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EDITORIAL

There is no doubt that contemporary role of sport exceeds the borders of competition and spectatorship. As a cultural, anthropological and sociological phenomenon influencing politics and economies, it has been studied from the whole range of perspectives available to social scientists. Even though there is long-lasting tradition of social studies on sport in Poland, with the prominent journal "International Review for Sociology of Sport" currently published by SAGE, established in Poland in 1966 and affiliated at the Academy of Physical Education in Warsaw, for many years the research into the world of football has been scarce in Poland. Usually, any research agenda was realized within the Academies of Physical Education, with Polish scholars rarely taking part in academic debates in international forums.

The inspiration for this volume has been drawn from the several "special volumes" of the leading scientific journals which have been published in the past few years. The issues regarding globalization and glocalization of football, and the impact of Sport Mega Events in particular, have been approached and vigorously debated from various perspectives in international scientific discourse, and not only in journals specializing in social studies of sport. The examples include: Sociological Review (2006, vol. 54, issue supplement 2), Global Networks (2007, vol. 7, issue 2), Urban Studies (2011, vol. 48, no 15), British Journal of Sociology (2012, vol. 63, issue 2), Environment and Planning (2012, virtual issue: Sport mega events and the city), International Journal of Cultural Policy (2008, vol. 14, no 4).

Thus, the proposed volume is devoted to a topic which is already vividly debated in the contemporary sociology of sport, namely the multidimensional impact of globalization in the world of football and football communities at the European, national, regional and local levels.

When approaching the interrelation between sport and globalization we follow the pathway of Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, who understand globalization as being characterized by two distinct but intertwined processes: increased subjective consciousness of the world, being a single place as perceived

by social actors, and intensification of cultural and social 'connectivity' (e.g. through telecommunication and rapid long-distance international travel). Both authors analyze the cultural, socio-political and economic processes occurring on a global scale, also paying special attention to the interrelations between local/particular and global/universal dimensions of the process [2012]. In analysing actors operating globally, they research global clubs, national sport federations and their umbrella organizations (e.g. FIFA and UEFA), whose *modus operandi* in contemporary times is very similar to the way Transnational Corporations operate on a global market. The end result is the internationalization and popularization of sport, football in particular, accompanied by the radical commercialization of the game and hyper-commodification of its social surroundings. However, the aforementioned authors also point to the growing issues of social exclusion stemming from the mercantilization of sport and at the actions undertaken in the name of re-democratization of the world of sport and resistance to market tyranny. The importance of sport in the process of globalization is growing. In some areas contemporary global game football strengthens globalization, and viewed from various angles it can be seen as a perfect mirror reflecting various processes [2009: 2].

The introductory article to the topic is provided by one of the most prominent scholars in the field – Richard Giulianotti. His paper summarizes the sociological debate concerning the main aspects of the interrelationship between sport and globalization, as approached in theoretical considerations and empirical studies. Giulianotti provides a historical overview of the global processes influencing sport, with particular attention paid to the take-off period of globalization (from 1870 up to the 1920s). This paves the way for analysis of the major socio-cultural and political-economic aspects of global sport.

The subsequent chapters by Wojciech Woźniak and Jacek Burski are devoted to the social studies on Sport Mega Events, which are the most important manifestations of the truly global nature of contemporary sport (see: Roche 2000). The papers by Woźniak and Burski examine the UEFA European Championships in Football held in Poland and Ukraine in 2012. The Euro 2012 was the biggest sport event ever organized in Poland to date. Even if limited to the participants from just one continent, the European Championships remain one of the largest sport events in the world, after the Olympic Games and the World Cup in football (see: Klauser 2011: 4; Gratton, Shibli, Coleman 2006: 41).

Wozniak's chapter approaches the political, economic and social consequences of the event, concentrating exclusively on the Polish part of the Euro 2012. The author points at some of the unique features in these areas, particularly concern-

ing the public discourse surrounding the event. Euro 2012 was unanimously supported by all major political forces in Poland and a significant majority of mainstream media. Thus, the enormous public spending was subject to neither strict scrutiny and control, nor criticism, neither from the political sphere nor from the media. The discursive strategies employed by the political elites and media tended to present Euro 2012 as a major challenge and – afterwards – an unprecedented success. These claims were not subjected to sufficient research on the part of critically-oriented academic circles. The preliminary analysis of the costs and benefits stemming from Euro 2012 suggest that the statements of Horne and Manzenreiter remain valid in this context (2006: 9): The 'legacies' – whether social, cultural, environmental, political, economic or sporting – are the greatest attraction but also form part of the 'known unknowns', of sports mega-events. They create the 'allure of global games' – perhaps especially for developing economies. At the same time it seems evident that forecasts of the benefits are nearly always wrong.

According to Jacek Burski, Euro 2012 constitutes a defining moment in the history of Polish football fandom, particularly in terms of discursive practices surrounding this social phenomenon. In his paper, not only the public discourse but also data from qualitative interviews with traditional supporters of one of Polish clubs serve as the basis for discussing the transformation of football spectatorship in the Polish context.

The chapter written by Brazilian scholars Wanderley Marchi Júnior and Bárbara Schausteck de Almeida concentrates on the unprecedented fact that in the forthcoming years Brazil will face the challenges surrounding the hosting of two of the biggest Sport Mega Events in the world: World Cup in football in 2014, and the 2016 Summer Olympics – Rio de Janeiro 2016. The authors approach the latter event by providing an analysis of the press discourse surrounding the bidding process and the selection of Rio de Janeiro as the host of the Olympic Games. This paper is one of the very first examples of an analysis devoted to the first-ever Olympic Games to be hosted in South America, by the country which in recent years has gained growing prominence as the leader of Latin America and, as a BRICS country, is one of the major emerging economies in the world.

The second part of the volume undertakes a more bottom-up approach. It refers to the processes through which glocalization occurs, namely: how local cultures adapt and redefine any global cultural products to suit their particular needs, beliefs and customs (Robertson, Giulianotti 2004: 546).

In the context of the growing commercialization of football in the contemporary phase of globalization, Marcin Gońda presents various strategies of resistance to

the hegemony of the neoliberal market-oriented processes. Growing opposition to the commodification of the global game is illustrated using a set of examples from various European countries, where the fan mobilization could be described by umbrella term: "against modern football". Social movements target the owners of the clubs for the increasing prices of the tickets and protest against the reforms introduced by national football governing bodies or public and private security forces, policing and penalizing the traditional way of spectatorship. The main "evils" of contemporary football are often symbolically embedded in the form of Sport Mega Events, being in its contemporary form the ultimate outcome of the commercialization of football.

In his paper, Radosław Kossakowski utilizes his the empirical data he gathered during fieldwork among the fans of the Dutch club Twente Enschede. He analyzes the interplay between local/regional identity rooted in traditional local communities and historical legacies of the region, and the pressure from the global processes driven by the growing commodification and marketization of the game. The club, from the region of Overijssel, is deeply rooted in local and regional traditions and proud of its heritage; but it is also exposed to the pressures arising from global processes and is involved in international European competition and open towards the players from all over the world. It serves as an excellent example for discussing the contemporary characteristics of interrelations between the global and the glocal.

In the concluding chapter, Hans K. Hognestad approaches various theoretical perspectives present in the contemporary debate on globalization in sport to trace changes in fans' affiliations and allegiances. Using his experiences from empirical studies conducted among British and Norwegian fans, Hognestad shows that complex, multiple identities replace the traditional: local, regional or national loyalties. The transnationalization and de-territorialization of the world of football is accompanied by the transformation of its spectatorship, both in terms of matchday experiences as well as long-lasting commitments towards particular clubs and national teams.

The papers in this volume apply mostly descriptive and rather idiographic perspectives. Thus, this volume does not aspire to fully recognize the multitude of aspects and influences of globalization on the world of sport, and its interrelations with culture, economy, politics, identity formation, local policies and social problems. It attempts, rather modestly, to present some recent examples from the rich and multidimensional body of research into global and glocal processes occurring in the world of football. We hope it will contribute to furthering the scholarly debate and enhancing the exchange of thoughts and ideas between the

members of academic community in Poland, opening up the forum for more internationally-oriented debate on the contemporary issues regarding football and football spectatorship in the context of transformative social, political and economic realities. It also needs to be noted that the rationale behind the selection of the papers was to open up the forum to young researchers who are on a verge of their academic careers and who could contribute with a fresh approach to the debate over the social meanings of sport. The exceptions were made in case of Richard Giulianotti, probably the most prominent contemporary author in the field, and Hans K. Hognestad, both established researchers with a treasure of fieldwork experience.

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SPORT AND GLOBALIZATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MAJOR ISSUES

Abstract

The article focuses on the multi-dimensional relationships between sport and globalization. From the historical perspective, the paper examines the 'take-off' period of globalization, during which many sports underwent global spread. From a socio-cultural perspective, it discusses issues of cultural sameness and divergence within sport across different societies. From a political-economic perspective, the paper considers the contemporary relevance of the nation-state and national identity, and the impact of the hyper-commodification of sport in the wider context of neoliberal policies.

Key words: Globalization, global sport, glocalization, hyper-commodification

INTRODUCTION

Sport is one of the most important cultural drivers of globalization, and has been since the late 19th century. It has been argued that sport is both a motor and a metric of globalization: sport accelerates, and enables us to measure, global change and different forms of global interconnection [Giulianotti and Robertson 2007a] [Giulianotti and Robertson 2009]. Economically, sport generates vast revenues worldwide. One market research report estimated that, at the global level, professional sports generated up to US$ 120 billion in annual revenues [First Research Inc, 2012]. Global sport mega-events – such as the Olympics and

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football's World Cup – attract worldwide television audiences. Sport also allows different societies to become more embedded within international society, thus we find that the football and Olympic global governing bodies (FIFA and the IOC respectively) each have more national members than the United Nations.

We should note at the outset that globalization *per se* is far older than modern sports. Whereas the latter developed primarily in the 18th, 19th (especially), and early 20th centuries, the former extends back to at least the 15th century, for example through the first wave of European colonization of the Americas. Hence, globalization is a much older phenomenon than is sometimes claimed, for example, by some social scientists and social movements who understand globalization as being synonymous with the rise of (Western) modernization [Giddens 1990], or with neo-liberal capitalism from the 1970s onwards [Bourdieu 1999; Wolf 2004]. In addition, I would argue that globalization involves more than economic processes; rather, it also features historical, cultural, economic, political, and social aspects.

How should we define globalization? In this discussion, I follow the approach of Roland Robertson [1992: 8], one of the world's leading analysts of global processes, who defines globalization as referring to both 'the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole'. In other words, globalization features greater levels of transnational connectivity (such as through satellite communication and migration), and heightened levels of social reflexivity about the world *per se*. Robertson [Robertson 1992] also reminds us that the interplay between 'the local' and 'the global' is far more complex than is typically understood. That is, we need to move beyond the simple 'local-global' binary opposition. Instead, the local and the global are in an interdependent or mutually implicative relationship. Hence, globalization does not simply destroy or negate 'the local', as is often assumed. Instead globalization may actively promote or intensify 'the local', for example in terms of local forms of identity, such as by spreading the expectation across the world that different societies will express themselves or differentiate themselves in distinctive ways.

This article considers three components of the interplay between sport and globalization. First, I address historical issues, notably the 'take-off' period during which the transnational diffusion of many sports occurred. Second, I explore the socio-cultural aspects of global sport, with particular reference to debates over 'convergence-divergence' or 'homogeneity-heterogeneity'. Third, I examine the key political-economic issues in global sport, in particular the continuing relevance of the nation-state and national identity, and the impacts of hyper-commodification and neo-liberalism. In conclusion, I discuss some of future issues that may shape

global sport. The overall discussion draws in part on prior work, particularly with respect to Roland Robertson, which has been published elsewhere [Giulianotti and Robertson 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2009, 2012]. I should add that the main focus of the discussion is on elite professional sports, which have been historically dominated by men, rather than on mass participation in sport and physical recreation.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF GLOBAL SPORT

As is well known, the history of sport extends back to some of the earliest civilizations. For example, variants of the 'Mesoamerican ballgame' are understood to have been played since around 1400 BC, with some versions featuring significant ritual aspects that included human sacrifices. As is well known, the original Olympic games took place in Ancient Greece, while in Ancient China some forms of 'football' (*cuju*) were played [Guttmann 2004]. However, the direct modern origins of many sports are located in Britain, as driven by the 'games cult' which swept through schools and universities from the mid-19th century onwards [Mangan 1986]. For example, these games produced different rules for the game of football; one version, established at Cambridge in 1848, provided the basis for the new Football Association which was created in 1863. The formal codification of sporting games through these 'rule-books', and the creation of administrative bodies in the form of sporting associations, established the institutional bases for the development and diffusion of these sports over the long-term. It should be emphasized that the making of modern sports was also about the making of men: the sportification of modern society was an essentially male process, that largely excluded women. Thus, the ideologies, codes and conventions surrounding these sports then and still today are largely focused on the construction of hegemonic masculine identities through physical culture.

Robertson [Robertson 1992, 2007; Beck 2003] has advanced a six-phase model by which to examine the history of globalization. This model might be usefully applied to an examination of the globalization of sport as well. A critical period for sport's global diffusion came during the third phase of globalization, which Robertson [Robertson 1992] has termed the 'take-off' phase, and which ran from 1870s through to the 1920s [Giulianotti and Robertson 2009].

During the take-off phase, globalization became an accelerated process, and sport became more significant for these broader developments. Key themes at this time were the rise of personal and national identities, the institutional frameworks

for nation-states, more complex and contested forms of international relations, and deeper understandings and conceptions of 'global humanity'. Also at this time, principles of national identity and self-determination were more clearly accentuated, while national 'traditions' underwent strong processes of invention [Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Robertson 1992: 146–163]. Major international associations were established [we might even say the contemporary NGO sector or contemporary civil society was created then], while major international exhibitions and 'world fairs' were also staged.

Accordingly, at this time sport entered a 'take-off' global phase as well, as football, imperial games like cricket and rugby, and many Olympic disciplines [e.g. track and field, fencing, equestrianism] were codified and then underwent international diffusion. Key roles were played by local elites and entrepreneurs in taking up and promoting sports across local populations [Kaufman and Patterson 2005]. In competition with the British sporting models, we also find alternative flows of sport globalization. For example, the Gaelic Athletics Association served to institutionalize Irish sports in opposition to 'colonial' British games, and the *Turnverein* (German gymnastic movement) challenged British sporting hegemony in Europe. In addition, North American cultural and political exceptionalism was signified through the popularization of 'national' sports like baseball, American football, ice-hockey (especially in Canada), and later basketball. It should be noted that, reflecting American regional hegemony, baseball spread into Central America, parts of the Caribbean, Japan and other parts of East Asia [Guttmann 1994]. Various sports were given institutional frameworks across international society. For example the FIFA, as football's world body, was founded in 1904, along national membership lines. Early signs of Britain's imperial and international decline were provided by the failure of the four British football associations to participate fully within FIFA. The Olympic Games, first staged in 1896 and on a quadrennial basis thereafter, provided early international exhibitions of nation-based sport competitions [Guttmann, 1992]. Again, the take-off and diffusion of these different sports were largely underpinned by hegemonic masculine norms and values – typically centred on themes of toughness, virility, and varying levels of violence and pain – though with significant class, ethnic, national, and regional inflections and variations.

