migration to the core where the US sits solidly.

In 1946, there was an anti-hegemonic attempt made by Mexican tycoon, Jorge Pasquel, to lure a number of major league stars with enormous salaries. It is alleged that one of highest paid star, Bob Feller, was offered twice the money in the US. Alan Klein argues that Pasquel was only trying to force the MLB to admit Mexican Baseball League as one of its affiliates. Baseball war erupted between two countries. The result was heavy financial losses for Pasquel, who no longer provide good money to foreign players and had the league size slimmed in half.<sup>14</sup> The US henceforth sits tightly on baseball-as-American-hegemony position.

Figure 1, Salaries in each level of MLB club

Class	Wages
Major League	Minimum \$25,000/month. Minimum 4,166/month for players split between Major and Minor league.
AAA	First year: \$2,150/month, after first year no less than \$2,150/month
AA	First year: \$1,500/month, after first year no less than \$1,500/month
A (Advanced A and Low A)	First year: \$1,050/month, after first year no less than \$1,050/month
A (Short-season and Rookie League)	First year: \$850/month, after first year no less than \$850/month
Dominican and Venezuelan Summer leagues	No lower than \$300/month

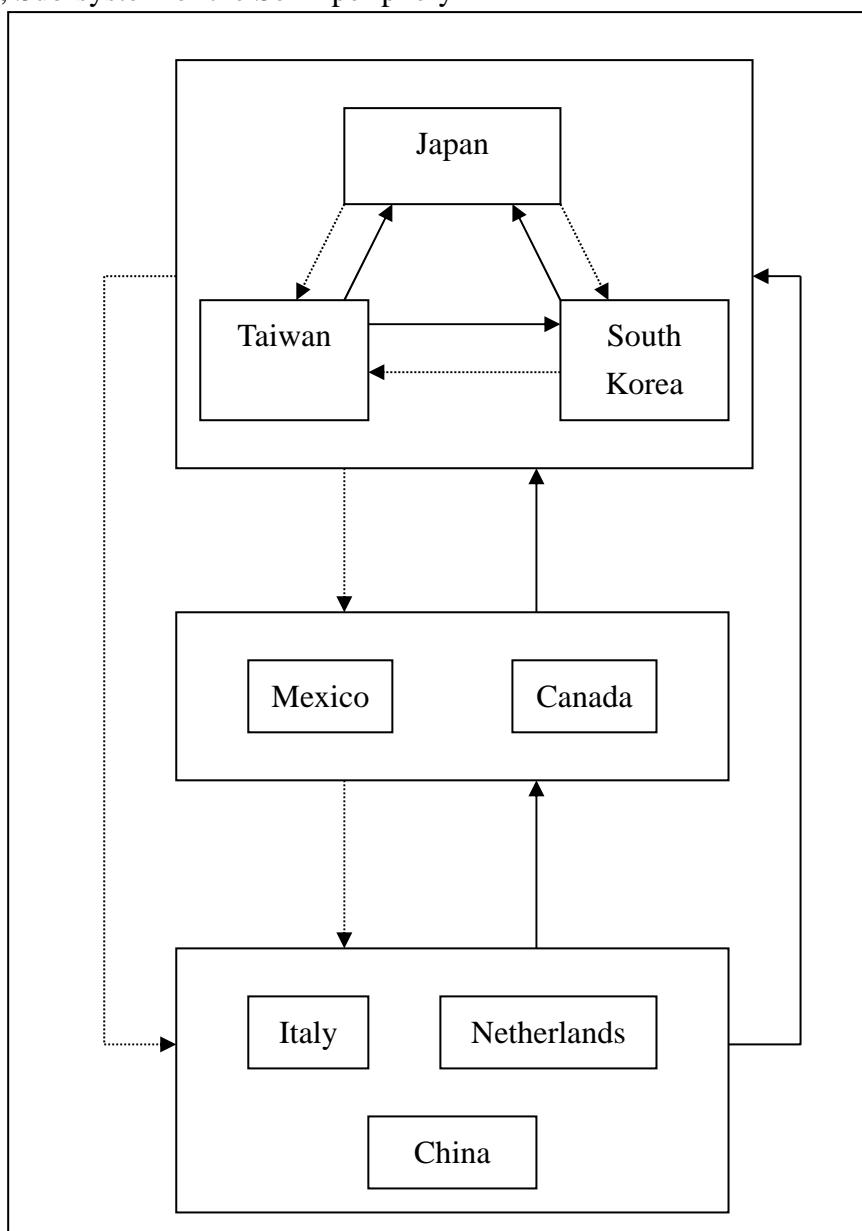
Note: \$20 per day at all levels while on the road in minor league.

Source: [http://newyork.mets.mlb.com/NASApp/mlb/mlb/news/mlb\\_labor.jsp](http://newyork.mets.mlb.com/NASApp/mlb/mlb/news/mlb_labor.jsp) and <http://www.minorleaguebaseball.com/help/faq>

<sup>14</sup> Klein, Alan M., *Baseball on the Border: A Tale of Two Laredos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p101-107

## Semi-periphery

Diagram 2, Sub-system of the Semi-periphery



Although the core offers the best salary baseballwise, MLB cannot digest all the players developed by its farm system. That is how semi-periphery comes into play providing some of those so-called ‘AAAA’ players the outlet of relishing higher wages. Researcher Zhang Like suggested a similar idea of baseball world-system, but did not capture the essence of baseball migration in the globe.<sup>15</sup> He mistakenly identifies Japan as a core where Taiwanese players are eager to join. However, Japan

<sup>15</sup> Zhang, Like, Taiwan bangqiu yu rentong: yige yundong sheuixue de fenxi (unpublished M.A. dissertation Xinzhu: Tsing Hua University, 2000), p72-105

currently is experiencing the same player outflow as in Taiwan and South Korea.

The sub-system of semi-periphery is quite complex composed of three layers. The criteria I set for semi-periphery is whether the country has independent summer league that does not serve as direct pipeline to MLB. The first layer consists of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, all of them have affluent economies and see baseball as their most popular sport. Obviously Japan is the hegemon in this category. It is not surprising that Korean and Taiwanese players would like to challenge NPB if they have a chance.

Figure 2, Highest Paid Native Player in East Asia

Country	Player	Wage/month	GNP per capita	Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)
Japan	Norihiro Nakamura	\$357,000	\$34,000	\$28,000
Korea	Lee Seung-yeop	\$44,000	\$9,000	\$19,400
Taiwan	Guoli Jianfu	\$9,000	\$12,000	\$17,200

From figure 2, we can see that the Japanese highest paid players is Norihiro Nakamura, whose yearly salary is around \$4.2 million. But it means nothing to MLB, which has 157 players earning over \$5 million, with 44 of them over \$10 million. Alex Rodriguez of Texas Rangers is currently the highest paid player of \$22 million a year. Little wonder that Japanese stars, such as Hideo Nomo, Ichiro Suzuki, and Hideki Matsui, abandoned their homeland to fulfill their ‘American Dream’. The departure of superstar Matsui, nicknamed ‘Godzilla’, was a huge blow to Tokyo Giants, whose ticket sales of exhibition games dropped 50%.<sup>16</sup> Since Japan offered foreign players around \$200,000 to \$500,000 a year, which can rise to \$2 million to \$3 million if successful, it is enough to attract good caliber 3A players, who earn roughly \$30,000 annually.

South Korea pays higher salaries than Taiwan, but there is no sign of athlete migration between two countries. In 1994, Junguo Bears did import several Korean players, yet turned out to be a disaster. In terms of foreign players, many of them, such as Mark Kiefer, Robert Wood, or Shane Bennett, went from Taiwan to Korea because of better offers. As Brother’s American pitcher, Jonathan Hurst, said to me, “I will go to Japan or Korea where money offers the highest because I have a family to take care of.”<sup>17</sup> Big Taiwanese clubs, such as China Trust Whales or President Lions, could afford up to \$8,500/month, which is the maximum wage agreed by CPBL GM

<sup>16</sup> Robert Whiting’s ‘Godzilla Vs. the Americans’ in *Time*. Available online: [http://www.time.com/time/asia/2003/heroes/hideki\\_matsui.html](http://www.time.com/time/asia/2003/heroes/hideki_matsui.html)

<sup>17</sup> Interview conducted on 18<sup>th</sup> April 2002 in Taipei.

meeting in 2003, for foreign imports. Other smaller clubs, such as Elephants, offer around \$5,000 to \$7,000 per month.

In the second layer of semi-periphery is Mexico and Canada, both of which are neighboring countries of the US. Mexico is a unique scenario, which not only had attempted to challenge MLB hegemonic status, but also the sole Latin American country to have both independent summer and winter leagues. Although LMB (*Liga Mexicana de Beisbol*) was granted 3A status by American minor league, it runs autonomously and does not serve as MLB pipeline. According to Jonathan Hurst, “around half (8) of the league has the caliber of 3A. You have to take it seriously.”<sup>18</sup> Traditionally Mexico held its talents close to its vest just like in Japan, Korean, and Taiwan. Moreover, reserve clause has never been abolished. Therefore MLB clubs need to buy out Mexican players’ contracts from parent clubs in order to obtain their services. This somehow explains why there are fewer Mexicans in the MLB compared to other Latin American countries. Some the big clubs, such as Mexican Red Devils, treat foreign players well, but they still could not beat big salaries offered in East Asia. Since Mexico is in the vicinity of the US, some MLB clubs have established working agreements with LMB clubs. As a result, LMB enjoyed talents sent by MLB, which in turn could sign Mexican star players.

Canada celebrated its first-ever independent pro baseball league in 2003 in an attempt to recruit native-grown players, who has always been signed by MLB via draft or forced to play in other countries. Tony Rivera, chairperson of the league, said that, “Canada has been dependent on the United States for its baseball. That’s going to stop.”<sup>19</sup> There is a monthly salary cap of \$60,000 on each team based on 25-man roster, at least five of whom have to be Canadians. A few foreign players, especially from Dominican Republic, may earn as high as \$9,000/month, others could be squeezed on minimum wage of \$750/month, which is less than that of Class A minor league. Canadian pro league can be said the most de-nationalized baseball in the world because each team just need to put five Canadians on the roster. It quickly exploits the cheap labor of Latin Americans, since its native players are either affiliated with MLB or too few to select from. Dominican imports accounted for 43.71% of entire league, over half of which is occupied by Latin American players.<sup>20</sup> It is possible to field an entirely non-Canadian lineup. Some people optimistically project the league standard to Mexican league. But it remains to be seen if it could

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Morris Dalla Costa’s ‘Monarchs Ready for Flight’ in *London Free Press* (27/11/2002). Online available: [http://cgi.canoe.ca/SlamBaseballCanadaNews/021127\\_cbl-sun.html](http://cgi.canoe.ca/SlamBaseballCanadaNews/021127_cbl-sun.html).

<sup>20</sup> The nationality percentage of Canadian Baseball League as follows: 66 Dominicans (43.71%), 37 Canadians (24.50%), 28 Americans (18.54%), 10 Venezuelans (6.62%), 6 Puerto Ricans (3.97%), 3 Japanese (1.99%), and 1 Mexican (0.66%). The eight-team roster is available online: <http://www.canadianbaseballleague.com>.

survive in the long-term.

The third layer is occupied by European countries, Italy and the Netherlands, where football and other sports eclipse baseball, but they have independent summer leagues attracting some ex-MLB players. Yet it is virtually impossible for both Italian and Dutch players to make a living solely through baseball. Second job is essential for them to meet living basics.<sup>21</sup> The Italians have always been able to introduce ex-Major leaguers, such as Luis de los Santos, to Serie A1 League, which is seen in their own eyes as semi-pro outfit at most. In addition, teams could sign Italian-Americans with vast minor league experiences as domestic players to enhance league standard. Whereas the Dutch can bring Caribbean baseball-loving Curacao and Aruba, both of which are colonies of the Netherlands. Other European countries, such as Germany, Czech Republic, or Spain, all have their own leagues, but purely on amateur basis. To date, well-performed foreign players in Italian or Dutch leagues can get a chance to play in East Asia. Yet there has not been any Italian or Dutch developed from national league that is spotted by Asian clubs.

China is a special case as it is the only so-called socialist country in semi-periphery. In a football- and basketball-mad nation, it is hard to find any people passionate about baseball. Nevertheless the successful bid for 2008 Olympics means China would be awarded automatic place in baseball, if not being relinquished by the IOC.<sup>22</sup> It certainly prompts Chinese authority to take the sport seriously lest national team be a laughing stock in Olympics. China Baseball League official admitted that its baseball could not go full professionalism without strong fan base. Although China introduced sponsorships and marketization into the sport, it is doubtful that the popularity would match football and basketball. Many Chinese ballplayers are enrolled in state's physical schools, from which basic living is provided. Apart from claiming league champion, in which state awards financial bonus, players normally could not gain extra money in regular season. Clubs only pay lucrative contracts to foreign players staying just for a few months.

The common characteristic of semi-periphery is all of them have independent summer leagues at the same time with MLB season, since baseball in some countries is one of nation's most popular spectator sports. It is impossible for them to stop national stars going to the core, but they are able to attract unwanted MLB players and lure cheap players from periphery. Besides, semi-periphery has leverage over players spotted by the MLB, which needs to pay transfer fees to buy out their contracts. For

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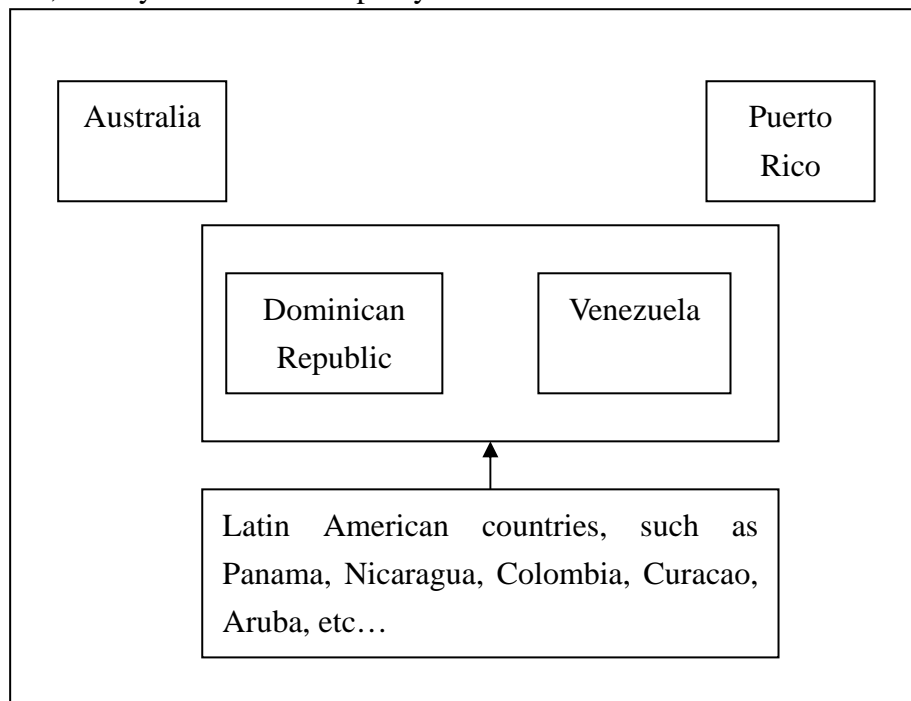
<sup>21</sup> I am indebted to the information provided by Italian baseball expert Riccardo Schiroli and Dutch baseball expert Harry Wedemeijer.

<sup>22</sup> In 2002 IOC commission recommended the expulsion of baseball in 2008 Olympics. It is generally believed that the IOC intends to pressurize the MLB to release its best players to compete in Olympics instead of minor leaguers.

example, Ichiro Suzuki's Orix or Hideki Matsui's Tokyo Giants, just to name a few, received big transfer fees through postal bidding system. If semi-peripheral clubs are not satisfied with MLB offers, they can still retain their top players' services. Korean pro club rejects MLB club for its star closer, Lim Chang-yong, when they learned the highest bid was only \$300,000.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, if a free agent is not happy with offer from American clubs, he can always turn to his native league for better salaries. Norihiro Nakamura, for instance, was very upset when New York Mets offered two-year contract of \$7 million and opted for Buffalos giving him over \$4 million a year.