Sport became a key element in the invention of national traditions, and thus of national identities. Historically-inaccurate 'founding' myths were established around the first 'playing' of particular sports, such as that the American General Abner Doubleday 'founded' baseball, and with William Webb Ellis in the rugby union. 'National' styles of play began to develop, enabling forms of distinctive,

masculine national identity to be explored and signified. The successes in sport of non-European nations – for example, New Zealanders in rugby union, Australians in cricket, and Uruguayans in football – helped to build strong senses of national identity and solidarity across immigrant-based populations.

Finally, with regard to humankind in general, in its many different international settings, sport became one important socio-cultural space in which those marginalized by class, 'race', ethnicity or gender could struggle to overcome their social exclusion, to engage and to compete with individuals from more powerful social groups. Thus, for example, in South America and the Caribbean, non-whites struggled to participate in football and cricket respectively [Beckles and Stoddart 1995; Bellos 2003].

Some of the strongest forms of sporting marginalization were experienced by women, driven largely by the patriarchal ideologies that were inculcated through sports. However, women had begun full deployment during the First World War as a 'reserve army of labour', and the political and social emancipation of women was pursued, particularly by upper- and middle-class segments of society. Accordingly, women undertook significant forms of sporting resistance in regard to their lack of participation, such as among wealthier groups within the educational system and among some lower-middle and working class groups (notably, the Dick Kerr factory women's football team in England until the late 1920s) [Hargreaves 1994; Giulianotti 1999].

Overall, the take-off period of globalization played a crucial role in the transnational diffusion of sport. This period also served to set in place many of the social themes and conflicts which would remain apparent for the next century in the globalization of sport.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF GLOBAL SPORT

The socio-cultural analysis of globalization is commonly undergirded by debates on the processes of convergence and divergence, or homogenization and heterogenization. In simple terms, theories of homogenization or convergence state that globalization is characterized largely by processes of cultural sameness and uniformity. Alternatively, theories of heterogenization or divergence state that globalization is largely marked by cultural differences and divergence. Homogenization theories tend to be more associated with structural standpoints, which highlight the impact of major power inequalities. Heterogenization theories by contrast tend to have closer ties with more action-orientated perspectives,

that highlight the adaptive, creative and transformative powers of individuals and social groups at everyday levels. These opposing viewpoints are considered before examining a more integrative approach.

If we take into consideration homogenization, first of all we find that most social scientists who adopt this position are highly critical of processes of cultural convergence, particularly as such processes are understood to be driven by unequal and unfair distributions of power, and indeed by forms of cultural imperialism. Thus, while we might talk of 'advocates' or 'supporters' of the cultural homogenization thesis, we should emphasize that this 'support' provided by social scientists is only *support* for correctness or claims *of the theory*, and *not for the process* of homogenization or convergence itself. For example, in the studies of the field of communication, some proponents of the cultural imperialism thesis highlight the ways in which media corporations from the Global North are able to swamp societies in the Global South with images of advanced consumerism and pro-North ideologies [Hamelink 1995; Schiller 1976]. One variation of the cultural imperialism thesis is provided by the American sociologist George Ritzer [2004], who has advanced the keyword 'grobalization' to capture how, in his view, cultural homogenization is driven by three 'global' forces: capitalism, through the expansionist strategies of major corporations; Americanization, through US corporations and culture products; and 'McDonaldization', through transferring the highly efficient, disenchanting and tasteless organizational principles of the McDonald's fast food chain into other fields of social life.

The proponents of these arguments are able to point to a good deal of supporting evidence within sport. For example, we might consider the case of sport mega-events, such as the Olympic Games: most of the designated sports carried out in the Olympics derive historically from the Global North, while television coverage of events is full of commercial messages, primarily from transnational corporations in the Global North. We might also find strong evidence to support Ritzer's globalization theory: the Olympics have been strongly influenced by American corporations, for example with respect to event hosting, management and television revenues, and their organization in highly efficient and rational ways.

Nevertheless, we should spotlight some key flaws and weaknesses in the homogenization thesis. Overall, this approach is perhaps overly pessimistic in failing to account adequately for the capacity of most socio-cultural actors to engage creatively and critically with whatever 'global' cultural phenomena they might encounter. As a consequence, theories of media imperialism overstate the degree to which television viewers and newspaper readers passively absorb media

messages, rather than critically and selectively work with media content. At the same time, globalization theory accords too much weight to cultural products that are bought and sold, such as tourist souvenirs or food in restaurants, and spends too little time exploring the *interpretative* and *normative* aspects of culture, for example with regard to cultural aesthetics, meanings, styles, and techniques.

One significant strain of the homogenization thesis, discussed in part by Ritzer, is the Americanization theory. This approach explores how the United States and its many corporations – such as Coca-Cola, CNN, Disney, McDonald's, Microsoft, and Nike – are the dominant forces that drive cultural imperialism, by promoting American values, lifestyles, products, world-views and practices across the world [Crothers 2013]. In my view, these Americanization processes would appear to take place at two main levels. 'Hard Americanization' is the process whereby American products and practices dominate at the expense of local alternatives, while conversely, 'soft Americanization' involves the specific influence of what we might term as 'everyday Americanisms' within different societies at the everyday level.

It is difficult to argue that 'hard Americanization' has occurred in sports. Most North American sports – particularly American football and baseball – have had regional rather than global impact. Their development has been focused largely at the national level, some might say in a 'solipsistic' rather than imperialistic way [Martin and Reeves 2001]. Conversely, football, as the world's most popular sport, has very high levels of grassroots participation in the United States, but at elite level it has yet to seriously challenge the 'Big Four' American sports (American football, baseball, basketball, and ice-hockey). Moreover, the association of Americanization with free-market global commercialism does not entirely fit with all of the practices of US major league sports. For example, there are non-market levels of revenue-sharing and player-sharing (such as in the draft system) in American sports which do not occur in other sport systems, such as European or Latin American club football [Szymanski, 2006]. Finally, we might query whether the term 'Americanization' continues to have real geographical or sociological meaning, as it refers *not* to the American continent, but to one specific nation, the United States. The term also implies that the United States is a culturally uniform nation, yet this has never really been the case, and is particularly inapplicable now, given the long-term impacts of mass migration and multicultural cosmopolitanism.

Taking these points into consideration, we might conclude that the 'hard Americanization' thesis loses some of its initial attraction in relation to sports. Conversely, the 'soft Americanization' thesis becomes more persuasive, as this

focuses on how specific American practices have surfaced in other sports. For example, in sports such as football, cricket, rugby league, rugby union, and track and field athletics, we find that at the elite level, there is substantial American-style pre-event razzmatazz, marketing activities, and television production techniques.

Overall, we might argue that homogenization theories have some positive critical insights, however they do not allow us to explore in full the cultural complexity and diversity of sport. In that sense, these theories tend to be rather weak when applied rigidly and wholesale to sport.

In contrast, theories of heterogenization enable the investigation of cultural divergence and differentiation in globalization. Various theories and keywords contribute to theories of cultural divergence in different ways. Theories of hybridity and hybridization help us to draw out the complex processes of cultural mixing and blending that have long occurred across different societies, as illustrated in music, dance and sport, particularly in post-colonial contexts [Burke 2009; Pieterse 2007]. The theory of creolization performs a similar function, in enabling us to examine how peoples in peripheral societies engage critically and selectively with the cultural phenomena of other societies in order to produce creolized cultural forms [Hannerz 1992]. The theory of indigenization captures the growing focus on indigenous cultural-political identities in recent years, such as among 'first nation' or native peoples in North America and Australasia [Friedman 1999].

Processes of creative divergence and heterogenization are evident in sport in two main ways. First, there are instances in which the actual *forms* of individual sports have been fundamentally transformed by particular societies, such as where the rules and ethics are largely changed in order to fit with local conditions and contexts. For example, Trobriand Islanders transformed cricket, the quintessential English pastime, into an elaborate local ritual that helped to build positive relations between different communities. North Americans also transformed the games of folk football or rugby, and 'rounders', to produce the 'national' sports of American football and baseball.

Second, a more common process involves local peoples adapting or 'creolizing' the *content* of the sport which they encounter during its international diffusion. In this way, different societies come to produce their own aesthetic, technical and normative versions of the sport. For example, in cricket, the Indian sub-continent has historically placed greater emphasis on slow bowling skills and techniques compared to other regions which play the game; and in football Latin American societies place relatively high value on individual artistry compared to the football cultures in northern Europe, particularly the UK. Indeed, in both of

these examples, it might be argued that these English or British sports have been 'hijacked' by other societies, which have developed their own styles of playing and narrating these sports, as well as by taking greater control over their political and economic development, for example through the Brazilian Havelange's tenure as FIFA President (1974–1998), and in cricket through the creation of the world's most lucrative club tournament, the 'Indian Premier League' (or IPL) [Appadurai 1996; Rumford 2007].

We might also use theories of hybridity and hybridization to examine how sporting cultures emerge from a variety of influences and interests. For example, in Latin America different football societies have leaned heavily on their diverse migrant, 'hybrid' populations throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries to develop particular playing styles and 'invented traditions'. Moreover, these societies also associate their playing styles with particular forms of dance, as a way of reimagining the sport, such as with the tango in Argentina, the samba in Brazil, or the salsa in Colombia [Archetti 1999; Bellos 2003: 35; Burke 2009: 27–28].

In sport, the influence of indigenism is evidenced in a variety of ways. 'Traditional' games and folk sports have maintained and extended their appeal in many societies, particularly in settings where forms of submerged ethno-national identity are apparent e.g. the Basque *pelota*, the Breton Gamse, and the Scottish Highland Games [González Abrisketa 2013; Jarvie 1991; University of Keele 1994]. Forms of 'First Nation' identity have also come to be explored and celebrated through sport, notably through the staging of international events, such as the Inuit Games, which features disciplines that derive from traditional forms of physical culture or labour. Moreover, political and social movements that are tied to First Nations peoples have mounted prominent protests around major sporting events, with a focus on their denial of key civil and human rights (e.g. Australian Aboriginals at the Sydney 2000 Olympics) [Lenskyj 2002].

Thus, overall, heterogenization theories have major benefits in examining the cultural aspects of global sport, particularly in marking out the ways in which diverse social groups engage creatively with different sporting movements. One possible weakness, however, relates to the capacity of heterogenization theories to account for major power differentials which often shape key global flows in sport, notably between the rich North and the poorer South.

We might ask whether there is a possible middle-way in theoretical terms which may be identified to capture the best parts of the homogenization and heterogenization theories in order to explain global sport. In response, we might utilize the glocalization theory, which has been widely discussed and debated in social science since its introduction to explain the socio-cultural aspects of

globalization [Featherstone, Lash, Robertson 1995; Robertson 1992, 1990; Roudometof 2005; Tomlinson 1999]. To date, glocalization theory has tended to be used alongside theories of heterogenization, partly in order to challenge more deterministic convergence arguments on cultural imperialism. However, glocalization has a far more subtle sociological meaning, in that it refers to the mutual interplay between the local and the global [Featherstone, Lash and Robertson 1995, Ritzer and Smart 2001; Robertson 1992: 173–172]. Accordingly, glocalization theory allows for what Roland Robertson and I have termed elsewhere as the *duality of glocality*; in other words, the interplay between convergence/homogenization and divergence/heterogenization tendencies with respect to global sport and global culture in general [Giulianotti and Robertson 2007; Giulianotti and Robertson 2009].

The concept of glocalization has been utilized to explain many different aspects of sport, including the main features of Asian sport, the identities of transnational football supporters, and the many dimensions of football's globalization [Giulianotti and Robertson 2004; Giulianotti and Robertson 2007a, 2007b; Giulianotti and Robertson 2012; Giulianotti and Robertson 2009]. In modern sport, heterogenizing impulses are evident in the diverse aesthetic codes and historical and social identities of sports clubs and nations. In contrast, homogenizing tendencies are apparent in how governing bodies and national sports federations are structured.

In sum, following Robertson's original use of 'glocalization', the concept of the duality of glocality captures the complex interplay between the local and the global, convergence and divergence, and the universal and the particular in the socio-cultural dimensions of globalization.

POLITICAL-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF GLOBAL SPORT

The political-economic aspects of globalization touch on a wide range of issues. In this context, we examine two key debates that are central to global sport, regarding the nation-state and the world economic system.

First, some scholars of globalization processes have argued that the nation-state is no longer a salient concept for social scientists in the context of advanced global connectivity and consciousness. Indeed, some have argued that due to the 'hyperglobalist' tendencies that promote global identities, industries and institutions, the nation-state is outmoded, and even a 'zombie-category' [Beck 2003; Ōmae 1996, 2002]. However, I would argue that nation-states remain relevant for

social scientists, not least because they continue to be the core political units of intergovernmental organizations such as the UN or European Union, while they have also adapted in terms of their ideologies and identities, to promote 'civic' rather than 'ethnic' citizenships across multicultural populations [Nairn 1995].

In sport, there is clear evidence to suggest that 'the national' element has come under pressure. In most team sports, it is not national competitions that predominate, but club-, city-, or 'franchise'-level leagues and tournaments, notably in baseball, basketball, football, American football, rugby union, rugby league, and cricket. Individual sports such as tennis, golf, and track-and-field are increasingly focused on the making of transnational stars [Smart 2006]. Fitting hyperglobalist arguments, it is evident that elite professional sport is transnational in terms of its identities (such as through global supporters of leading sport clubs); its industries (as sports leagues like the NBA or the English Premier League pursue global markets); and, consumption patterns (as individual consumerism is promoted for the transnational sale of sports merchandise).

However, sport continues to be one important domain of social life in which the national identity and the nation-state are strongly prominent. The competitive presence and status of the nation within international sport is a focus of major political and social concern for many nations. The right to stage sport mega-events continues to be prized by many nations, in part as this enables some emerging or post-transition nations (e.g. Brazil, Russia, Qatar) to establish themselves in the international arena. Mega-events also allow different societies to explore and celebrate exceptional forms of nationalism, for example when flags and other signifiers of national allegiance suddenly adorn public spaces during football's World Cup finals.