### Periphery

Diagram 3, Sub-system of the Periphery



There are also three layers in peripheral sub-system. First layer is the better-off countries, Australia and Puerto Rico, without independent leagues. Second layer is baseball-loving nations, Dominican Republic and Venezuela, where summer leagues are directly affiliated with MLB. The third layer is countries (some of them are not passionate about baseball) in which players are brought to Dominican and Venezuelan summer leagues for further development. Since there are no pro leagues in the periphery there would be no players from the core and semi-periphery coming to Latin America, except for winter leagues.

Australia is an interesting case study. It is safe to say baseball talents are abundant in down under. Nevertheless it slipped to periphery in my criteria. Actually Australia had had ABL (Australian Baseball League) launched in 1989 that lasted for

<sup>23</sup> [Korean Times](#) (20/12/2002)

ten years before being declared defunct in 1999. The Aussies have tremendous advantage of developing baseball because they are located in Southern Atmosphere, which means their summer is America's winter. In this regard, MLB was able to send their major leaguers in the off-season to ABL to gain game experience and simultaneously sharpen Australians' skills. But ABL disbanded eventually due to financial difficulties and low attendancy. It is true that many kids pick bat and ball to the field, but to play cricket! Most people's impression of baseball is 'that Yank game'. According to Joe Clark's research, in tradition Australian players were signed cheaply by MLB scouts.<sup>24</sup> The situation improved as time went by. But Australian players are forced to become journeymen around the globe that can be seen in America, Italy, and East Asia, since there is no incentive of domestic league for them to stay.

Puerto Rico is part of the US, but it is literally a self-ruled political entity. In terms of baseball, Puerto Rico also belongs to the periphery due to lack of summer league. Every player needs to go through the process of draft together with elite Americans and Canadians, while there are only 50 draft rounds for each MLB clubs. This partly explains why Puerto Rican minor leaguers are much less than their Latin American counterparts. Edwin Correa, a retired Puerto Rican pitcher, argues that MLB should transform the current draft system into world draft, under which Puerto Rican players could compete on equal footing with Dominicans and Venezuelans, who have traditionally been signed as non-drafted agents.<sup>25</sup>

By contrast, there are over 1,400 Dominicans and 700 Venezuelans in American minor league system owing to developmental leagues (academies) set up by 30 MLB clubs, combing countries for talents, molding players and shipping them into their franchises. These academies accept players who are under the age of 22, after which they are either promoted to farm team in the US or falter through due to cutthroat competition. Given prevailing economic hardships in most of Latin American countries, baseball becomes a way out of poverty for young kids. At the same time, the institutionalization of baseball academies destroyed the autonomy of independent leagues in Dominican Republic and Venezuela, both of whose stars and prospects either stay in the US pipeline or wandering off to semi-periphery offering better salaries. Only in winterball, when MLB is at asleep, could Latin American fans see their national heroes at home. In 1990 Japan's Hiroshima Carp also joined the contest by setting up baseball academy in Dominican Republic and successfully produced some major leaguers, such as Alfonso Soriano, Timo Perez, and Robinson Checo. But according to Yang Rongjian, Japanese baseball expert, Carp has problems finding

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<sup>24</sup> Joe Clark has a fantastic website about Australian baseball history:

<http://www.australianbaseballhistory.webcentral.com.au/ABH/Baseball%20Web%20Pages/default.htm>

<sup>25</sup> Paese, Gabrielle. 'Baseball School Aims to Place More Puerto Rican Players in Major Leagues' in Puerto Rico Herald (13/12/2002).

Dominican talents, who are rather being signed by Americans than by Japanese. To attract more bonus fees from MLB club, many Dominicans fake their birth certificate making them younger and more potential.

The work of Arturo Marcano Guevara and David P. Fidler shows the exploitation and mistreatment of a Venezuelan kid named Alexis Quiroz, who was pursuing his dream in the big show.<sup>26</sup> Alan Klein further points out that MLB hegemony has led to underdevelopment of Dominican baseball, like its economy, serving America's interests. In addition, the establishments of baseball academies set up in every corner of Dominican Republic remind people of sugar plantation where "raw materials are obtained cheaply, locally refined (at a reduced costs) and shipped aboard."<sup>27</sup> Latin American countries are totally subservient to US dominance. In other words, they are MLB backyard.

MLB was able to establish academies extensively in both Dominican Republic and Venezuela is because baseball is their number one sport as well as their huge talent pool. In countries, such as Panama, Nicaragua, or Colombia not famous for baseball, American scouts would need to poach inside of those areas spotting talents individually since there is no baseball academy there. They would bring the prospects into academies in Venezuela and Dominican Republic waiting to be refined. That is why there are various nationalities in Venezuelan summer league.

### **Isolated Area**

After Castro's successful revolution, the US in 1963 enacted the Cuban Assets Control Regulation under the Trading with the Enemy Act, whose objective was to "isolate Cuban economically and deprive it of US dollars." In essence American clubs cannot have contact with Cuba and Cuban nationals, otherwise they will face sanctions from US government. At the same time, Castro's hawkish stance made it more impossible for players to be signed by MLB. Therefore the only way to fulfill the dream is to through defection and became free agent by establishing residency in the third country, such as Nicaragua, Mexico, or Costa Rica.<sup>28</sup> The revolution also led to expulsion of Cuba in Caribbean Series now composed of Dominican Republic,

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<sup>26</sup> Guevara , Artuo J. Marcano and David P. Fidler, Stealing Lives: The Globalization of Baseball and the Tragic Story of Alexis Quiroz (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002).

<sup>27</sup> Klein, Alan, M. 'Trans-nationalism, Labor Migration and Latin American Baseball' in Bale and Maguire (eds) (1994), p183-205. See also Alan M. Klein, Sugarball: The American Game, the Dominican Dream (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). Samuel O. Regalado, 'Latin Players on the Cheap: Professional Baseball Recruitment in Latin America and the Neocolonialist Tradition' in Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, 8 (2000)

<sup>28</sup> North Korea is another isolated area whose famous basketball player Ri Myong-hun (7 foot 10) cannot play NBA under 'trading with the enemy' act, therefore needed to defect in order to go to the US. Michael Murphy's 'Big Disappointment: Korean Giant Never Got a Chance to make Dream Come True' in Houston Chronicle (22/06/2002).

Available online: <http://www.chron.com/cs/CDA/story.hts/special/yao/1465758>.

Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Mexico, because the organization prohibits ballplayers from being owned by the state.

In some sense, the isolation policy of Cuba has enabled Castro's regime to grab all best baseball players that fans can watch their icons at home. Some stars fail to motivate themselves since there is no higher stage for them challenge. Stars, such as Omar Linares or Orestes Kindelan, were forced to submit their loyalty to the nation until they announced retirement from international baseball, after which they are finally allowed to go aboard.

Living in a world of capitalist system, Cuban players are not able to be immune from big cash temptation that pure patriotism cannot provide. The first successful defector was pitcher Rene Arocha in 1991. As Gilberto Dihigo said, "For me, Arocha's leaving was a dagger in the heart of the regime, because Arocha showed the other players that they could also leave. At this time there were only a few sports figures who had defected."<sup>29</sup> The action of Arocha triggered domino effect compelling many Cubans to abandon their families and homes in order to obtain multi-million contracts. The current best Cuban pitcher, Jose Contreras, defected on October 2002 that really sent a shock wave to Castro's regime. Cuban public and government held ambivalent attitudes toward those defectors. On the one hand, they were branded as 'traitors' betraying their homeland and revolution. On the other hand, people expect them to perform well demonstrating socialist nation produces the best athletes.

Although the international division of labor is growing in shape, free flow of labor and services should be over-exaggerated. The world is very much made up of sovereign-state club that still have a say in national policy. For example, every country, including the US, has limited foreign quotas on each team lest foreign deprive natives of job opportunities.<sup>30</sup> If there is a borderless world, it would not be surprising that clubs in East Asian are mostly occupied by better-quality and low-costs Latin American players, weeding out those native players protected by state law. This is the logic of hyper-commercialism by which many countries are intimidated.

## **Semi-peripheral Taiwan**

### **Pre-Globalization Era**

Before 1990s, MLB impact on Taiwan can be said absolutely non-existent. People only cared about national team's performances in international tournaments. Although

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<sup>29</sup> Jamail, Milton H., Full Count: Inside Cuban Baseball (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), p77

<sup>30</sup> Although there are no restrictions of foreign players on 25-man roster in MLB, constraints are imposed by American government on each club's minor organization, which receives no more than 50 visas for foreign imports.

TV occasionally televised MLB games on weekend mornings, not many fans watch them because they seemed so remote. It does not mean the MLB had no interests in scouting Taiwanese players. When the first high school tournament started in 1974 with eight teams took part, reporters were surprised that Cincinnati Reds scouts were at the game looking for young talents.<sup>31</sup> Bob Howsam was very impressed pitcher Gao Yingjie and catcher Li Laifa's performances after they won the 'world champion' in Fort Lauderdale. He signed both players in March 1975 and planned to send them to Reds' rookie class league.<sup>32</sup> But Taiwan's military intervened telling them they had to serve in the army first before going to the US. Although Howsam flew to Taiwan presenting his case, Ministry of Defense firmly clung to its stance. As Gao recalled, "twenty odd years ago in Yuanshan Grand Hotel, via teacher Lin (Lin Mingzheng), I signed a preliminary contract with Reds, offering bonus fee of \$30,000. Because of military problem, I could not go to the US, nor did I receive the bonus fee. Several years later I joined the Japanese pro club, Nankai."<sup>33</sup>

The first Taiwanese player to play in the US was Tan Xinmin, who had been sent by the Japanese pro club, Nishitetsu, to 'study baseball'. He was then assigned to San Francisco's class A team, where he obtained 8-4. As Jack Clark, Tan's teammate, recalled, "he was a very good pitcher. I thought we'd go up through the minors together, but I never saw him after that year."<sup>34</sup> Tan, famous for his knuckleball, mysteriously disappeared from the show and never played pro baseball. But he later became the head coach of Mercury Tigers in 1992.

The next closest signing was the hard-throwing pitcher, Guo Taiyuan, whose fastball clocked at 97 mph lit up American and Japanese scouts' eyes. Wayne Morgan, scout of Toronto Blue Jays, was very confident in signing Guo, who gave a verbal agreement to join after 1984 Olympics where he struck out 12 against US team, which had the likes of Will Clark, Barry Larkin, Mark McGwire. But Morgan was forced to give up after finding out Guo's brother was receiving under-the-table money from a Japanese pro club, Seibu Lions, in order to save his failing business.<sup>35</sup> Zhao Shiqiang, cleanup man in the national team, was also on the verge of signing with a MLB club. But he decided to play 1984 Olympics first before turning pro. On the hindsight it was a decision he might regret for his life. His performance in Olympics was so disastrous that deterred Baltimore from offering him pro contract.<sup>36</sup>

In MLB's mind, a player should be signed as young as possible so they could

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<sup>31</sup> Zhang, Jingguo, *Zhonghua minguo shaonian qingshaonian qingnian bangqiu fazhan shishi* (Taipei: self-published 1983), p231

<sup>32</sup> Reaves, Joseph A., *Taking in a Game: A History of Baseball in Asia* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), p147

<sup>33</sup> *Minshengbao* (Minsheng Newspaper, 06/06/2000)

<sup>34</sup> Reaves (2002), p147

<sup>35</sup> The story is available online: <http://www.baseballamerica.com/today/features/worldscout0125.html>

<sup>36</sup> Gao, Zhengyuan, *Dongsheng de xuri* (Taipei: Minsheng bao, 1994), p205-206

have time to develop and train him to major league standard. If one player is a bit old, they would not waste energy and money on him, whose potentials of reaching the big show is less likely. That is the reason clubs set baseball academies in Latin America enticing youths in their camps as soon as they reach 16, or maybe younger. But compulsory military service was paramount in Taiwan preparing any imminent threat from the PRC. It was impossible to escape draft unless one had physical reasons, such as overweight. When players finished serving the army, they would be at least 22 years old, which was too old and little value in the eye of MLB. In addition, Taiwanese had tendency of going to Japan, which was near, oriental, and is some ways culturally similar. US was so alien and culturally different. Besides, MLB clubs have at least four levels of minor league system, A-, A+, AA, and AAA, excluding short-season and rookie leagues, to climb up before reaching the big stage. It sounds intimidating. At the same time, Japan only has one minor league system. That was why Taiwanese players chose Japan before the US.

### **MLB Impact on Taiwan**

However, things changed dramatically in 1999 as the on-going globalization intensified coupled with Taiwanese domestic change. When TML decided to put would-be military conscript, Chen Zhicheng, on the mould, it established precedent for other foreign clubs that Taiwanese governmental body had no absolute control over young players signing pro contracts, nor could state punish them, except not allowing them to play baseball in the military.

In January 1999, LA Dodgers suddenly announced the signing of Taiwanese slugger, Chen Jinfeng, who had already been given estimated under-the-table money of over \$144,000 by TML and signed a preliminary contract as a result.<sup>37</sup> It immediately raised the legal question of multiple contracts that Chen needed to face. TML threatened to sue Chen because of breach of preliminary contract, whose legal status was dubious compared to formal contract. The Dodgers must have known Chen's situation in advance. But through the medium of Sino Bull's deputy general manager, Zhang Gaoda, appearing as an agent, Dodgers were able to sign the prized player and hastily sent him to the US without blessing from general public. Chen later became the first Taiwan-born player making in the major league in 2002.

The most ridiculous signing was Guo Hongzhi. The central figures involved were again Zhang Gaoda and the Dodgers. It was a watershed in Taiwanese baseball history because Hong was only 18 years old, who had not served in the army. At the same time, he was receiving money from President Lions that also raised the question of multiple contracts. Yet the most outrageous thing that fuelled the public was the way

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<sup>37</sup> [Zhongyang shibao](#) (Central Times, 05/01/1999)

in which Zhang abruptly dragged Hong out of under-19 national team, preparing for the IBA tournament held in Gaoxiong. His dad accepted money from the Lions, but had no idea of Dodgers' signing. Zhang and Dodgers cunningly used the separation of Hong's parents to persuade his mother to put her signature on the contract for him.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, his father was his custodian by which all contracts had to be approved. After Hong was taken away from under-19 team, his dad had to report to local police station looking for missing son.<sup>39</sup>

Angered by Zhang, Dodgers and Guo's unscrupulous behaviors, CTBA decided to expel Hong from national team for life and cancel his right of entering army team in the future. The saga ended as Guo went to the US quietly under student visa, while playing baseball as a profession. CTBA, which had been objecting to young players signing pro contracts, soon changed its stance. If you cannot stop the trend, why not join it.<sup>40</sup>

It paved way for several players to follow Hong's footsteps without being retaliated by governmental bodies. Wang Jianming was signed by NY Yankees for \$2 million through student exchange scheme with Taipei PE College. Huang Junzhong went to the US with help of Boston Redsox Asian-pacific scout, who recruited players in southern Taiwan with which he was most familiar.

The most shocking signing was Luo Jinlong, who was 16 years old and only a freshman in senior high school. It was another unethical signing made by Colorado Rockies following the Dodgers. The entire negotiating process was obscure and opaque. The first agent to expose the news was not Taiwanese media, but from Denver Post.<sup>41</sup> Luo's parents also hid the truth about the contract because he was participating in Senior High School Baseball League, whose governing body (JHPSC) stipulated that players could not take part if pro contracts were signed in order to ensure purity and innocence of student baseball. When news broke out, Huaxing's coach Lin Guanghong protested Luo's ineligibility but JHPSC took none of this and instead asked Lin to provide evidence. Luo went on to pitch a non-hitter against Huaxing. The fact was that Luo's parents already signed with Rockies and he was forced to pull out from the tournament surrounded by controversies. But the irony was the non-hitter still counts, while Gaoyuan, Luo's school, escaped unpunished. JHPC has discussed the serious matter and concluded each player shall only be signed after finishing high school. But it still remains to be seen if the decree could really be

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<sup>38</sup> [Zhongyang ribao](#) (Central Daily, 14/07/1999)

<sup>39</sup> [Zhongyang ribao](#) (Central Daily, 13/07/1999)

<sup>40</sup> But CTBA had double standard on young talents playing pro baseball. They encouraged them to go aboard, yet punish those playing for TML. The reason they held was quite laughable because they did not think minor league as genuine pro games. Thus it is all right to allow them to play overseas. Playing for TML was forbidden because players do not possess mental toughness to compete in pro level!