New forms of national identity – such as civic or dual identity – may be explored through sport, for example among second- and third-generation ethnic minorities in Western Europe. On the other hand, sport also serves to position or reposition marginalized groups within the nation in complex and uneven ways. Historically, ethnic minorities have struggled for the right to participate, and to represent (and thus to embody) the nation on equal terms within major international sports events – as illustrated, for example, by the endeavours of black South American footballers or West Indian cricketers to captain their national sides [Carrington 2010]. In South Africa during the apartheid era, sport constituted a critical site of a wider struggle, when much of the international community, led by African nationalist movements, boycotted sporting and other cultural links with the incumbent regime [Booth 2001]. Women also have struggled to participate and to represent the nation, for example by pressing to raise the number of women's

events at the Olympic Games. While some iconic, world-record women athletes might be presented as 'trophy nationals' – notably Cathy Freeman in Australia – far deeper problems fester as women athletes struggle for the financial support, public recognition, and competitive opportunities that are taken for granted by male athletes. Thus, overall, the nation continues to play a prominent role within global sport, and to connect in complex and uneven ways to the struggles of marginalized social groups.

Our second focus on the political-economic aspects of global sport relates to the 'world economy' or 'world economic system', in particular the transnational predominance of neo-liberal or free-market policies since the 1970s [Arrighi 1994; Harvey 2009; Wallerstein 2009, 2003]. According to the 'world systems theory', the modern world economy is dominated by 'core' nations and regions (notably North America, Western Europe, Japan) at the expense of 'peripheral' (e.g. African) and 'semi-peripheral' (e.g. East European) nations and regions. Many analysts point in addition to the power of transnational corporations (TNCs), which operate beyond national confines with regard to labour, investment, and general trade, across the 'global system' [Ōmae 1996; Sklair 2001]. However, while being careful not to underplay their economic scale and transnational range, in reality many TNCs still harbour significant affiliations with their nation of origin, for example in their brand identities, recruitment strategies, and strategic headquarters [Doremus 1999].

We might point to several ways in which these perspectives on the world economy or world system are evidenced in global sport, particularly elite professional, male-dominated sport systems. For example, in football 'core' league systems are identifiable in Western Europe, particularly the 'Big 5' football markets of England, Germany, Spain, Italy and France; these powerful football systems dominate the game's global economy, and thus are able to recruit the finest talents from poorer, semi-peripheral and peripheral regions, such as Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa.

In addition TNCs, both in terms of merchandise and media, as well as in many other fields, are increasingly prominent in sport. For example, Nike and others have established international divisions of labour that provide further structural underpinnings for the hegemony of 'core' nations and regions. In the world of pay-TV, the vast reach of the Sky network has been extended worldwide through exclusive rights to premium sport, which has been used to 'batter' the company's way into global television markets. Moreover, the high-visibility sponsorship of elite sport has been fully exploited by TNCs in core nations, notably those in the fields of electronics, fast food, finance, telecommunications and transport. In turn,

we have argued that the world's most highly valued professional sports clubs resemble TNCs in terms of their global brand status, international divisions of labour, and world consumer basis [Giulianotti and Robertson 2004, 2009]. 'TNC sports clubs' are similar to other TNCs in retaining some of their most distinctive kinds of local or national identity. For example, they have defined 'home' locations (the home stadium), may retain a specific playing style or ethos, and feature 'home-grown' players on their teams. Indeed, we might say that these TNC clubs are 'glocal' entities, in that they share some uniform features of a 'global' model, while also distinguishing themselves through distinctive local cultural content and identity.

We also find that, since the early 1990s, the world's biggest sport systems and largest clubs have gained most from the greater influence of neo-liberal policies within elite sport [Walsh 2006]. This process simply mirrors wider developments in nations in which neo-liberal policies have been implemented, increasing the levels of social inequality while ramping up in particular the financial benefits for the wealthiest social classes.

The 'hyper-commodification' of sport engenders a variety of social and political conflicts and tensions. First, competitive inequalities have intensified, due to the growing financial gulfs between elite clubs or 'core' nations and the rest. Thus, for example, the Champions' League – the most prized tournament in European club football – has been dominated by a small pool of teams from the 'Big Five' nations since the mid-1990s. Similar forms of structural inequality arise in nations where neo-liberal principles are allowed to take the strongest hold. Second, deregulated free markets can produce intense levels of financial volatility and instability, as we have witnessed through the world economic crisis from 2007 onwards. Similarly, in sport deregulated markets have also been associated with high levels of debt within parts of European club football. Third, the politics of access and distributive justice take on greater importance, for example in the distribution of tickets to elite sports events such as the Olympics or the major football cup finals. Concerns have been raised that such events fail to distribute tickets on a fair basis, for example by over-charging, or by prioritizing corporate sponsors rather than the most committed fans or those who have worked the hardest to support the sport. Fourth, sport may be used to promote the neo-liberalization of other areas of society. For example, CCTV systems were effectively piloted at UK sports stadiums before being deployed in public spaces in order to regulate populations and cities [Giulianotti 1994; Redhead 1993; Norris and Wilson 2006]. More recently, preparations for the hosting of mega-events in Vancouver and London (Olympics), South Africa (World Cup),

and Brazil (both) have involved forms of social 'clearing' and the transformation of urban areas into relatively sterile, privatized spaces, which attract wealthier consumers and residents.

However, we should recognize that the hyper-commodification of sport is not an absolute or uncontested process. First, a relatively wide range of stakeholders seeks to exert political influence within sports. These forces include sports federations, clubs, athletes, agents, spectators, club members, nation-states, intergovernmental organizations, the mass media, transnational corporations, and non-governmental organizations and social movements. Each of these categories contains substantial differences and schisms – for example, between national sports federations, or sports clubs which compete at different levels. At different junctures, at least some of these groups will put forward opposing voices and alternative models in regard to the financial organization of elite professional sport.

Second, there are significant differences between different clubs, nations and sports systems with respect to their political economy and governance structures. Indeed, we might say that 'glocalization' is at play in partly differentiating the corporate governance of sport institutions and systems. In football, for example, in Germany, Spain and Latin America, many clubs are at least majority-owned by club members (in effect, their supporters), whereas in Italy and England the clubs tend to be owned by individuals or small clusters of shareholders. Moreover, the European football governing body, UEFA, has introduced 'Fair Play' rules with the aim of ensuring that the balance of competition is not upset by club owners who operate beyond their team's annual income by using their private wealth to buy success. Whether this measure will have any significant impact in European football remains to be seen; nevertheless, the fact that some rules have been introduced in an attempt to regulate the free market in football is in itself noteworthy.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I have explored three main aspects of the interrelationship between sport and globalization. First, considering historical issues, it should be noted that the take-off phase of globalization was critical to sport's diffusion, while also establishing the context for sport's future manifestations across different locations. Second, in socio-cultural terms, sport is shaped by an interplay of processes of convergence and divergence; the latter in particular spotlights the cultural creativity of different social groups in regard to their participation in sports. The concept of glocalization serves to capture the interplay of the local

and the global within sport, while also allowing for the interrelationships between homogenization and heterogenization. Third, with respect to political-economic issues, the continuing relevance and mutability of the nation-state and national identity are demonstrated in global sport. The predominance of neo-liberal policies, as manifested through the world economy or global system, enable core or leading athletes, clubs and institutions to dominate global sport. However, world sport does also possess significant forces which advocate alternative models for the organization of elite professional sports.

I conclude here by observing that social conflicts have always been a component of sport, whether in local, national or transnational scales. Structural divisions are central to these conflicts, notably along the lines of class, gender, sexuality, 'race', ethnicity, and age/generation. Neo-liberal policies sharpen social inequalities, divisions, and experiences of marginalization. Such processes raise real issues about social justice, and whether involvement in sports – whether with respect to accessing facilities, attending events, or being part of sport communities – ought to be decided by the caprices of the free market. In turn, these developments pose questions for the future of sport in terms of reproduction. Many of the most compelling and innovative qualities of sport emerge from the creative agency of marginalized groups. If these social groups are squeezed out of sport, then sport itself will be impoverished by the heavy hand of market forces.

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Richard Giulianotti

SPORT I GLOBALIZACJA: SOCJOLOGICZNA ANALIZA GŁÓWNYCH ZAGADNIEŃ

Streszczenie

Artykuł dotyczy relacji między sportem a globalizacją w historycznym, socjologicznym i kulturowym kontekście, rozważając trzy główne komponenty tego skomplikowanego powiązania. Z historycznego punktu widzenia omawia początkową fazę globalizacji, gdy nastąpiła międzynarodowa dyfucja wielu dyscyplin sportu. Następnie omawia społeczno-kulturowe aspekty globalnego sportu, podejmując także kluczowe wątki polityczno-ekonomiczne, w szczególności współczesne znaczenia państwa narodowego i narodowej tożsamości oraz oddziaływanie hiper-utowarowienia sportu w epoce neoliberalnej.

Słowa kluczowe: Globalizacjan, sport globalny, glokalizacja, Roland Robertson.

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SPORT MEGA EVENTS AND THE NEED FOR CRITICAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH: THE CASE OF EURO 2012

Abstract

Euro 2012 was the first Sport Mega Event held in Poland. It has been presented in public discourse in Poland as unprecedented opportunity for modernization and unquestionable success. However, looking at a multitude of data concerning the political, economic and social consequences of the event, allows putting these opinions into question. The paper discusses these topics using the numbers and information from various resources, considering also uncritical support of political circles and mainstream media for the idea of hosting Euro 2012, as well as lack of critical scrutiny of academic circles into the real costs of the event.

Key words: Sport Mega Events, Euro 2012, Polish politics and economy, football, civic rights.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most influential contemporary thinkers, the late Tony Judt, in his monumental "Postwar. A History of Europe Since 1945" analyzed the impact of football on the project of a joint Europe, particularly the creation of pan-European club competition in the fifties, which crossed the division marked by the "iron curtain". Elaborating on the unprecedented role of this Europeanization of football competition, which created a common sphere for both institutions (associations, clubs, football-related enterprises) and the masses (supporters and spectators), he concluded: *What really united Europe is football* [2005: 782]. Undoubtedly, the

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role of sport went beyond the borders of just competition and spectatorship. As a cultural, anthropological, and sociological phenomenon influencing politics and economics it has been studied from the whole range of perspectives employed by social scientists.

One of the most prominent contemporary manifestations of the multidimensional and global impact of sport refers to the so-called Sport Mega Events (hereafter: SMEs), which are truly global events with the sport competition at the centre of their rationale [Roche 2000]. John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter underline that *two central features of contemporary mega-events are firstly, that they are deemed to have significant consequences for the host city, region or nation in which they occur, and secondly, that they will attract considerable media coverage.* What also defines certain sport events as 'mega' is that they are 'discontinuous', i.e. out of the ordinary, international, and simply very large in composition [2006: 2, see also: Whitson, Horne 2006].

Furthermore, Richard Giulianotti and Francisco Klauser claim that: *[i]n recent times, sport mega events have grown into major global spectacles that possess huge economic, political and social significance. Cities and nations compete intensively for the right to host mega events such as the Olympic Games, the Super Bowl in American football, the Champions League final in European football or the 'World Cup finals' of various sports. For the organisers, these events are seen as conferring high levels of national and international prestige on host cities, as well as a variety of other benefits such as urban regeneration, increased tourism and new partnerships with global corporations* [2011: 3157].

The UEFA European Football Championships are organized every four years in one or two countries, traditionally from the old continent. Since 1996, as many as 16 best national teams compete in one of the most prestigious sport challenges. Even though restricted to the participants from one continent, the tournaments are truly global events in terms of magnitude. Hence, they are perceived as the third largest SME after the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cup tournaments [see: Klauser 2011: 4; Gratton, Shibli, Coleman 2006: 41].

Contrary to the lack of interest among the academic sociological community in Poland, the issues regarding SMEs are approached and vibrantly debated from various perspectives in the international scientific discourse. The most convincing examples can be found in Periodicals, not just those specializing in social studies of sport. Within last six years a number of Periodicals have devoted special volumes to SME matters, namely: Sociological Review (2006, vol. 54, issue supplement 2), Soccer & Society (2010, vol. 11, no 6), International Review for Sociology of Sport (vol. 47, no 3) Global Networks (2007, vol. 7, issue 2),

Urban Studies (2011, vol. 48, no 15), British Journal of Sociology (2012, vol. 63, issue 2), Environment and Planning (2012, virtual issue: Sport Mega Events and the city), and the International Journal of Cultural Policy (2008, vol. 14, no 4).

This paper aims at presenting the most crucial contexts in which SMEs are analyzed in international academic debate and proving the need for critical research on the legacy of the European Football Championships held in Poland (and in Ukraine) in 2012 (hereafter Euro 2012). For this reason, a preliminary analysis of some publicly available data is undertaken. The article is descriptive and rather idiographic. It points out some contexts of SMEs which should be approached by independent researchers and are particularly important in those situations where most of the elaborations concerning the real outcomes of the event are commissioned by political bodies. Critical scrutiny is also required because the other bodies which could provide independent evaluation (mainstream media, opposition political parties) were, in the case of Euro 2012, unanimous in supporting the idea of hosting the tournament, presenting it as extraordinary opportunity for further modernization of Poland.

SPORT MEGA EVENTS IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

What allures governments and cities to the idea of hosting SMEs? Undoubtedly, apart from the event itself it is the number of legacies that they promise: *For the organisers, these events are seen as conferring high levels of national and international prestige on host cities, as well as a variety of other benefits such as urban regeneration, increased tourism and new partnerships with global corporations* [Giulianotti, Klauser 2011: 3157]. This goes in line with catchy paraphrase of the famous Carl von Clausewitz's quote: *Sport is the continuation of politics by other means*, offered by Xin Xu, who analyzed the role of the Olympic Games held in Beijing for Chinese politics during the past decade [Xu 2006: 91].

For some countries – the most notable case being the Republic of South Africa – hosting an SME became one of the major strategies of both internal and foreign policies. Since achieving both sport and political success during the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the South African government has participated in several bids to host other recognized tournaments. Despite unsuccessful campaigns for organization of the 2004 Olympic Games in Cape Town and the 2006 FIFA World Cup in football, RSA finally succeeded in its bid to organize the FIFA World Cup four years later. This experience was treated both as a way to promote the re-united

country all over the world, creating a new image of the post-apartheid democracy, and as a way of modernizing its infrastructure [Alegi, 2008, Cornelissen, Swart 2006, Cornelissen 2012]. This is just one example of the motivations behind the political rationale justifying participation in a bidding race to host a SME.