<sup>41</sup> [Denver Post](#) (09/10/2001)

abided by MLB.

The repercussion of Luo was enormous implicating MLB could touch Taiwanese players as young as 16, which is the same situation occurring in Latin America. Some people fear the worst by saying Taiwanese baseball is going to be Latinized as a result of Luo. The view may be pessimistic. Since Taiwan has its own pro league that provides rather good salary, players have options to choose, if MLB club offers unsatisfactory bonus fee. As one scout told me, "Taiwanese players were asking too much signing-on fees. I aim going to get good players with low costs". Fortunately Taiwan is a wealthy country compared to poverty-stricken Latin American countries, whose players trying to get out of there and play in the US. That is why Taiwan becomes a semi-peripheral where autonomous pro league exists providing alternative option, while Latin America is periphery, totally dependent upon US hegemony. Yet the undeniable fact is that promising prospects would challenge MLB when they have a chance.

MLB has set up working agreement with Japan and Korea whose players could go to the US via postal bidding in which the highest bidder wins. It is similar to transfer fees in other sports. The regime was initially devised in 2000 between the US and Japan, whose clubs could sell star players to American teams instead of losing them for nothing. To date CPBL has yet signed any official agreement with other countries to protect itself from being poached by other foreign clubs. The famous incident occurred when Lion's star pitcher, Cao Junyang, caught the eyes of Chunichi Dragons. The Lions did not even ask Dragons for transfer fee and released Cao unconditionally as 'goodwill gesture'. Lions really set a bad example by making such cheap concession.

The MLB, NPB or KBO have yet signed any formal documents regarding to signing Taiwanese players contracted with CPBL. American clubs seem to perceive CPBL quality is much inferior to that of Japan and suspect Taiwanese players could make immediate impact like Ichiro or Matsui did on the big show. Besides, Taiwan always have tendency of going to Japan which is geographically nearer and culturally similar. For instance, despite being highly recommended by a Dodger's coach, Bulls' slugger Zhang Taishan, 27, preferred going to Japan instead because he thinks he does not want to be a journeyman up and down the major and minor leagues.<sup>42</sup> His age is also a hindrance of challenging MLB favoring young foreign talents. If a Taiwanese could perform well in NPB, he could be signed by MLB anyway. In this respect, NPB can be seen as 3A minor league, to which the best products of CPBL advance.

American and Japanese clubs prefer to pick Taiwanese pitchers ahead of position players. To Americans, they already have ample sluggers who would overpower most

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<sup>42</sup> Minshengbao (Minsheng Newspaper, 04/05/2003)

of Taiwanese hitters. To Japanese, clubs are not bothered of signing Taiwanese sluggers if they have ex-major leaguers with adequate record to choose from as their foreign imports. In 2003 Daiei Hawks signed Chen Wenbin, homerun king of 2002 season, but constantly put him in the reserve team waiting for call-up only if there is foreign player injured in the first team. But Taiwanese pitchers, such as Zhang Zhijia and Xu Mingjie, sparkled right away for Seibu Lions after their arrival.

The objective of MLB, like other MNCs, is to make and enhance profits by using as low costs as possible. As Guevara and Fidler demonstrated, there are twelve ‘double standards’ of MLB mistreating Latin talents.<sup>43</sup> Some of them can be applied in Taiwan. For example, MLB teams are prohibited from signing high school players and from trying to influence a student to withdraw from high school or college domestically. Yet they are free to tempt Taiwanese students from abandoning schools to play pro baseball. MLB also caused controversy over a Mainland Chinese player named Wang Chao, with whom Beijing club had signed 12-year contract. The affair was resolved when Seattle Mariners sent a representative to re-negotiate the contract with Beijing authority.<sup>44</sup>

Overall speaking, the MLB hegemony is unchallengeable, even Japan experienced the similar phenomenon losing star players, such as Ichiro Suzuki, Hideo Nomo, and most recently Yomiuri’s star Hideki Matsui. Korean also has been through the same process as Taiwan with their high school star players going to the US. Cuba, which refuses to join the global economic system, was able to force players to stay in domestic league, but just barely.

### **NPB Impact on Taiwan**

Unlike the Koreans, who were colonized by Japan, are xenophobic to the colonizer, Taiwanese excluding mainlanders hold positive image toward former master. Different psychologies held are subtle. But it has to be understood in historical context. When the KMT troops created 228 tragedy immediately took over the island and put mainlanders into virtually all political positions. Not surprisingly many Taiwanese were nostalgic about Japanese reign where everything, though being harsh, was under strict order. Japan is the first people who brought baseball into the island, and their skills are considered more sophisticated than Taiwanese.

As a result, many Taiwanese players went to Japan playing in pro as well as amateur clubs, since their salaries were higher and standards better. In terms of pro baseball, Japan only has one level of minor league system compared to at least four levels in the US, which is more competitive that must have intimidated some

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<sup>43</sup> Guevara and Fidler (2002), p175-176

<sup>44</sup> [Zhongguo xinwenwang](#) (China Newsnet, 22/10/2001). Yet one American scout told me that “Chinese authority just wanted to extract more money from Mariners, which had already paid a lot.”

Taiwanese from challenging the big league. Taiwanese not only want to play at NPB, but also learn Japanese skills, techniques, and spirits, which would be useful if they return to homeland.

When pro baseball was established in 1990, CPBL wanted to stop player exodus again and tried to sign an agreement with Japanese governmental body. NPB immediately sent a goodwill gesture by signing the ‘Mutually Non Cross-signing Agreement’ effective for five years. It ensured no CPBL stars could be signed by Japanese pro clubs, and vice versa, to maintain the best quality of Taiwanese games. Although it did not prevent Japan clubs from signing Taiwanese students, the military obstacle rendered them absolutely no chance of success.<sup>45</sup> The 1992 Olympic silver medal-winning star, Guoli Jianfu, was an exception signed by Hanshin Tigers, which had tacit agreement just before restriction was imposed.

When the agreement expired in 1995, both sides renewed it the following year at a three sides’ meeting (CPBL, NPB, and KBO), in which CPBL also signed a similar agreement with the Korean pro league. Controversy occurred in 1999 when NPB unilaterally revoked the agreement without consulting with CPBL. The reason they gave was due to drastic change of circumstances as the second pro league was created besides CPBL. What triggered this ungentlemanly behavior was Dodgers’ signing of Chen Jinfeng, which rather took NPB by surprise. The mindset behind NPB was if MLB could get Taiwanese players, why not us? Japan joined with the US preying upon Taiwanese talents. TML, which had a former NPB pitching star, Guo Taiyuan, as its high-ranking consultant, became an agent for introducing players to Japan. TML not only had connection with Seibu, but also had working relationship with the Colorado Rockies via Eric Ireland, who had served as head coach in TML for two years. Cao Jinhui, for instance, went to the Rockies through TML arrangement.

After NPB abruptly nullified the non cross-signing agreement, Seibu immediately signed Xu Mingjie from TML. The famous player brokered by TML was Zhang Zhijia, earning his fame in 2001 World Cup beating Korea and Japan that helped Chinese Taipei to bronze medal. Slugger Chen Wenbin went to Daiei Hawks on an exchange-player scheme, which is the first time in Taiwano-Japanese baseball history. While Lin Weizhu is a unique case, he was able to join the NPB draft by staying at Japan for over than five years making his status equivalent to Japanese players. So far NPB has yet to sign would-be military conscripts due to various reasons. It remains to be seen if they would follow MLB footstep.