There are another sporting, social, political and economic attractions about SMEs that draw the attention of elites, yet as Horne and Manzenreiter [2006: 9] claim, the latter are the main motives behind the public involvement. However, in summarizing their review of a large body of literature in the field of SME legacies, these authors conclude that: *[a]t the same time it seems evident that forecasts of the benefits are nearly always wrong.*

Evangelia Kasimati, who has analysed all the studies on the economic impacts of Olympic Games between 1984 and 2004, notes that all of them were based on rough estimations rather than actual data and, consequently, were generally commissioned by the proponents of the events [2003: 42–43]. Both Kasimati and Andrew Zimbalist, probably the most prominent academics in the field of sport economy, note that the economic impacts of SMEs tend to be overestimated. They point to a lack of attention paid in advance of the games to the supply-side constraints, namely crowding-out effects, price increases, displacement of tourists, substitution effects, estimations which lump all spending in the course of event as being associated with it, or the exaggerated scale of multiplier effects. For instance, research on the tourist effects of the 2002 FIFA World Cup in football hosted by South Korea and Japan shows that the increase in the number of tourists from Europe was offset by the decrease of almost exactly the same number of visitors from Asian countries. The total number of foreign visitors to South Korea throughout the tournament was estimated at 460 thousand, a figure identical to the number of foreign tourists during the same period in the previous year [Matheson, Baade 2004a: 1090–1091; see also: Matheson, Baade 2004b, Lee, Taylor 2005].

John Siegfried and Andrew Zimbalist formulated a very definite conclusion in this respect: *Most empirical inquiries in economics generate ambiguous findings. In stark contrast, independent studies of the economic impact of sports stadiums and arenas uniformly detect no statistically significant positive relationship between sports facility construction and economic development. These results directly contradict the promotional studies that are typically done by consulting firms under hire by teams or local supporters of facility construction. (...) Yet there is virtually no evidence of any perceptible economic development benefits from sports teams or stadiums* [Siegfried, Zimbalist 2006: 421–422, see also: Noll, Zimbalist 1997].

Even in the case of the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, which is often presented as the most exemplary success story (dubbed the "Barcelona effect") there are "shadows of the victory", mainly concerning the rapid increase in prices and gentrification of certain city areas [Munoz 2006].

The alleged significant economic benefit for local businesses from hosting SMEs is also frequently questioned. Due to the fact that main UEFA sponsors held special guaranteed privileges in terms of supplying products for trade during the event as well as the display of their brands, the promised revenues are significantly limited for local entrepreneurs, thus limiting their participation in the economic profits [see: Hall 2006]. In fact the economic interplay during SMEs has little to do with free competition, as a large number of local economic actors are structurally excluded from the market due to the privileges available only to the main UEFA partners.

There are several main themes which are frequently analysed in reference to the social costs of hosting SMEs. Most of them refer to their commercial character, which can lead to serious consequences for the local population. There are well researched examples of the commodification, segregation and privatization of previously public space in the cities organizing a SME [Klauser 2011a, 2011b, 2008]. Paradoxically, the pro-market discourse of entrepreneurialism and competitiveness is quite frequently in striking contrast with the semi- or openly monopolistic practices of the main partners of the UEFA. Potential benefits for businesses and the general public in host-cities may be overshadowed by the negative consequences of giving global players privileged inroads into local markets. The side effects of new investments lead, for example, to gentrification, causing massive increases in the cost of living in certain areas [Hall 2006, Munoz 2006]. These kinds of contradictions are quite typical of neoliberal discourse. In the first place, free competition in fact leads quite frequently to the dominance of global economic actors and the demise of local entrepreneurships. Secondly, the benefits of hosting a SME, which supposedly 'trickle down' to the general public, usually remain at the disposal of the key economic players involved in the preparation of the events. What's more, the citizens inhabiting areas under the multidimensional influence of a SME are not perceived as important social actors, as this role is usually ascribed to the visitors-consumers who frequent the purposely-designed spaces in the cities.

Therefore, the expectations for community development or some massive advantages with respect to the social fibre of communities usually remain unfulfilled, and the outcomes could prove contrary: *[T]here are well researched examples proving that the 'state of emergency' leads to suspension of certain legal*

provisions, even those treated previously as priorities referring to the security of citizens or ecological consequences of public investments [Hall 2006: 64]. This observation refers in the first instance to security and surveillance measures, which are embedded in a wider context of providing safety during a SME. The "state of exception" is deemed to call for exceptional measures. The discourse of 'terrorist threats' that always accompanies mass gatherings paves the way for acceptance of a growing number of actions which limit privacy, increase means of social control, allow for privatization of security systems, and lead to an increase in costs which exceeds the capabilities of local authorities, together with generally affecting civil rights. As Klauser points out [2011: 1]: *[H]ost cities of sport mega-events powerfully exemplify the splintering of the contemporary urban environment into a wide range of more or less hermetically enclosed and tightly controlled enclaves that are supported by advanced surveillance technologies and increased numbers of security personnel.*

Another issue refers to the earlier-mentioned opportunity costs, which concern the potentially more effective uses of public money which is finally spent on SME preparations. Both at the national as well as local level these subjects need thorough investigation. Yu, Klauser and Chan, summarizing state of the art in the field, claim that: *First, a growing body of research has in recent years sought to investigate the problems and opportunities associated with the organization and staging of SMEs. In this field, two types of studies can be distinguished: one tends to be focused on the economic value of SMEs in terms of 'urban entrepreneurialism', promoting cities' and nations' tourist image, facilitating urban transformations, attracting financial investments and thus producing economic developments. The other genre tends to be more interpretative and qualitative, referring to the 'sociology and politics of mega-events'* [2009: 391].

One of the most important reasons independent research is particularly needed in the field concerns the lack of other control in the process of commissioning, planning, developing and evaluating the outcomes of these large investments. Fundamental research into the management and outcomes of so-called 'megaprojects' (publicly financed infrastructural investments, including sports stadiums and events) was conducted by the multidisciplinary team headed by Flyvbjerg [Flyvbjerg et al. 2003: 11–21 and 32–48]. Nevertheless the authors urged great caution in approaching the collected data, they went so far as to suggest that promoters of large public expenses *may often consistently, systematically and self-servingly mislead governments and the public in order to get projects approved*. Flyvbjerg also underscores that estimation of the real costs of megaprojects is very difficult to assess. The proponents are not interested in a thorough

and independent analysis, which could prove their incompetence and even false statements. Very rarely is any kind of funding subject to ex-post evaluation and verification of the previous statements. This could be exemplified, for instance, in the case of the IMPACT report, i.e. the study commissioned by PL.2012 (the special purpose entity of the Polish Ministry of Sport and Tourism created to organize Euro 2012). This report was hailed as *the only scientific and reliable assessment of the impact of Euro 2012 on the Polish economy* [Borowski 2010]. In the table entitled: "Impact of selected international sport events organized in the years 2000–2012 on the GDP of hosting countries", the authors utilize (in 7 out of 9 cases) data from ex-ante predictions of impacts rather than the actual ex-post analysis of the real outcomes of the events [Borowski 2010: 33]. In other words, the predicted costs are not verified using the actual figures.

EURO 2012 IN POLAND AND ITS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

1. Politics

The Euro 2012, organized in Poland and Ukraine in the year 2012 (hereafter: Euro 2012) is unique in at least two aspects.[1] Firstly, it is the First large SMEs organized in Europe during the economic and social turmoil caused by the credit crunch and financial crisis. While the previous SME tournament was held in 2008 in Austria and Switzerland in the course of subprime mortgage banking crisis, it was held a few weeks before the collapse of Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers, events which paved the way for the forthcoming global financial meltdown. Bearing this fact in mind, there is undoubtedly a need for the permanent monitoring of both the social and economic consequences, as well as symbolic meaning, of this SME (Euro 2012) in the changing and uncertain situation of a global and European economic crisis. Secondly, for the first time ever an event of this scale was awarded to a country which was undergoing rapid political, economic and social transition from an authoritarian state and centrally planned economy to capitalism and democracy.

Even for such a time-specific event, its overarching consequences began years before the first game was played. Marek Belka, who served as Polish Prime Minister when the bid to host the tournament was submitted, recalls that no one

[1] The topic of Polish-Ukrainian relations and the Ukrainian participation in the whole event undoubtedly deserves wide study, but this topic is beyond the scope of this paper.

believed there was any chance for it to win the competition over the proposal from Italy and/or the joint application by Hungary and Croatia. He admitted that the Minister of Finance, Mirosław Gronicki, had agreed to sign the financial guarantees after being convinced that it was impossible for Poland to be granted the tournament, as the country was participating in a bid of this nature for the very first time (Polskie Radio 2012a). Tax holidays for UEFA were among the privileges guaranteed by the governmental declarations, hence the main organizer and beneficiary of the competition did not pay any share of their massive income as a tribute to the state, which covered all the costs of hosting the tournament [Skwirowski 2012a].

Winning the rights to host the 2012 UEFA European Football Championship came as a surprise to many and created a new momentum in Polish domestic politics.[2] Perceived as an unequivocal success by all political parties, in both the political and media rhetoric it became another challenge for the country, following its fulfilment of its two main goals of the first 15 years of Poland's transition period, i.e. joining NATO and the EU. This could be exemplified by the fact that special legislation, allowing for exceptional legal solutions because of hosting Euro 2012, was submitted by the government on 3 of September 2007 and very quickly approved by the parliament, already on 7 September, 2007, then almost immediately (on 19 September 2007) signed by the President of Poland. There were 412 votes in support of the legislation and just 2 abstentions, proving the unprecedented unanimity existing between the bitterly conflicted political parties [Krawczyk 2011: 30]. Polish politicians were unequivocally acquiescent in accepting the rules imposed by UEFA and its commercial partners. Even right-wing politicians voted in favour of the law, which limits Polish sovereignty in certain areas, granting an external political actor (UEFA) an exceptional status. The issue of withdrawal from certain of its prerogatives and creating exceptional conditions for the UEFA did not raise any public concerns. Since the UEFA's creation in 1954 as a non-profit umbrella organization for autonomous European football associations, it has been transformed into supranational body with powerful financial resources. The income from just the organization of UEFA 2008 in Austria and Switzerland was estimated at €1,300 million [Włoch 2013: 98; Włoch provides a critical and precise analysis of the interrelationship between the

[2] It should be noted that the popular support and public appreciation for the hosting of EURO 2012 was at its highest in 2007, immediately after the decision of UEFA. However, even at this time in never exceeded two thirds of the studied representative sample. In a forthcoming years it began to decrease, and two months before the kick-off of the tournament only 44 percent of Poles surveyed said that they are "happy" or "rather happy" that Poland would be hosting the tournament [CBOS 2012: 4].

Polish state and the UEFA, treated as a global political actor]. At the same time, UEFA is one of those supranational bodies which is outside any kind of democratic control, together with its affiliated national football associations. Poland witnessed a several cases of conflict between the government and UEFA, and all of them were lost by the Polish side. Several ministers of sport with various political affiliations attempted to intervene in the Polish Football Association in the course of numerous corruption scandals. All of their actions were blocked by the UEFA, which refused to allow any interference in the governance of football from democratically chosen and controlled bodies. Threats to expel the Polish national team and clubs from any international competition supervised by the UEFA and FIFA forced the public institutions to retreat from their attempted exercise of control over the way Polish football is managed [see: Woźniak 2013].

It also needs to be noted that all the large political parties in Poland were involved in either the preparations or organization of the tournament to some extent. Thus, politicians from all sides of political spectrum felt partially responsible for the success of the event.[3] This substantially impacted the "checks and balances" rule of mutual control by political powers. In addition, the critical approach of most mainstream media was aimed more at the way preparations of the tournament were carried out (to avoid fiasco and negative reaction from European public opinion) than on controlling the costs and consequences of the investments undertaken for this purpose. The-editor-in-chief of one of the Polish weekly magazines, whom I interviewed in connection with another research project, admitted that shortly before the kick-off of the Euro 2012, Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk organized a secret meeting with the heads of 40 of Poland's largest mainstream media (radio stations, TV stations, tabloids, broadsheet newspapers, weeklies). Asking for support and forbearance, he referred to the importance of the forthcoming event for the public image of the Polish state, and was met with understanding even from those representatives of journalism usually declaring full independence from political pressure and praising the media's control functions. 'Country branding' was treated, in the course of preparations for the tournament, like one of the infinite goals of Polish policy and diplomacy, together with the issue of modernization of the country.

[3] This is not a new phenomenon. Marivoet Salome, who analyzed the case of Euro 2004 held in Portugal, gives examples from the Portuguese political scene proving how publicly-declared aims were changed in the face of problems, and to what extent politicians were conveniently modifying their stances in order to sustain their positions as proponents of the great challenges and opportunities offered created by the SME [2006: 129–130].

Euro 2012 was perceived as an opportunity to modernize the country. Therefore, the acceleration of investments and growth in spending on roads and other infrastructure was unequivocally perceived as the positive fact. Issues concerning the quality and/or necessity of the investments were rarely raised. The full ex-post analysis of the economic costs of Euro 2012 is not yet possible due to the lack of sufficient data (several investments have not been completed), but some of already available statistics raise serious doubts, particularly with respect to statements made by the political promoters of the event. Institutional analysis of the involvement of various public and private actors in the process deserves a thorough and separate investigation, together with precise analysis of the discursive practice applied by the elites in order to convince the general public to support the great project. Modernization and its acceleration seems to have served as a particularly effective lever to convince otherwise hesitant and critical public opinion, media, and political rivals about the necessity to undertake actions in certain spheres or increase spending in some of the sectors of the economy.[4] The issue of opportunity costs is rarely challenged when most of the policy actors and stakeholders share the same view.

2. Economy

When taking into account the publicly available data, the conclusions must be that in many fields the promises made in advance of Euro 2012 were not fulfilled. The stands at the newly built stadiums are not filled with new spectators (Ekstraklasa 2013). The average attendance during the games of the highest echelon of Polish league decreased in the 2012/2013 season in comparison to the two previous seasons. Stadiums built purposely because of Euro 2012 in host cities are half empty (in Poznań, the stadium's capacity is 42 thousand, while average attendance is 22.5 thousand; in Wrocław capacity is 44 thousand, average attendance is 14.9 thousand and in Gdańsk capacity if 44 thousands and the average attendance is 13.2 thousand). The case of the National Stadium in Warsaw, which is not used for regular games by any sport's club, is also ambiguous. On one hand, the capital city needs the venue for hosting various large scale events and the year 2013 was marked by a variety of them. On the other hand, at least in

[4] This is exemplified by the fact that in their official reports the public bodies proudly claim that the European supranational governance (in that case the European Investment Bank) exempted Poland from the necessity of compliance with legislation relating to environment protection [Borowski 2010: 47]. Thus, the need to accelerate the investments is used as an excuse to avoid keeping up the standards of modern ecological sustainable development. The "state of exception" creating by the SME provides perfect justification for creating this kind of loopholes in various spheres.

several cases the subsidization of private events from public money raises another doubts about the way public property is supervised. While the most spectacular and widely commented case concerned the Madonna pop concert, which was co-financed by the Ministry of Sport and Tourism with 6 million PLN, even more public money was spent on locally organized actions. i.e. the costs of the concerts by George Michael, Queen, the Polish Masters Football Tournament, the Adamek-Klitschko heavyweight boxing match, and friendly game Brazil-Japan, all held in Wrocław, amounted to the loss of 15 million PLN by the Municipality of Wrocław as co-organizer of these events [Kokot, Karbowiak 2012, Weszło 2012].

This data at least is publicly available. The general public will never know what amount of money was paid by TVP SA, the Polish public broadcasting station financed from taxes, to UEFA, for the Euro 2012 broadcasting rights. Juliusz Braun, general director of TVP, admitted that even large revenues from advertising during the tournament (estimated at 83 million of Euros) and record breaking audience figures (more than 16 million during the Poland-Russia game), were not sufficient to cover the costs. This seems to support the hypothesis, deeply rooted in previous experiences, that Sport Mega Events create a 'state of emergency' in host countries. Some general rules (e.g. transparency of agreements signed by public entities) were questioned by the UEFA, which demanded full secrecy of signed contracts [Polskie Radio 2012b].

Even some of the infrastructural investments which seemed necessary for reasons other than the Euro 2012 turned out to be questionable from the perspective of ex-post economic analysis. Recent data produced at Technical University of Warsaw shows that the train connection between the Warsaw Central Railway Station and the Warsaw Airport, completed just before the kick-off of Euro 2012, has turned out to be loss-making. Only 3 percent of passengers flying to/from Warsaw use this means of transport, and on average just 4 percent of the seats on trains are occupied [Osowski 2013].

The preliminary evaluation of the tourist movement in 2012 also shows that the expectations regarding its impact formulated by the governmental Polish Tourist Organization were exaggerated. Occupancy rates were high only during match days, and most of the tourists came on one-night stays. The positive evaluations of their stays in Poland underscored in media reports do not necessarily translate into repeat visits [Borzyszkowski 2012]. It is difficult to verify the data inasmuch as the estimations are rough and imprecise. However, already published official statistics show that in June 2012 hotel services in Poland were used by 546 thousand foreign tourists during 1.3 million overnight stays. This is only a 17 percent increase in comparison with the corresponding period of the previous year (468

thousand and 1.1 million respectively) [GUS 2012: 8]. This is reaffirmed by the figures showing that the total number of tourists using hotel accommodation in June 2012 (including Polish citizens) decreased by 150 thousand in comparison to the corresponding period of the year 2011 [GUS 2013: 2]. This confirms the phenomenon of crowding out, observed during other SMEs. The number of tourists who come to the country because of the tournament is balanced out by the large number of those who resign from visiting during the period the event is held. It is also quite meaningful that the number of tourists which visited the Polish capital city because of Euro 2012 was lower than the estimated figures of tourists which had come there to attend the events organized in 2010 during the celebrations of the Chopin Year. This fact was scrupulously used by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage to promote its efforts [2012].

The UEFA and all bodies involved in preparations for the tournament were also granted a large number of tax exemptions. The Polish Prime Minister justified this to the public by referring to the national interest underlying the decision to host the tournament. These very general statements were neither accompanied by factual arguments nor rooted in any precise analysis of the tax law and the financial consequences of the decisions undertaken [Tetłak 2012a, 2012b]. The other Polish authorities, when responding to the public inquiries formulated by various bodies, felt these superficial and general responses sufficiently explained and justified the actions undertaken.

3. Civil rights

A very important context of both the preparations for the SME and the conduct of the actual tournament involves the twin issues of human and civil rights, particularly with reference to the "state of exception" created by the imposition of special legislation. According to the reports of non-governmental bodies devoted to human and civil rights, the tournament served as a convenient occasion and justification for increased spending on security and surveillance and the tightening of the control measures. More than 900 cameras were installed on the National Stadium alone. The purchase of some new devices (for example the sonic weapon LRAD – Long Range Acoustic Device) was opposed by these non-profit bodies, as it was not accompanied by amendments to the legislation which would otherwise not allow Polish military forces to use coercive means of this kind. Nevertheless, these devices were witnessed by the observers of civil rights organizations, ready to use before some of the "high-risk games". The costs generated by the actions undertaken to secure the event were tremendous and

never fully disclosed. Massive police forces were used for this task, along with 3000 soldiers and advanced military equipment (including F-16 and MIG-29 fighters and attack helicopters). The Military Gendarmerie also supported the police with 1200 soldiers, which means that every second member of this force was assigned to secure the SME [Szymielewicz 2012].

Paradoxically, the increased monitoring and surveillance was not accompanied by strict controls on entering the stadiums during the games. According to the official rules of the UEFA, any person holding a valid ticket was allowed to enter the stadium and any searches or controls were undertaken in a very superficial manner, by the private security company employed by the UEFA (the presence of the police inside the stadiums was also very limited due to the rules dictated by the UEFA). In this case, the observations of the NGOs can be confirmed by my personal experience. I was allowed to enter the stadium before one of the Euro 2012 games without the necessity of presenting an ID (although I was required to submit a lot of personal data while purchasing the ticket), and neither me nor my bag underwent a thorough search, which is standard procedure for Polish League games.

The functioning of the "Law on the security of mass events" was among the legal acts that were suspended during the Euro 2012. This referred e.g. to the ban on the consumption of alcohol during the events, but also to the treatment of spectators. The police officer who was responsible for security issues during the Euro 2012 in the Gdańsk voivodship personally admitted to me that the police force was, during the tournament, supposed to act in accordance with direct guidelines from the UEFA and Polish authorities, which required a more forgivable approach to supporters, even in the event of their misbehaviour. Foreign fans were supposed to be treated less strictly than Polish citizens, who face harsh and sometimes brutal policing typical for handling crowds during ordinary football games held in Poland.

Accordingly to some legal experts, many aspects of the special legal acts introduced before the tournament would not stand muster in the Constitutional Court, but their short-term nature hampered the lodging of constitutional complaints [Szymielewicz 2012]. However, in several cases Polish courts have judged that the laws passed for the sake of organization of the tournament violated existing law. For instance, the District Court in Warsaw found that some of the rules regulating the purchase of tickets for the Euro 2012 were in violation of the Consumer Protection Act. All of them were formulated by UEFA, which granted itself the right to avoid any responsibility for the cancellation of an event and the right to unilaterally amend the conditions of sales agreements.

The issue of the exceptional approach toward human and civil rights is also exemplified by the case of Remi Fares, a 23-year old Pole living in the United Kingdom who, after successfully passing a multi-stage selection procedure, was finally disqualified by the UEFA from the list of volunteers due to the negative opinion of the police. The UEFA refused to reveal any justification for its judgment and the decision was declared to be irrevocable. Thus, Fares' speculation that the decision was connected to his Muslim roots (his father is Palestinian) can only remain speculation [Rogal, Borusiewicz 2012].

CONCLUSIONS

Notwithstanding above mentioned circumstances, the Euro 2012 was presented as an unprecedented success during the numerous press conferences held by various governmental bodies. Some of the data which was used to confirm this success raises serious doubts. For example, one of the economists working for the Polish Ministry of Sport and Tourism presented information that *Analysis conducted by London-based Brand Finance Institute proves that Poland experienced the highest growth in the value of the national brand – 75 percent. Partially it was the effect of the good economic standing of our country, but the most significant was the impact of EURO 2012.* The lead to the article, which was reported in conference, was is straightforward: *Thanks to Euro 2012 brand value of Poland increased by 75 percent, up to 472 billion of PLN* [Skwirowski 2012b]. In fact, the report of "Brand Institute" [2012] is far more modest in attributing Poland's success to the Euro 2012, underlining that at the time when data was gathered for the purpose of the report, the Euro 2012 was still months from kick-off, and stating: *Poland has seen the greatest percentage increase in brand value in 2012 due largely to the expected long term GDP growth expectations. Poland's economy keeps on growing. Poland is a major exception in the EU – it hasn't been affected by the recession from the time of the first big crisis in 2008* [Brand Finance 2012: 12]. The only positive influence of Euro 2012 mentioned in the report also concerns its allegedly positive impact on the GDP growth.

Very soon after the tournament, the international consulting company Deloitte published a report praising the quality of management provided by the PL.2012 [2012]. The report was commissioned by the very same special purpose entity which was supposed to be evaluated by the auditors. The official website of Polish Ministry of Sport and Tourism, in an Internet-based publication titled: "The Polish effect - the success of Euro 2012 beyond expectations", presents this report

as an independent evaluation. Furthermore, in the very same dispatch, the official body of the Polish government presents data from the aforementioned "IMPACT" report (which was an ex-ante prediction of the Euro 2012 and its consequences) as the actual figures [Ministry of Sport and Tourism 2012].[5] The publications, which are commissioned by the entities responsible for the event, clearly serve PR functions and marketing purposes rather than constituting a serious and in-depth analysis of the multidimensional legacy of Euro 2012.

Analyzing the consequences of a global event of this scale allows Polish sociologists to contribute to the international academic debate concerning this sphere of social life. So far, they have been absent from ongoing research in this field. What's more, Polish academics were not even vocal in the admittedly not very lively public debate during the preparations to Euro 2012.[6]

[5] The article, even though published in November 2012, claims for instance that Poland *may be* visited because of Euro 2012 by 766 thousand tourists. This greatly exceeds the statistical data (at that time already published by the National Statistical Office), showing that throughout the whole of June Poland was visited in total by 546 thousand foreign tourists (using hotel services).

[6] It needs to be duly noted that there were two research projects undertaken on the topic of the Euro 2012. Since 2008 the research team led by Anna Giza-Poleszczuk tracked the social context of the preparations for Euro 2012 (brief versions of the team's findings are available at: http://www.ps2012.pl/). Utilizing William Easterly's concepts of social development, the researchers attempted to study presumptive cohesive or inclusive aspects of the Euro 2012. The project could be described as action research, as the efforts are both aimed at exploring various processes present in a public sphere as well as stimulating public debate, and included some social cooperation in the tournament's host-cities. Another three-year research project financed by the National Centre for Culture is carried out by cultural anthropologists Wojciech Burszta and Mariusz Czubaj [2011]. Using ethnographic methods (in-depth interviewing and participatory observation) the authors attempt to track the cultural context of the SME with reference to the – well-established in anthropological studies – frames of carnival time, globalization of the sport, and the potential consequences of the Euro 2012 for Polish culture.

There were a few publications which concerned various aspects of the event, with the paper by Kozak [2010] being the most critical, raising doubts and questioning the alleged benefits from the hosting of the SME on the basis of previous research. Some of them projected the potential impact on local and regional economies by taking as a reference point previous tournaments [Daszkiewicz, Wasiluk 2011; Jedel 2012]; others attempted to calculate costs and benefits in purely economic terms [Wasilczuk, Zawadzki 2011] or with particular regard to Polish–Ukrainian relations, as in the case of the book, co-financed by the Polish Football Association and the Social Association Poland-Ukraine, co-authored by scholars from Polish and Ukrainian universities [Michałków, Kariagin 2011]. Several publications concerned issues of security during the Euro 2012. These were co-authored by the representatives of security forces (both public and private) and attempted to underscore the hazards of terrorist attacks during the tournament [e.g. Liedel 2007, Urban 2009, Kryłowicz et al. 2011, Liedel, Piasecka 2011, Cieślak 2011]. Raising awareness of security risks was accompanied by postulates to increase public spending and tighten control in the sphere of

Public engagement by sociologists who are not indifferent to what is going on in their country and how the issue of public spending is addressed should particularly be aware of the aforementioned phenomena, and engage in critical scrutiny of the actions of political bodies. This is in accord with the demands for publicly-engaged sociology, as formulated by Michael Burawoy, the head of International Sociological Association [2009]. Particularly in the era of growing commercialization and marketization, accompanied by state retrenchment from many of its obligations, it seems essential to control the way scarce public resources are spent. A critical reappraisal of the actions of governments and private entities by independent scholars in this field could lead to significant effects.

It seems that in the last few years a growing number of politicians and policy-makers all over the world, and in Europe, have become more aware of the ambiguous impact of SMEs on national economies, at least to some extent due to the growing number of publications provided by sociologists, economists, urban scientists, geographers, and lawyers. The results are significant. Owing to the lack of interest among potential hosts, the UEFA has decided that the European Championships in 2020 will be organized in several countries, in 13 host cities (the official justification is that this is designed to celebrate the anniversary of the tournament). Some of the richer countries have officially declared that they are unwilling to spend money on these kind of enterprises; e.g. the Swedish and Swiss governments refused to grant financial guarantees, effectively blocking the initiative aimed at hosting the Winter Olympic Games in 2022. More and more often hosting of an SME is granted to non-democratic states (China, Russia, Qatar), where public control is limited and the events serve political purposes, as well as increasing the income of oligarchic elite circles. In other cases, rich democratic countries attempt to use SMEs as a tool to realize some pre-defined goals, fitting them into long-term strategies, for example concerning the revitalization of some areas (the cases of Olympic Games in London in 2012 and Tokyo in 2020).

At the same time, the most prominent Polish politicians have already declared their wish to host Winter Olympic Games in 2022 (jointly with Slovakia), justifying it by the unquestioned and unprecedented success of the Euro 2012. An official Polish-Slovakian inter-governmental committee for this purpose was formed in September 2013, and a bid is supposed to be submitted very soon [Kuraś 2013].

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security (one of them was titled: "Euro 2012 in a shadow of terrorism"). With the notable exception of the paper by Włoch [2013], there are no examples of independent ex-post analysis of Euro 2012 so far, apart from the regular reports by public statistical offices and bodies.

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Wojciech Woźniak

WIELKIE IMPREZY SPORTOWE I POTRZEBA KRYTYCZNEJ REFLEKSJI SOCJOLOGICZNEJ: PRZYPADEK EURO 2012

Streszczenie

Euro 2012 było pierwszą Wielką Imprezą Sportową zorganizowaną w Polsce. W publicznym dyskursie prezentowano ją jako bezprecedensową szansą na modernizację oraz niekwestionowany sukces. Jednak, spojrzenie na różnorodne dane dotyczące politycznych, gospodarczy i społecznych konsekwencji tego wydarzenia stawia pozwala zakwestionować te opinie. Artykuł podnosi te zagadnienia wykorzystując dane liczbowe i informacje z różnych źródeł, rozważając także bezkrytyczne poparcie głownonurtowych mediów i kół politycznych dla organizacji imprezy, jak również brak krytycznej refleksji kręgów akademickich nt. realnych kosztów imprezy.