NPB, just like the MLB, wanted to promote its products and merchandizes to other countries exploring potential consumers market in affluent areas. Taiwan is a

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<sup>45</sup> But Japanese high schools, universities, or amateur clubs were not in the restriction. Thus some Taiwanese senior high players, such as Shi Zhiming, Lin Weizhu, and Wu Renrong, transferred to Japanese educational institutions in 1995 unhindered by the agreement.

perfect target due to its proximity geographically, economically, and culturally. Under this rationale, NPB played its two regular games in Taiwan for the first time in NPB history in front of sold out crowd. Many fans rooted for Daiei Hawks than Orix Blue Waves, because Daiei's manager is Sadaharu Oh, who is still holding a ROC passport, though he could not speak a word of Mandarin since he was born and raised in Japan. The success of foreign land-based regular games prompted Daiei to make another expedition in 2003 playing in a larger stadium, located in Gaoxiong County, with over 20,000 seats.

The business strategy behind is to foster more Taiwanese fans interested in Japanese baseball and induce them to buy their surrounded products that could increase NPB's revenue. One reason for NPB search of new market is globalization of baseball dominated by the MLB, which lured away some of Japanese stars, thus resulting in drop in attendances. Some analysts aware the deterioration claiming Japanese pro baseball will become more than minor league of MLB. Worst of all, all the NPB teams would be affiliated to MLB clubs one or another, except for Yomiuri Giants, the solitary elite team that has a chance of becoming a MLB franchise.

### **The Rise of China**

China actually has long tradition of baseball dating back to 1863 when a Shanghai baseball clubs was created. But the sport never really took-off due to domestic turmoil and anti-Americanism. It was not until 1975 that Japanese Kobe city team and Aichi Industrial University visited China did it begin a series of baseball development.

As globalization speeds up its pace, the biggest target of NPB and MLB would be Mainland China, which accounts for one sixths of global population. According to *Baseball America*, a survey conducted among MLB executives revealed that China is the most untapped country for talents with 43%, followed by Australia (13%), Africa (11%), Korea (7%), and other countries.<sup>46</sup> As representative of Mariners, Benny Looper, said, "China. They're seriously about developing it. We signed a player there. He had good size and athleticism. One thing that could hurt it is the status of Olympic sport. That's one of the reasons they're developing baseball – if its an Olympic sport, they want to be good at it." Not surprisingly MLB, NPB, and KBO wanted to have a stake in developing and promoting the pastime within Mainland China.

In 2001 Wang Chao was the first Mainland Chinese player ever to be signed by a MLB club.<sup>47</sup> Although a lot of controversies surrounding the signing including accusation of Mariners' unethical behavior by Chinese authority, it is the first step for MLB to step in setting up baseball foothold in such a large talent pool.

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<sup>46</sup> Available online: <http://www.baseballamerica.com>

<sup>47</sup> The first China-born person to play in the MLB was Harry Kingman, son of American Congregationist missionaries working in China. He made his MLB debut in 1914.

Sharing almost the same language, history, and cultural background with Mainland China, Taiwan should be easy to explore China's potential baseball consumers and market than that of Japan. The fact is that both sides are quite reserved in the exchange. In 1997 when Chinese national team came to Taipei for Asian Championship, two sluggers, Luo Weijun, and Wei Zhen, from Beijing were spotted by TML.<sup>48</sup> But the deal fell through because there were too many obstacles to overcome. It is rumored in 1996 that Sinon was going to set up a baseball academy in Xiamen, but the plan was never implemented.

Although there has not been serious club-to-club contact, it is very active in individual level at which Taiwanese players and coaches went cross the Straits guiding Chinese teams. Head coach Lin Xinzhang, who had been mysteriously dismissed by Mercury Tigers after fantastic 1990 season, went to instruct Chinese national team, who nearly beat Taiwan in 1993 Asian Championship. Badly needing baseball expertise and knowledge that can speak the same language, China began to lure ex-Taiwanese pro players as coaches. Some gambling-convicted players, such as Guo Jiancheng, Zhen Baisheng, and Jiang Taiquan went to coach Tianjin Lions, which won three champions in a row after their arrival. Meanwhile Lin Guanghong and Zhen Xingsheng briefly stayed at Beijing.

China launched its first ever China Baseball League (CBL) in 2002 with four participants, Tianjin Lions, Beijing Tigers, Shanghai Eagles, and Guangdong Leopards. Obviously they want to improve the playing caliber in order to compete in 2008 Beijing Olympics. Assisted by Taiwanese coaches, Tianjin claimed the champion in the inaugural season. In the second season the CBL allowed clubs to sign foreign players to enhance their skills and expanded game scale with each club playing 8 round-robins on home-away fixture.<sup>49</sup> Tianjin is the most ambitious of all by signing three players, Jeff Harris, Steve Rain, and Edgard Clemente, the latter two of whom had MLB experiences. The Korean Samsung pro club also supplied Guangdong with three Korean players making CBL more competitive and exciting. By now, all four clubs in CBL (China Baseball League) have working agreements with Japanese pro clubs, providing necessary coaches and players for the league.<sup>50</sup>

Salaries for Taiwanese coaches are not that bad, which is around \$2,300 monthly. Since living costs are low, they could send three fourths of their wages back home.<sup>51</sup> The 'successful landing' of Guo, Zhen and Jiang prompted some retired Taiwanese players to probe opportunity in China. Liao Minxiong, nicknamed

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<sup>48</sup> Zhongshi wanbao (China Times Evening, 26/05/1997)

<sup>49</sup> After each club played 12 games, the league has to be suspended in May due to SARS disease.

<sup>50</sup> Tianjin has working relationship with Chunichi Dragons, Shanghai with Yokohama Bay Stars, Beijing with Yomiuri Giants, and Guangdong with Daiei Hawks. Minshengbao (Minsheng Newspaper, 21/01/2003)

<sup>51</sup> Lianhe bao (United Newspaper, 12/03/2001)

‘baseball prince’, another convicted player, headed for Shanghai as hitting coach in 2003. As Chinese media suggests, Liao has got along very well with Eagles’ players.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, ex-China Trust coach, He Xinyi, became assistant coach for the Leopards.

When the ‘TML jumpers’ knew their fate on traitors’ clause imposed by CPBL, they threatened to go to Mainland China helping them develop baseball. Some people were worried about the talent outflow to China, which may inadvertently beat Taiwan on its own sport. It would be far-fetched to assume China can be a magnetic field. As far as salary is concerned, there is no way for Taiwanese players to go cross the Straits because the financial incentives are too low. Baseball is relatively fanless sport in the country. Unlike basketball, football, or volleyball that attract large crowds and sponsorships which in turn offer players high wages. Baseball in China may have potentiality but lack capability right now.

Besides, CBL rules prohibited Taiwanese from being registered neither as domestic nor foreign players, except coaches. The most intriguing thing is that American, Japanese, Korean, and other countries’ players can be fielded as foreign players. Reason of the ban is still unknown. One exception is Guo Jiancheng, now closer of Tianjin, he was allowed to pitch because he is a player-manager.

### **Other Connections**

Taiwan and Korea, both countries with similar colonialized history, and political and economic development, are extremely lacking in players’ exchange. Taiwanese players have yet played in KBO, which can be explained partly by its non-foreign-player policy for first 15 years. The other reason is that Korean baseball is inferior to Taiwanese baseball in standard of play according to Taiwanese common perception. But in terms of salary and players’ supply, KBO is better and ample than that of CPBL and TML combined. Although KBO allowed foreign players in 1997, they would rather sign American or Latin American players, especially Dominican Republic, than Taiwanese players.

CPBL did import a group of Korean legion by Sinon Bulls. Yet the quality of these Koreans was dismally low. Bulls signed them, most of whom did not have the caliber to play in KBO, because of cheapness. The most famous player among them was Han Hee-min, whose distinguished career in national team and KBO failed to impress in CPBL. Sinon even had a Korean head coach at one time. Overall speaking, Korean imports were a fiasco for the Bulls, which became the rock bottom club.

Other interesting migration is Li Jinhua, who played in Mexican independent league, *Nogales* of *La Liga De Sonora*. Local Spanish press wrote an article saying he

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<sup>52</sup> [Dongfang tiyu ribao](#) (Oriental Sports Daily, 17/04/2003)

is the first Chinese to play pro baseball in Mexico. Originally Li wanted to use Mexico as a stepping-stone to enter the MLB system. But the dream did not realize and later signed for TML. During two years of stay in Mexico, he created quite a sensation in the region.