Słowa kluczowe: Wielkie Imprezy Sportowe, Euro 2012, polska polityka i gospodarka, piłka nożna, prawa człowieka.

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EURO 2012 – THE END AND THE BEGINNING FOR POLISH FOOTBALL SUPPORTERS

Abstract

The paper attempts to verify impact of UEFA Euro 2012 tournament that was hosted by Poland and Ukraine on traditional supporters' communities in Poland. Applying the typology of football fans developed by Richard Giulianotti, it focuses on traditional fans. Article explores different strategies undertaken by the supporters towards Euro 2012. The event is analyzed from various perspectives: as a chance for change in Polish public discourse; as a trigger for moral panic and as a field of conflict between various social actors (professionals, players, supporters, media, etc.).

Key words: Football supporters, Euro 2012, Sport Mega Event, Mega Project

INTRODUCTION

The choice of Ukraine and Poland as host countries for the European Championship in 2012 was a big surprise to everyone. The Polish media began a heated debate about the chances of fulfilling infrastructural projects, improvement of Poland's international brand, and risks for the Tournament. The last theme was especially focused on a discussion how the specific type of football supporters – which in Poland are strong and well-organized as traditional supporters' communities – would affect course of the Tournament. The media-based stereotype of this specific group is quite typical of descriptions which we can find in other countries: that the cores of this social group are created by

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hermetic, aggressive, xenophobic hooligans and ultra groups, whose attitudes towards "normal" society as it is generally understood is, to put it mildly, threatening. This article focuses on the impact of Euro 2012 on traditional supporters' communities, with special attention given to presentation of the internal perspective of fan communities. It should be emphasized that these aspects of the analysed communities and their internal discourse are frequently not visible to outside observers.

The article is divided into three main parts. It begins with a description of the meaning of the Euro 2012 as the first Sport Mega Event (SME) to take place in this part of the world in the history of SMEs. The European Championship was first event of this scale organized in Middle-East Europe. This had a strong impact on the public debate which emerged following the announcement that Poland and Ukraine had won the competition (against – among other contenders – Italy). The focus of this debate changed over time, and the moulders and attention of public opinion hooked on several topics. One of the discussed issues was directly related to the problem of football audiences, and especially traditional supporters. Their activity was seen as threat, not only to the safety of other fans from Poland and abroad who would like to join in celebration of Euro, but also as projecting physical violence itself as part of the country's image, which might come to be viewed as subject to expected misbehaviour of the part of Polish football fans. This perceived threat acted as a trigger to pull out different kinds of stereotypes functioning in the discourse about this particular type of sport audience. Of course, it must be acknowledged that while the problem of hooligans, ultras, etc. was seen as an important risk for the Euro 2012, it was only one among other important issues, others being related to the large amount of infrastructural projects needed to be completed, especially those related to roads, railway stations and stadiums.

The second part of the article focuses on different types of actors in the public debates: professionals, politicians, the media, and the spectators themselves (both 'traditional' and modern). In summarizing these groups it should be noted that 'professionals' means individuals who take part in the social world of professional football: players, football authorities, referees, members of companies engaged in organization of the Tournament, etc. Politicians and the media are of course easily recognized in the discourse, but with respect to the role of latter it needs to be emphasized that they are frequently responsible for framing the main topics discussed in the discourse. The last category of actors – the spectators themselves – is described using the typology taken from the works of Richard Giulianotti, especially that part in which Scottish sociologists examine modern transformations of the experiences of football audiences.

The final part of the article describes representations of Euro 2012 which could be observed in the internal discourse of Polish supporters, and the impact of Euro 2012 on these traditional communities. Especially the article focuses on the processes of unification and engagement in political debates on a scale which had not been observed till now.

EURO 2012 – THE FIRST POLISH SME AND ONE OF THE FIRST POLISH MEGA PROJECTS

Before describing how the Euro 2012 was seen and actually experienced by supporters, I'd like to focus on the Euro 2012 as a specific kind of Sport Mega Event, seen from the particular and locally contextualized point of view.

The European Championship are definitely one of the most important and the biggest SMEs in the world. It ranks among the World Cup, Olympic Games, Super Bowl and a few others as the most watched event and one generating the highest income. Regardless of the place of its organization, the European Championship is always in the centre of public debate. Its meaning and impact are always negotiated in many smaller and larger discussions which offer a field for different clashes between fractions and groups of interests. However much one can observe various issues which generate wide consultations about the social, economical and political importance of the organization of mega events, there is always a contextualized focus and tension inherent in these discussions.

The Polish-Ukrainian case was no different. A description of its main features and context should result in a better understanding of the discussed processes and hence of the article itself. The first characteristic of this event was the fact that was not a joint venture, but rather two separate and discrete parts of a single venture which took place in two different locations. Apart from the obvious diplomatic issues, such as for example facilitating border crossings, there was no serious cooperation in the relations between both countries and societies. In this article there is insufficient space for a detailed analysis of the reasons for this fiasco, but it needs to be underscored that the Euro 2012 consisted of two episodes which occurred at the same time in different countries. It would not be overstatement to that there would have been no difference if the event was organized not by neighbours, but by randomly chosen countries.

From the sociological point of view, SMEs create a fantastic opportunity to observe how society works in highly-intensive, expressive, and sharpened

historical moments. But contrary to the previous championship,[1] Euro 2012 did not mark the start of serious sociological debate. One may ask why this was so. Firstly, we have to take into consideration the shape of Polish sociology of sport (as a Polish sociologist and without access to similar data from the Ukrainian side, the situation in Ukraine is not considered in this article). The sub-discipline of sport sociology, which is in many local contexts well-developed, is still in the beginning stage in Poland. Even though the preparations for the Euro 2012 stretched out over four years and could have provided a fantastic field of research, only a few research initiatives have been taken.[2] Today, a year after the close of the Tournament, we are still not able to say anything definitive about the general impact of the Euro 2012 on society. The only accessible data, which comes from organizers of the event, are strictly quantitative and oriented on research into the issue of the image of Euro 2012. On the other hand it needs to be said that there is express lack of research in this particular field. The reason behind this less-than-passionate engagement is related to (among other aspects) the low esteem in which the sociology of sport is held in Poland, and as a corollary the insufficient amount of research applications and low level of funding.

The third aspect of Euro 2012 which needs to be highlighted is connected with the specific atmosphere of unity which was created by media before and during the Tournament. This is not an assertion that this feeling was accompanied with real processes of social integration in society. I would rather say, referring to example of Germany in 2006, that the visions of collective experience were so overwhelming that, on its basis of the Polish society, in terms of its discursive emanation, seemed to be more united than in ordinary times.

MEGA PROJECT FOR THE WHOLE NATION

Although SMEs have a very extensive record in the literature, the need to look for new theoretical and empirical perspectives is still strong. An interesting attempt to meet this need could involve use of the concept of the Danish economic geographer, Bent Flyvjberg [Flyvbjerg, 2007], whose work is centred around the problem of mega projects. In his conception, examples of mega projects are

[1] Please see: [Hachleitner and Manzenreiter, 2010; Giulianotti and Klauser, 2009; Giulianotti and Klauser, 2011; Horne, 2010] and many others.

[2] The main project, which was oriented on research into the Euro 2012 with special attention paid to its social side, was run by sociologists from the University of Warsaw (the team leader was prof. A. Giza-Poleszczuk). One of the publications resulting from this project is the article of Renata Włoch [Wloch, 2012].

marked by rather large infrastructural investments which lead to unwanted and unpredictable consequences:

(...) the major problem in megaproject policy and planning is the high level of misinformation about costs and benefits that decision makers face in deciding whether to build, and the high risks such misinformation generates.

It has to be said that Sport Mega Events have their own specific characteristics, and it is not my goal to use the above-mentioned concept in a simple way in order to analyse Euro 2012 from this particular perspective, but there is a field for comparisons.

Firstly, Euro 2012 constituted a huge chance not only to improve the image of the country but for the realisation of many infrastructural projects as well. Only because of the Tournament did the Polish Parliament enact a special law in 2007, specifically designed for (mega) projects implemented within the perspective of the upcoming event. The best examples of such mega projects are stadiums which were designated for use in the forthcoming competition. But during these preparations there was no social consultation about their use following the Euro 2012. Only one stadium (in Poznan) was renovated for the Tournament, while the other three (Warsaw, Gdansk and Wroclaw) were built from scratch. What's more interesting, the costs of maintenance and amortization are now covered from the budgets of local administration. Only the National Stadium in Warsaw has financial grounding in the central budget and is managed by a public company specially designed for this purpose. Only in one case (Poznan) was a deliberative poll conducted and – which is not surprising for anyone following the Polish public debate – its results were never taken into consideration. The goal of this research poll was to recognize the needs of the local community.

Secondly, this article is an attempt to see the Euro 2012 as a next crucial moment in Polish history after the transformation of 1989 and the accession to the European Union in 2004. Euro 2012, in this perspective, could be viewed as another chance to change the country. It had its own characteristics. One can immediately observe the focus centred around infrastructural issues and Poland's image abroad. At the same time it was accompanied by a lack of focus in certain areas: it is hard to find discussions about those problems which were mentioned after the last Euro championship which took place in Austria and Switzerland [Hagemann, 2010; Brand et al., 2010 Koller, 2010].

MAIN GROUPS OF INTEREST

As Horne and Manzenreiter said [Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006: 2]:

Two central features of contemporary mega-events are firstly, that they are deemed to have significant consequences for the host city, region or nation in which they occur, and secondly, that they will attract considerable media coverage.

The second part of the concept of a Sport Mega Event is, however, more than just about the role of media and its coverage of the event itself. The social aspects which emerge around its organization are in the eye of media as well. Among other problems which were widely reported in the media before and during the Tournament, significant attention was paid to the problem of the football audience. In particular, the 'traditional supporters' were taken under scrutiny. In this regard, it is important to determine *who* was engaged in emerging debate about danger for the Tournament, and what interest groups operated behind the scenes.

Firstly, we have to look at the sports professionals. In the paper this category is deemed to include all those persons who worked in the organizational sector of Euro 2012. This is not limited to only the regular employees of the Polish Football Association or officers of PL 2012 (the public company established specifically to manage and coordinate the whole event). I also categorize the players of the national team as part of this group. It is important to understand the process whereby distance was created between the 'traditional supporters' of Polish football and the supporters of Euro 2012, and particularly the Polish national team. The then-manager of Poland, Franciszek Smuda, decided to add players whose national identity wasn't clear – there were caustic comments about the "real" reasons behind certain players' wish to play for Poland, in particular with respect to players such as Damien Perquis, Eugen Polansky or Ludovic Obraniak. Each of these players has his own story, but for many supporters they were not Polish enough to play for the country. This 'anti-voice' come especially from those spheres of the social world of football fans in Poland who were active at local arenas. Not without significance was role of media. This in turn leads us to describe another group of interest: journalists.

When we take into consideration any concept of moral panic, starting from Cohen's classic description [Cohen, 2002] and passing through to the ideas of Goode and Ben-Yehuda [Goode, 1994], the role of media is underlined and presented as crucial to understand a specific atmosphere of fear and pressure to act against an imaginary enemy (folk devil).

Critcher's summary of the process model [Critcher, 2008] of moral panic establishes the role of mass media as key agents in creating and maintaining

a feeling of panic about a specific problem. In contrast to this concept (in which media are seen as active actors), in the attributional model proposed by Goode and Ben-Yehuda the media "are sometimes active in moral panics but more often are passive vehicles for others' making claims." [Critcher, 2008: 6].

The Euro 2012 can be analysed as an example of moral panic. The problem which created the background for the unleashing emotion of fear was not new, but definitely the trigger was directly connected with the forthcoming tournament. In 2010 in Bydgoszcz the final of the Polish Cup took place in a match between the clubs Legia Warsaw and Lech Poznan. The history of conflict between these two football environments is long and it is not necessary to describe it in detail for the purposes of this article. Suffice it to say that the supporters of these clubs have a long record of fights, and their attitude towards against each other was (and it still is) confrontational. Due to very poor security measures, immediately after the match Legia's supporters invaded the pitch (their team won the Cup) and very nearly clashed with Lech's fans. Fortunately there were no major fights and after a few minutes the situation settled down. However, the next day more significant confrontations took place. The Prime Minister of Poland spoke out very sternly about the troubles, and local authorities began to make decisions about closing stadiums if there was any sign of expected violations of the law. The police put supporters' communities throughout the whole country under close control and monitoring. For the next two years travelling to away matches become a huge organizational problem, and closing fan zones of stadiums for away supporters become a regular policy. It is very instructive to study the police statistics for the last five years with respect to securing sports events in Poland. Up until 2010 the data shows a gradual decrease in the number of arrests, incidents involving violations of the law and, generally speaking, hooligan activity. Budgets for security actions decreased during this time. After 2010 everything increased dramatically,[3] and last but not the least a storm was unleashed in the media about football hooligans. Up until the very beginning of the Euro tournament, TV stations, newspapers and Internet portals informed public opinion in regular, short intervals about another alleged hooligan fight or, which was more fitting to the concept of moral panic, other criminal activity which was allegedly connected with football supporters.

The next key agents in this analysis are politicians. After 2010 we can observe a change in the previous rather liberal attitude toward football-related policy to a strict and oppressive one. What's more, there are a number of public statements

[3] All data are accesible at sites of Polish Police: http://kpk.policja.gov.pl

from prominent politicians about football-related violence and proposals for solutions. Unfortunately, this change of direction in attitude has not resulted in real and effective change. The policy toward football spectators has become significantly more restricted, and this should be considered as the main reason for the reactions which have come from supporters' communities. Since 2010 we can observe an increasing number of political acts of resistance on the terraces of Polish stadiums. This trend has had consequences outside the stadiums. Fans are organising marches and protests against oppressive measures and – a fact which is very interesting – against the ruling political party. Offensive songs and chants are frequently directed against Donald Tusk, Prime Minister of Poland who, contrary to the stereotypical image of a 'folk devil' – has become the main enemy of supporters.

The last but the most important group which is described in this article are football fans in general. The history of Polish football fandom has its own characteristics. After 1989 – which marks the actual beginning of the modern style of football supporting in the country – Poland faced a problem with football violence. In the 90's hooligan fights inside stadiums were occurring on a regular basis. What more the authorities – police and other security services – were not able to protect casual observers. The first decade following Poland's transformation was crucial in creating the basis for stereotypes of Polish football supporters. In first decade of the new millennium the reality with respect to the social world of football supporters has changed. Among others aspects of change, the following should be underscored:

– institutionalization of ephemeral communities, which has lead to the foundation of associations by majority supporters' groups;

– due to increasing level of control and monitoring we can observe hooligan groups pushing out from the stadiums and changing their habits. New strategies have evolved and fights now are being organised far from stadiums and outside observers;

– increasing engagement in political debates. It is clear that Polish supporters are close to right wing movements and thus they are a natural support base for radical groups of politicians and activists.

The context of Euro 2012 however requires a more specific description of football fan structures in Poland. Using the terminology from Giulianotti's work [Giulianotti, 2002] we can divide the world of football spectators into at least four ideal types: supporter, follower, fan and flaneur. In brief, these types are the results of crossing specific dimensions which were set in binary opposition by Scottish sociologists: hot-cool and traditional-consumer. The first pairing measures the

meaning of the club in one's value system. The thicker (hotter) the solidarity, the more of a supporter one is. The second pairing is an attempt to describe the degree of bonding with the club. The resulting characterisations provide a good insight into the history of transformation of football spectators. With football becoming more business-oriented, it is promoting a new type of relationship with a club. The latter is seen rather as a brand, with a specific client base. Seen from this perspective, SMEs have their own profile of football fans who follow particular events. If we have to choose who is the ideal fan from the organizers' point of view it would definitely be the flaneur, whose relationship with the club (in this particular situation it would be the national team) is described by Giulianotti as:

The cool consumer spectator is a football flâneur. The flâneur acquires a postmodern spectator identity through a depersonalized set of market-dominated virtual relationships, particularly interactions with the cool media of television and the Internet. [Giulianotti, 2002: 38]

From this perspective it is better for business when emotional attachment is short and can be easily switched from one team to another. This allows fans to 'remain in the game' even if the team they are rooting for loses. In this type of spectator there is no room for negative attitudes or criticism, especially on the basis of values. It is important to keep in mind the difference between clubs and national teams. Giulianotti's work was definitely focused on relations between fans and clubs. but it is interesting to speculate about the nature of the bond between a national team and its supporters. Through the prism of an SME such as Euro 2012 we can observe how this bond changes and which direction is predominating.

Even though some types of audiences are more welcome than others, this does not mean that those groups who are sceptical or openly against an SME will disappear entirely. On the contrary, in the case of Euro 2012 we can find a lot of examples of demonstrative disagreement with the way of managing the event, the direction of spectator policy management, or even the composition of the Polish national team. These cases of 'resistance' were prepared by groups of traditional supporters. Returning to Giulianotti, we can describe this type of fan as:

The traditional/hot spectator is defined here as a supporter of the football club. The classic supporter has a long-term personal and emotional investment in the club. This may be supplemented (but never supplanted) by a market-centered investment, such as buying shares in the club or expensive club merchandise, but the rationale for that outlay is still underpinned by a conscious commitment to show thick personal solidarity and offer monetary support toward the club. [Ibidem: 33]

The above citation contains an important observation about the readiness to offer financial support of the club, but conditioned on meeting the bond of authenticity. When such a bond is switched to the national level, the problem not only concerns the degree of willingness to support the team, but in engaging in the event as a whole. The Euro 2012, due to its implemented policy of control and monitoring (of clubs, not the Tournament itself), was seen more as a threat by the traditional supporters' community than as an opportunity for change for the better.

Summarizing this part of the paper, we can see the opposition between consumers (flaneurs) and supporters. But the nature of this opposition is only analytical, and open conflict between them has never occurred. In practice it would be virtually impossible, because ideal types of such negative and positive attitudes would be hard to find. The next part of this article shows how different strategies were taken by supporters, and attempts to explain why these anti-Euro actions were founded on particular interests and goals connected with the local debates about the role of supporters' communities. But before proceeding to that analysis, I would like to more specifically describe that part of the audience which was more naturally expected as a Euro-friendly one.

When Giulianotti describes flaneurs, he uses the theoretical background of postmodern theory, which means he wants to show how the traditional narration about football fans is changing. But there is one exception – class structure and its consequence, i.e. inequalities. This is the question which underlies any SME analysis – is this kind of event really inclusive? Can we speak of the Euro 2012 as an event which really invited everyone to participate? A lot of doubts appear when the Tournament is presented as a holiday for the whole nation. Firstly, we have to recall the criticism from early pages of this article. The main focus of the authorities and organizers was on infrastructural projects. Their view of the Euro 2012 as an opportunity for another civilizational leap forward has consequences. One, among others, was leaving the social aspect of the event to the side. Skipping social consultations in the process of decision-making was standard policy, and due to this practice the stadiums which were built for Euro do not meet everyday expectations. The clubs or companies who are running these buildings still have a lot of financial problems, and in addition are frequently unable to fill them during matches. This is only one example of the kinds of errors which were made during the preparations.

Secondly, when we take closer look to issue of improving Poland's image, which was established as one of the criteria of success or failure, we can observe how the predominance of thinking in the public debate was about impressions. This also has some consequences with respect to the perception of football

fans accompanying the publicity surrounding Euro 2012, and helps explain the panic reactions to every report of hooligan activity. But there are other reasons underlying this kind of response – the anti-Euro attitude which was demonstrated and popular among some groups of football fans showed that the 'unifying atmosphere' was not prevailing as it was supposed to.

Thirdly, the problem of the economic results of Euro 2012 need to be emphasized. In the early forecasts it was said that the Euro 2012 would bring with it a significant positive impulse for the Polish economy. The 'Evergreen Barcelona effect' was often used as an argument for organizing and investing in Euro 2012 and its accompanying infrastructure. As the classic scholar on mega projects' issues, Flyvjberg, noted at the outset of this article, it is a rule that misinformation is a regular strategy in communications about mega events. What's more, it is frequently found that in huge projects (and the Euro 2012 and its particular investments can be analysed as such a mega project) costs are rarely calculated in a proper way. Flyvjberg says it is not always a problem of maliciousness, but rather a consequence of complications with respect to a particular investment. The report "Impact" is a document which was ordered by PL 2012 – the company founded by the Polish state to organize Euro 2012 – in order to analyse the impact of the Tournament on the Polish economy in the time perspective of 2008-2020. It is not surprising that this document is very optimistic about the positive aspects of organization of the European Championship. Unfortunately, we do not have any data or research which would constitute a real basis for discussion about the actual consequences of the Tournament. Relying only on this report is clearly insufficient, and there is a need to extend the analysis to include more autonomous sources.

ATTITUDE TOWARD EURO 2012 INSIDE TRADITIONAL GROUPS OF SUPPORTERS

The history of football support in Poland has a specific dynamic, which I have tried to explain in earlier parts of the paper. To gain a proper understanding of the phenomenon known as Polish-style fandom, we need to go back to the 1980's and take a closer look at the origins of today's types of football spectators in Poland. Firstly, it has to be remembered that traditional supporters' communities were always acting contrary to the different agendas of governance, and paid specific attention to the different kinds of security services. The most radical attitude was and still is fans vs. the police, but different actors could play the role

of 'enemy'. In the 1980's in some parts of the country anti-regime beliefs were popular among football fans. The supporters of Lechia Gdańsk had a leading role in the anti-communist movement among fans. Their activity never became big enough to impact on a country-wide scale, but it was well noted and in the negotiated mythology of Polish football fans it occupies an important place as an example of willingness to resist in the face of a threat to the most important values. It's mentioned here because a continuation of this type of specific strategy can be observed, one frequently taken by the supporters who want to create an atmosphere of danger and perceive an attack on their values or rights. This background interacts with the anti-modern approach, which in recent years has become more popular among supporters' communities in Europe.

Before moving on to describe the types of strategies were taken by supporters before and during the Euro 2012, it's worth focusing on the issue of their approach, which would be best described by the slogan: 'Against Modern Football.' In many supporters' groups all across Europe this attitude is connected with belief that the changes which have taken place beginning in the late last century in the football world have negatively affected the game. The commercialization of football is so strong as to become the main logic behind some club authorities. Starting from TV rights as the main source of money, and the associated increasing power of TV companies to manipulate league schedules, and moving on to clubs' constant attempts to enrich their stadium's revenue by creating terraces for wealthy consumers rather than die-hard fan, we can observe how the social world of football spectatorship has changed. Paradoxically, supporters of small clubs are in better position, as authorities have to keep the traditional background of support in mind. In the case of top clubs like Real, Barcelona, Manchester and others, it is hard for fans to have any impact on the decision-making process, despite the fact that the number of people following the club is enormous. Still, even in these huge communities resistance sometimes emerges and leads to secession. FC United of Manchester is probably the best example of a disagreement with a club's management policy, leading to the launch of a whole new club. The club was established in 2005 by a group of Manchester United fans who were disappointed with the fact that their beloved club was going to be sold to an American millionaire. They were convinced that this move was against the true idea of a football club. This case is an example of a successful secession at both the sport and organizational level. We can also find other cases in modern football where traditional supporters have acted to organize a collective movement to reach a particular goal: Liverpool FC, Legia Warsaw, AFC Wimbledon. The effectiveness of each of these efforts is different and is dependent on the local

context, which is comprised of factors such as: political background, economic power of the supporters' group, numbers of supporters involved, etc., but it is hard to overlook these examples of disagreement with, or even mutiny against, a particular situation in football.

Turning to the research issue of this paper, we now consider how Polish traditional supporters reacted to the Euro 2012, and examine the main attitudes and strategies taken by them, the goals set, and the forms of protest organized and utilized. These issues need to be taken into consideration separately for the time periods before, during, and after tournament. And at the end of this section I examine the consequences of the SME, which can be anticipated in the longer perspective.

In the two years leading up to the Euro 2012, one could observe a stronger unification of supporters' movements than at any other previous time. Due to the media panic unleashed about hooligans and ultras and the tightening of football surveillance policies, Polish fans decided to organize a number of actions which were aimed at both the authorities and the media. It has to be acknowledged that the actions in many cases were of a small scale and contextualized in local conditions. For example, in Poznan fans of Lech organized a boycott of Gazeta Wyborcza – the biggest newspaper in Poland. Supporters were often attacked in its pages for hooligan activities and the strengthening of security measures was often pointed to as one of the most effective tools in dealing with football violence. In Warsaw we can observe a conflict between fans and club owners which has been ongoing since 2007, when ITI (a media company) took over Legia Warsaw and began to limit the influence of die-hard fans. It should be noted that neither of these two actions would have been possible without active involvement and support from supporters' associations of both communities. Together with others, these two organizations were founding members of the National Association of Supporters' Associations (OZSK), which was established in 2007. Since 2010 this institution has taken the leading role in representing the entirety of Polish football fans.

The closer was the date to the kick-off of Euro 2012 the more strong was the reluctance and resistance to the Tournament. It is worth examining some strategies taken by different groups of traditional supporters before and during the event. To conduct this analysis I used (among other sources like fan-based websites, forums, and observations) material coming from my research run over the last two years, which has resulted in a compilation of empirical data as a base for my PhD project "Football Supporters' Movement in Poland. Sociological Analysis".

Supporters of LKS Łódź were interviewed. Their community is one of the most active in Poland and as such it can be seen as typical.

TYPES OF STRATEGIES TAKEN BY POLISH SUPPORTERS

1. Total negation

Some of the supporters decided to simply deny that the Euro 2012 was a national event. This was an extreme attitude but nonetheless characteristic – especially when criticism of the Tournament was combined with an equally radical negation of the Polish government. This strategy included the assumption that the national team of Poland is barely Polish, due to players who become Polish citizens shortly before the Tournament even though they were raised and lived their whole lives in another country. The cases of Eugen Polansky (Germany), Ludovic Obraniak (France) or Damien Perquis (France) were frequently discussed in the Polish media, and opinions about their playing for Poland were divided, and sometimes strongly critical. Those supporters who were firm and total in their belief against the Euro 2012 declared zero interest in the whole event (not only in the results of Polish national team).

2. Negation with curiosity

A more common attitude appearing in the interviews was one I would categorize as negation with curiosity. Although those persons whose responses would fit into this type were generally critical about the whole tournament, they still acknowledged that they were interested in the event. What's more, especially in that segment of the research group that had significant knowledge about the world of football fans, their interest was directed towards and oriented on football fans as well. They follow the activities of those groups who are seen as similar to the traditional pattern of supporters, like Russians fans. While their responses were accompanied by declared aggression, curiosity was the predominant feeling.

3. Active resistance

This strategy was based on taking different protest actions against the Euro 2012. For example, during an exhibition of Henri Delaunay Cup in Lodz, the supporters of LKS prepared special banner with the controversial text "Fuck Euro". It was intended to be a strong message which would gain media attention and show that not everybody in Poland welcomed the forthcoming event. Other

activities of this type included a number of protests and marches organized before the Tournament in response to the authorities' action and to the policing policy. One of these protests received widespread media coverage, and is worth looking at more specifically. In May 2011, fans of Jagiellonia Bialystok, following the decision to close their club stadium, shouted words and phrases aimed at, among others, Prime Minister Donald Tusk. Some members of the group were arrested by the police and sentenced with a fine. This case was publicly criticized after announcement of the sentence due to serious allegations of violation of human rights and the Polish constitution.

In summary, it may be said that the attitudes of Polish traditional supporters were generally against the Euro 2012, which was seen by them as an excuse for the authorities and media to attack their communities. From the supporters' point of view. the Tournament was rather another field in which they could reproduce their characteristic anti-systemic attitude. Seen in this perspective, sympathizing with the organizers, politicians, authorities, and in some case foreign fans or even the Polish national team could be interpreted as confrontational. What's more. this spiral of negativity displayed towards other fans, players or authorities could paradoxically have been motivated by a desire to act in way which would be a confirmation of the fears expressed by different actors in the public debate. A good example of this mechanism could be seen in the events which occurred on the day of the match between Poland and Russia in the group stage of the Tournament. Polish and Russian hooligans clashed in a large number of fights on the streets of Warsaw. This conflict took place among other fans, who were passing to the stadium, in fan-zones, and even in the presence of ordinary citizens who were not involved in the Tournament at all. All of it was covered online and in the media (TV, radio and Internet).

It has to be said that while there are no clear conclusions (and there is a lack of research data collected about this case), it is clear that there must be a relationship between the negative (and sometimes aggressive) attitude against Euro 2012, the media hype about hooligan activities, the football audience policy in place, and this particular course of events (clashes between fans from both countries). It could be analysed as another type of experience of the Tournament - controversial, radical and (the most important factor) counter to the way preferred by the organizers and authorities for experiencing the Tournament. In this fashion we can observe what happens when types frequently described as theoretical or virtual types of football fans [Dixon, 2013], or traditional supporters and modern consumers (or, as Giulianotti put it 'post-fans' [Giulianotti, 1999] meet in the real world. What is interesting is that they do not clash but simply pass each other by.