Another interesting case was Zhang Jiahao, a left-handed pitcher and outfielder. He was in the national team during 1991 but immigrated to Australia with his family the following year. As soon as Zhang arrived in Australia, he was invited by Yang Qinglong, another ex-Taiwanese baseball player coaching a team in ABL, to join the league. According to Zhang's recollection, he only appeared in five games and was forced to stop because other teams complained there were too many foreigners in Zhang's club.<sup>53</sup> Subsequently Zhang signed for Sinon Bulls in 1993.

Zhen Jingyi could have been the first Taiwanese playing in the Panamanian winter league after Mariners offered him the opportunity, had not been the visa problem and unfamiliarity of the environment.<sup>54</sup>

### Foreign Player Migration

Figure 3, Nationalities of Foreign Players in CPBL between 1990 and 2002

Country	Number	%
The US	203	47.54
Dominican Republic	133	31.15
Venezuela	29	6.79
Japan	29	6.79
Mexico	15	3.51
Puerto Rico	6	1.41
Korea	6	1.41
Panama	3	0.70
Colombia	2	0.47
Cuba	1	0.23
Total	427	100

Source: All foreign players' names and nationalities are available on <http://www.cpbl.com.tw> (Chinese version)

From figure 3, we can see large amount of foreign players were introduced to CPBL during 13-year span. Americans are still the largest supplier of foreign imports (203), followed by Dominican Republic (133), Venezuela and Japan (29), and Mexico (15). The outbreak of match-fixing scandals and the creation of TML made two baseball

<sup>53</sup> Minshengbao (Minsheng Newspaper, 27/01/1996)

<sup>54</sup> Minshengbao (Minsheng Newspaper, 23/10/2001)

leagues over-reliant on foreigners. It culminated in 1997 during which CPBL and TML allowed each team to field four foreign imports at the same time in a game that caused certain degree resentment among Taiwanese fans, thus resulting in attendance slump.

In CPBL inaugural season, the highest paid Taiwanese was \$2,300/month, while foreign players was \$4,000/month, which therefore only attracted one ex-major leaguer, Jose Moreno, to the organization. Latin American players now saw Taiwan as a new gold mine providing outlet for disgruntled minor leaguers in the US. Several Dominicans and Panamanians were signed. Subsequently, players, such as Luis Iglesias, made imminent impact and became fans' favorite.

After the controversial release of two coaches in 1991, Mercury Tigers hired Tan Xinmin as their skipper. Tan, who had experiences in the US minor league, apparently knew the cheapness of Latin players. As soon as he was appointed to the position, Tan led a team scouting winter leagues to look for suitable and inexpensive players. As a result, Angel Gonzalez, Leo Garcia, and other players were brought to Taiwan. Other clubs sought foreigners via traditional agent responsible for introducing certain kind of players requested by coaches.

Weiquan Dragons was the only team that clung to all-American players, because they think the personal lives of Latin Americans off the field were promiscuous and unmanageable. The policy lasted for three years, after which a Dominican pitcher, Felipe Castillo, came to the club, ushering a lot of fellow countrymen to the Dragons. One of the reasons was the cheap labor of those players.

As baseball became more popular in the nation, it was rational for clubs to improve the salary to draw better imports. Brother Elephants was the first club to smash the contract record by signing Dominican third baseman, Luis de los Santos, for \$7,000/month. When players excelled in CPBL, NPB would be very much interested in recruiting them. For example, Luis de los Santos went to Tokyo Giants after successful career in Taiwan, which acts as a stepping-stone for foreigners as well as Taiwanese players.

There have been a few foreign players, who had had no MLB experiences, jumped onto the big stage after played in Taiwan. Joe Strong, Enrique Burgos, Dan Johnson, Ben Weber, Mike Garcia, James Lofton are this kind of example. Especially, Joe Strong, the founding player of inaugural CPBL season, made his MLB debut at the age of 37 in 2000, which is the oldest MLB rookie in 40 years. Nonaka Tetsuhiru, who had been in NPB reserve team, is a successful case that was able to realize his dream in NPB after a terrific stint in Taiwan. Generally speaking these are exceptions rather than the rule.

In 1995, Mexico Red Devils were invited by Elephants to have friendly games

in Taiwan. After the tour, several foreigners on Red Devils were spotted by CPBL. At the same time, leadoff batsman Daniel Fernandez and pitcher Manuel Hernandez also expressed interests in staying at Taiwan.<sup>55</sup> But it would be ungentlemanly behavior to sign them immediately after the friendlies. Elephants waited very late in the year did they sign the star pitcher, Manuel Hernandez. Teammates Fernando Tatis and Ty Gainey also went to Taiwan after the trip. Mexican players, however, are hard to sign because their contracts need to buy out from parent clubs.

The creation of the second league pushed foreigners' wages further up due to vicious competition. TML wanted to attract well-known foreign players, such as Luis Iglesias and Sil Campusano, by offering amazing salary of \$10,000 to \$18,000/month.<sup>56</sup> Big money spent by TML was to create a league on equal footing with CPBL, which held uncompromising stance. Furthermore, TML offered \$8,800 to \$14,700/month to Taiwanese stars, who defected from CPBL. In 1997, there were a total of 11 pro teams in the island. Lacking homegrown talents at the inception, both leagues had to resort to foreigners, who were abundant. The outcome was mass invasion of foreign legion. Some ex-major leaguers, such as Sam Horn, were enticed to the TML, whose slogan was 'power baseball', which was mainly exercised by foreign sluggers. On the other hand, Taiwanese bats were weak and feeble that certainly did not appeal to general public. The situation deteriorated after the outbreak of gambling and match-fixing that led to many arrests of Taiwanese players, thus further depending on foreign imports. China Times Eagles had to borrow players from five other teams in addition to Dominican players in order to finish the 1997 season.

Big money spending did not pay off. The average attendance would have been only several hundreds, had not been fake numbers forged by TML. The league started to cut costs not only by releasing several star foreign players, but also forcing CPBL defectors to turn into coaches, accepting lesser money. By now TML could only afford players from 2A or Independent League, confessed by Yuan Dingwen.<sup>57</sup> CPBL could not keep up with the pace of money spending as well after gambling. Players' salaries were reduced by clubs collectively, no matter how excellent they performed on the field, in order to cope with the crisis. Simultaneously clubs slimmed the expenses spent on foreigners the cheapness of Latin Americans became the main target.

Some teams were so desperate that they were not bothered to check the product quality before letting them going on the field. One famous incident occurred when a Venezuelan infielder, Edgar Alfonzo, was nicknamed 'Captain Hook' because one of

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<sup>55</sup> *Minshengbao* (Minsheng Newspaper, 11/03/1995)

<sup>56</sup> *Zhongguo shibao* (China Times, 10/12/1996)

<sup>57</sup> Interview conducted by Yang Xiaolan on 14<sup>th</sup> September 2000. Available online: <http://www.playballx.com/people/TML-yuan/yuan8.htm> (Chinese version)

his eyes could hardly see. Yet the Elephants continued to play him until the team found out there was something weird with his fielding and batting.<sup>58</sup> Many foreign imports merely stayed at Taiwan for couple of days or months and got fired if coaches were not satisfied with what they saw. There are no guaranteed work rights in the contract. During the trial, they were hired on daily salary basis that club could decide to fire him at any time. Dan Serafini, for instance, was such case.<sup>59</sup> Sometimes foreigners did not even get chance to one the field and was given return plane ticket when club found other cheap replacements.

The snobbish ‘cash onslaught’ on Latin players had caused resentment in LMB. The prolific owner of Mexican Red Devils Roberto Mansur lashed out damaging attacks on Taiwan and warned players of going to Taiwanese leagues manipulated by mobs. Lacking the financial muscle to lure stars in Mexico, Mansur stigmatize Taiwan in order to deter player exodus.<sup>60</sup>

During the darkest age of pro baseball, Taiwan gradually slipped to second layer in semi-periphery along with Mexico as clubs could not afford to sign any super players from LMB. However, as fans returned to the ballpark after the merger in 2003, it is expected that CPBL would restore its traditional place and keep recruiting good players in Latin America.

In relations with Japan, Taiwan can be seen as its minor league providing talents to feed off NPB. The working agreement between China Times Eagles and Hiroshima Carp best illustrates the exploitation of cheap labor Dominican players in baseball world-system.

Table 1, Carp’s Dominican Wannabees in Taiwan

Player	Position	Year to Taiwan	After Taiwan
Charles Pena	Infielder	1994	-
Luis Perez	Infielder	1994	-
Ramon Tavarez	Infielder	1994	Italy
Mario Sangilbert	Pitcher	1994	Italy
Robinson Checo	Pitcher	1994	NPB-MLB
Felix Perdomo	Infielder	1995	NPB
Juan Duran	Pitcher	1995	-

Hiroshima can be said the smallest club in NBP that plunge their into adverse starting

<sup>58</sup> Minshengbao (Minsheng Newspaper, 29/03/1998)

<sup>59</sup> Lianhe wanbao (United Evening Post, 20/08/2002)

<sup>60</sup> Zhongguo shibao (China Times, 21/01/1997). The newspaper quoted the source from an article from Dominican newspaper Ultima Hora (Last Hour) written on 14<sup>th</sup> January 1997.

point when signing for foreign as well as domestic players. The Dominican academy is a way of reducing costs and developing talents at the same time. The cooperation means advantages for both sides. On the one hand, Carp sent their academy graduates to gain playing time in Taiwan. On the other hand, once players performing well in CPBL, they would be recalled to Japan helping out the parent club. To Eagles, it enjoyed the cheap labor by offering symbolic \$500/month allowances to Dominicans, who were mainly paid by Carp. Sometimes they reaped fruits when receiving good prospects from Carp. Moreover, Eagles could exchange coaching and training methods as well as the opportunity for interaction among members of two organization's player development staff. They also participated in the Carp's spring training camp in Hiroshima.

Normally a working agreement could enable the better league to have a crack in the lesser league. For example, Mexican players had tastes of MLB through cooperation with American clubs. Under the Carp-Eagles relationship, however, Carp was constrained by 'Mutually Non-crossing Signing Agreement'. Therefore it worked favorably to Eagles, which did not have to be afraid of their stars, such as Liao Mingxiong or Zeng Guizhang, going to NPB, even they wanted to.

During two years of close companionship, one player stood out in the exchange, that is Robinson Checo. He was first at California Angles' academy but was released afterwards. In 1992, Checo suddenly turned up in Carp's academy, which started his zigzag career in baseball. In 1994, Eagles received Checo, who started with a bang in his debut by striking out 13 hitters. Pitching coach Xu Shengming was very impressed with his 93MPH fastball but demanded to have his control harnessed. After a year of refinement in Taiwan, Carp felt Checo was sophisticated enough to recall him to Japan, despite Eagles' protest hoping he could stay permanently. He made immediate impact with Carp by winning over 10 games and demanded substantial pay rise or trade him to MLB. As a result, Carp sold his contract to Boston Redsox seeing immense potentials in his flameball. Checo made it to the big league in 1997. But after two disappointing seasons in MLB, he announced retirement going back to his homeland, where there is no summer league to show off his fastball.

Another player that played in NPB was Felix Perdomo, who was intriguingly transformed into a pitcher after being recalled from Taiwan. He stayed in NPB for three seasons and had so-so results. Other Dominican players who were not good enough for Carp were released afterwards. Ramon Tavarez and Mario Sanguibert are now in Italy playing in Serie A1 League for over 3 seasons, while Tavarez received Italian citizenship marrying an Italian girl. The rest simply evaporated from the scene and most possibly returned to Dominican Republic where there is no independent league for them to take part. It clearly shows how interactions of core, semi-periphery

and periphery, and intra-semi periphery work.

In 1996, Los Angeles Dodgers established working agreement with Sinon Bulls, which was rock bottom at the time. The cooperation enabled Bulls with quality foreign players, such as Osvaldo Martinez and Mark Kiefer, who improved overall strength. On the other hand, Dodgers have a partner within the country searching for Taiwanese prospects. The Dodgers chose Bull's deputy GM Zhang Gaoda as collaborator, or so-called comprador class, to assist them look for amateur players. Chen Jinfeng and Guo Hongzhi were secretly signed by Zhang abetted by the Dodgers.

The compradors also refer to people who had pro experiences in foreign country, especially Japan. For instance, Zhuang Shengxiong, who played for Japanese Lotte club for many years, now works for them in the reserve team. He spotted China Trust Whales' closer Brian Warren in the middle of the season and lured him to Japan. The action raised anger among Whales' coaches who thought it demoralized team spirit while they were competing in the league. Eventually they still had to let him go since he refused to stay at Whales any more. Veteran Chen Dafeng also turned into Chunichi Dragons's scout responsible for Taiwan area after declaring retirement in 2002.<sup>61</sup>

CPBL also recruits foreign players from the Italian League. Weiquan signed pitcher Rich Thompson (1993) and slugger George Canale (1997) from Italy. In 2003, despite dissuasion from Italian clubs and the island being hit severely by SARS disease, a couple of Dominican pitchers, Gabriel Ozuna and Javier Samboy, broke their contracts with Nettuno and Fiorentina respectively, signing for the desperate rock bottom club Agan for around \$7,000/month. By contrast the Italians could only offer maximum \$3,000/month to foreigners, who are willing to take risks going to Taiwan.<sup>62</sup>

Table 2, Taiwanese players signed by foreign pro clubs

Player	Position	Age	Club	Bonus Fee (US dollars)	Signing Time
Chen Jinfeng (Chen Chin-feng)	Outfielder	21	Los Angeles Dodgers	650,000	January 1999
Guo Hongzhi (Kuo Hong-chi)	Pitcher	18	Los Angeles Dodgers	1.2 million	July 1999
Cao Jinhui (Tsao Chin-hui)	Pitcher	18	Colorado Rockies	2.2 million	October 1999

<sup>61</sup> Minshengbao (Minsheng Newspaper, 17/10/2002)

<sup>62</sup> I am indebted to the information provided by Italian baseball expert Riccardo Schirotti.

Xu Mingjie (Hsu Ming-chieh)	Pitcher	22	Seibu Lions (Japan)	850,000	November 1999
Cao Junyang (Tsao Chun-yang)	Pitcher	23	Chunichi Dragons (Japan)	No bonus and transfer fee	January 2000
Chen Qingguo (Chen Ching-kuo)	Outfielder	25	US Independent League	Unavailable	2000
Li Jinhua (Li Chin-hua)	Infielder	23	Mexican Independent League	Unavailable	2000
Wang Jianmin (Wang Chien-ming)	Pitcher	20	New York Yankees	2.01 million	May 2000
Huang Junzhong (Huang Jun-chung)	Pitcher	18	Boston Redsox	200,000	October 2000
Luo Jinlong (Lo Ching-lung)	Pitcher	16	Colorado Rockies	1.4 million	October 2001
Yu Wenbin (Yu Wen-bin)	Pitcher	23	Orix Blue Waves (Japan)	420,000	December 2001
Zhang Zhijai (Chang Chih-chia)	Pitcher	22	Seibu Lions (Japan)	1.1 million	May 2002
Wu Zhaoguan (Wu Chao-kuan)	Catcher	18	Seattle Mariners	71,000	September 2002
Chen Wenbin (Chen Wen-bin)	Outfielder	29	Daiei Hawks (Japan)	No bonus and transfer fee	November 2002
Lin Weizhu (Lin Wei-chu)	Outfielder	23	Hanshin Tigers (Japan, drafted)	420,000	December 2002
Hu Jinlong (Hu Chin-lung)	Shortstop	18	Los Angeles Dodgers	225,000	March 2003

## Conclusion

According to the world-system theory, Taiwan is in the semi-periphery zone, which has its own domestic league but at the same time loses their best players to the MLB as well as to Japanese league. One Taiwanese player, Wang Weizhong even went to Korean baseball league that offer better salary. Plagued by low salary structure and intermittent match-fixing scandals, Taiwan's baseball league needs to secure safe environment and adopt labor-friendly measures, such as free agent system, in order to obtain services of high school graduated players, who may be tempted to challenge the MLB or NPB.

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