TWO TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVES: BEFORE AND DURING THE TOURNAMENT

Taking into account the time factor when analysing the problem of football supporters and their attitudes against the Euro 2012, it is important to point out how the closeness of the event impacted and activated actions taken by different groups of football fans in Poland. As mentioned earlier in the text after, 2010 and the final match of the Polish Cup between Legia Warsaw and Lech Poznań, one can observe how the policies of authorities at both the national and local levels was changing and becoming more strict and oppressive against 'traditional football fans'. This is reflected in the public debate and, what's connected with it (according to moral panic models), the political decisions and actions focused on the problem of safety during the Euro 2012 matches. A lot of arguments can be used to criticize the direction of policies taken during this time, but the fact is that they had consequences with respect to the activation of supporters' groups. Firstly, following the decisions by local authorities to close stadiums to away spectators during league matches we can observing locally established initiatives taken by small groups of fans. Protests were organized during one of fixtures of ŁKS Łódź (among many others), when Łódź's ultra supporters refused to actively support their team. In addition to this type of protest we can add specially prepared banners and flags with slogans which were hung up across Poland against both the Euro 2012 as well as against the Polish authorities. And of course there was the previously-mentioned case of Jagiellonia fans who were arrested and sentenced for singing insulting songs about Donald Tusk.

But the resistance movement is not only relegated to local protests. The main goal remains to change the law concerning the safety of mass events, which was established in anticipation of the Euro 2012. It is one of the most restrictive acts in Europe, focused on the regulation of football fans' behaviour. The voices of supporters have been taken under consideration after the Tournament, and now representatives of National Association of Supporters' Associations are negotiating changes in the text of the act itself. This is thus an example of how a project which was started before the Euro 2012 (and was initially unsuccessful), and is still continuing (with some prospect of success).

But before moving on to the consequences of mega events, it is worthwhile to look closely at the Tournament itself. It is hard to say that large groups of Polish supporters were outside of the whole buzz connected with Euro 2012. Even though there were a number of declarations openly criticizing the fact of its organization, it seems reasonable to assume that even die-hard fans were at least interested in

course of the Tournament. Maybe not specifically in the sport rivalry, but at least the terraces were in the spotlight of supporters' interest. Even hooligans' groups treated the Tournament as an opportunity to maintain their foreign contacts: fans of Widzew Łódź, who have good relations with CSKA Moscow, hosted groups of Russian fans during the Euro 2012.

CONCLUSIONS

The European Championship which took place in Poland and Ukraine in 2012 was a unique phenomenon. In terms of politics it was a big challenge for both neighbours to cope with the host country's responsibilities. In the economical sense, the results of the Tournament are difficult to compute. Official reports from organizers are more like attempts to improve public relations of the event than reliable scientific data. From the sociological point of view, it was a fantastic opportunity to research how modern societies with specific characteristic cope with events of such a large scale. In this light, the issue of football fandom is instructive inasmuch as it allows us to proceed with analyses from different perspectives.

Firstly, we can observe how, using moral panic mechanisms, society tries to reach homoeostasis. Shattered hopes for coping with the challenge have to be reassured. Different kinds of actions (formal and informal) can be used as tools in this process by authorities. The coverage by media provides plenty of social drama, and aggressive football fans play the role of folk devil. It is important to keep in mind the scale of the actions taken by both sides. There was and still is a lot of aggression among supporters, and definitely it is sometimes necessary to use the police or other measures to stop the escalation of violence. But on the other side of the coin, there are lots of doubts about scale and nature of the football spectator policy – especially with respect to those parts connected with monitoring and surveillance. In order to go to a football match in the Polish league (but paradoxically not during the Euro 2012) spectators can be required to give the club personal data like date of birth, PESEL, residence address, and even a photograph of the individual's face. Hooligan activities do not seem to be a strong enough argument to completely justify these regulations.

Secondly, the Euro 2012 can be analysed as an SME, in its all its aspects - from sociological to economical to political. In this perspective an interesting initiative would be to use the idea of mega project which is successfully used by Flyvjberg and others. Thanks to their work we can easily extend research on the impact of

SMEs on host cities, for example. The issue of charging local budgets with expenses related to the Euro 2012 is so far absent in the economic or sociological debates, even though investments of this type are almost certain to have a serious impact on the economical, political and social situation on the local level.

Thirdly, in relation to the mechanisms of moral panic which were implemented, we can turn this perspective around and try to analyse the Tournament as a crucial moment in the history of football fandom in Poland and – and this is the most original part of this idea – make the supporters themselves the subject of this reflection. This is the actual goal of this paper – to show how Euro 2012 was seen and how it was experienced by traditional supporters. I have tried to offer glimpses of specific clashes between axiom-normative systems which constitute the basis for characteristic fans' world views, and the emanation of modern pop-culture, in which gigantic and glittering games appear to be one of the most important collective rituals. From this perspective traditional supporters' communities can be seen and treated not as a threat, but rather as one of the last bastions of the old regime, in which a bond with a club (or national team) is deeply immersed in the depths of collective identity.

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Jacek Burski

EURO 2012 – KONIEC I POCZĄTEK DLA POLSKICH KIBICÓW PIŁKARSKICH

Streszczenie

Artykuł podejmuje próbę zweryfikowania wpływu Mistrzostw Europy w piłce nożnej UEFA Euro 2012 zorganizowanych w Polsce i na Ukrainie na tradycyjne społeczności kibiców piłkarskich w Polsce. Aplikując typologię Richarda Giulianottiego, koncentruje się na fanach tradycyjnych. Artykuł analizuje różne strategie podejmowanych przez kibiców działań wobec Euro 2012. Wydarzenie to analizowane jest z rożnych perspektyw: jako szansa na zmianę w polskim dyskursie publicznym, jako przyczyna paniki moralnej oraz jako pole konfliktu między różnymi aktorami społecznymi (działaczami, zawodnikami, kibicami, mediami).

Słowa kluczowe: Fani futbolowi, Euro 2012, Wielka Impreza Sportowa, megaprojekt

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THE BRAZILIAN MEDIA AND THE SELECTION OF RIO DE JANEIRO TO HOST THE 2016 OLYMPIC AND PARALYMPIC GAMES

Abstract

The city of Rio de Janeiro was selected to host the 2016 Olympics and Paralympics Games [Rio 2016], increasing the amount of international attention focused on Brazil and its regional leadership. In this article, we investigate and describe how this event was perceived domestically in the aftermath of the announcement that Rio de Janeiro had been selected. Following a brief contextualization on the political, social and sport situation in Brazil in the years preceding its Olympic selection, we present the results of a content analysis of two national print media channels – one daily newspaper and one weekly magazine – in which we identify the major stakeholders and their interests, the challenges, and the possible legacies of Rio 2016. The study argues that, taking into account local specificities, similar discourses to past cases identified by the literature are also present in the print media, mainly the arguments of developmental discourse and identity signaling.

Key words: Olympic and Paralympic Games, Content Analysis, Media, Brazil.

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INTRODUCTION

On 2 October 2009, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) selected Rio de Janeiro as the host city for the Summer Olympics and Paralympics Games in 2016. Although at first glance the selection of a city to host a sport event might seem relatively simple, in the case of the Olympic Games the choice is quite sensitive. The selection of a South American city occurred for the first time, overcoming the competition from the cities of Tokyo (Japan), Chicago (USA) and Madrid (Spain) in the final phase of voting. Before that, the cities of Doha (Qatar), Prague (Czech Republic) and Baku (Azerbaijan) had also applied as aspiring cities, but were not able to proceed to the second phase of the process [International Olympic Committee 2009]. The selection of the host city for the Olympic Games is a process that lasts two years and has a manifest international dimension [International Olympic Committee 2007, 2008], requiring the fulfillment of various conditions that go beyond the evaluation of sport facilities.

The Olympic Games is more than just a sporting competition. It has been labeled as a 'mega-event' owing to its large-scale cultural character and mass, global appeal, being broadcast internationally by the major media [Roche 2000]. According to Horne and Manzenreiter [2006], three main elements explain the current and rising status of the Games: mass media technology, sponsorship and partnership agreements, and the promotion and visibility interests of the cities and countries which host the events. The last feature may help to explain the increasing economic and political investment of cities and countries in this high-risk international competition [Burbank, Andranovich, Heying 2002]. In light of the investment of about US$ 40 million during the bidding phase [Comitê de candidatura Rio 2016, 2009] and the expected multi-billion dollars to be invested in the city during the preparation to host the Games, the selection of Rio de Janeiro may be said to have brought many prospects to both Brazilian society and the local media.

In this sense, the purpose of this paper is to identify how the Brazilian media presented the event of Rio de Janeiro's selection for the 2016 Games. In order to attain this research goal, this paper intends to identify the media arguments regarding the interested parties and their interest in the Rio Games, the challenges in promoting of the mega-event, and the possible legacies that it can bring to the city and to the country. Data collection included review of the two periodicals with the largest national circulation in their categories: the newspaper Folha de S. Paulo (circulation of 330,655) and the informative magazine Veja (circulation of 1,222,922). Both periodicals were examined in the immediate aftermath of the

choice of Rio de Janeiro as 2016 host city. The material was analyzed through the content analysis method proposed by Laurence Bardin [1977].

The choice of media discourse is justified with respect to the historical social importance of mass media as an institution in spreading and building information and shaping public opinion. As described by Bourdieu [1983, 1997], the values, power and capital involved and defining this social organization are capable of changing or molding a situation into a new way of thinking and behaving. Considering the unique character and meaning that mega-sports events have in society, the media emerges as one of the fundamental institutions capable of interpreting this reality to further influence people's ideas and behaviors.

This paper is comprised of three sections. Firstly, we present some general information regarding the social, political and sport situation in Brazil in the first decade of the twenty-first century, i.e. the years that preceded the bidding and selection of Rio de Janeiro as 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games host city. Secondly, we describe the data collected at the Veja magazine and Folha de S. Paulo newspaper, in accordance with the categories selected. Finally, we develop final considerations on how the domestic arguments and perceptions may contribute to the general social understanding of sport mega-events.

THE BRAZILIAN SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND SPORT CONTEXT

A wider perspective on the economic, political and social contexts in Brazil may clarify the conditions of the Brazilian bidding for and hosting for sport mega-events. Socially, one can observe the coexistence of 'two Brazils'. On one hand, we have the 'Brazil of the top 10': it is the fifth largest country in the world both in area and in population (199 million people in 2012) and was the eighth biggest GDP in 2011. Regionally, its importance relies not only on the fact of its being the richest and largest country, but also because it has borders with ten of the twelve South American countries [CIA 2013]. On the other hand, the country's position in the World Health Organization's ranking of health system efficiency is the 125th among 191 countries, lower than neighboring countries such as Colombia, Suriname, Argentina, Paraguay and Venezuela [Tandon et al. 2000]. With respect to education, the country is the 65th according to the education index of the United Nation's Human Development Index. When combined with the other indexes in that summary index, the country's ranking is the 85th [United Nations 2013]. Even though these indexes have well-known limitations, they are useful resources for an overview of some of the social developments that are not visible

at the level of economic factors [see Kelley 1991]. For instance, on average 21% of the population does not have access to ideal levels of sanitation facilities and 10% of the population over fifteen years of age cannot read and write [CIA 2013].

Politically, the country is a constitutional federative republic, where presidential elections occur every four years (since 1985), and with compulsory and secret voting for all citizens aged from 18 to 70 years. The political headquarters are located in the capital Brasília, which since the 1950s succeeded the city of Rio de Janeiro. The host city of the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games is currently Brazil's second largest in population and economically, behind the city of São Paulo [CIA 2013]. According to the Brazilian Tourism Ministry, 30% of the international leisure tourists visiting Brazil went to Rio de Janeiro in 2009 [Brasil 2009]. For international comparisons, the city of Rio de Janeiro had the world's 16th largest population in 2007, and at that time it was projected to attain the 31st largest GDP among cities worldwide in 2020 [Citymayors 2007a, 2007b].

The bidding for the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games took place during the Presidency of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Following his election in 2002, he commenced his first term in 2003 and was re-elected in 2006. His government tenure ended in 2010, and the Presidency was won by the candidate of his party, Dilma Rousseff. Given this political alignment, we may say that the bidding and organization of the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games has been accompanied throughout by similar objectives and policies at the State level.

The insertion of Brazil in the international arena of sports' mega-events has a historical aspect, connected with Rio de Janeiro's preparation to host a 'second order' event [Black, 2008], i.e. the Pan-American Games in 2007. These Games were seen as a step toward making a bid to host a future mega-event [Curi et al. 2011], as more experience in handling big events was demanded during Rio de Janeiro's unsuccessful applications for the 2004 and 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games [Rubio 2010]. Gaffney [2010] takes into account an even longer historical approach, going back to 1919 when the South American Football Championship launched the important movement of 'city projects through sport events' in Rio de Janeiro. It is also important to note that Brazil hosted the FIFA World Cup in 1950, as well as the 1963 Pan-American Games in the city of São Paulo, and that the FIFA has selected Brazil to host the men's football World Cup in 2014 [Almeida et al. 2013a]. Although different sport governing bodies managed the bidding processes of the 2014 and the 2016 events, the political direction of the Brazilian government manifests a tendency to support these mega-projects, probably with the intention to boost the country's international image and its

'soft power' [see Almeida et al. 2013b]. In the Rio 2016 bid book, this aim was phrased as to "promote the modern Brazil internationally". Other aims/visions include: that Olympic values sustain social and educational development; that the Games boost the transformation of Rio; that new territory is developed for the Olympic Games; that they create a regional sport axis in Latin America; and improvement of the Olympic brand through the experience of hosting the Games [Comitê de Candidatura Rio 2016, 2009].

In more recent years, Gaffney [2010] argues that the sports infrastructures work according to a neo-liberal approach, where urban and social developments use public investments to support private business interests. Despite this critical point of view, the Brazilian academic focus on sport was small until recent years, when sports' mega-events have begun to receive the attention of scholars [Tavares 2011]. At the same time however, it should be noted that no wide social debate has yet taken place to discuss the intentions and aims of hosting sports' mega-events, which would mobilize more interest and dedication on the part of scientists. Perhaps the only exception to this general conclusion is the article of Tavares [2005], addressing who are the 'winners' and 'losers' in the hosting of the Olympic Games. With the exception of this article, all the other scientific papers have been published after the choice of Rio de Janeiro in 2009. For this reason, it may be said that as an academic subject it is still a work-in-progress, and that a corpus of critical knowledge has not yet been built up. This paper aims to contribute to the building up of such a corpus.

WHO, HOW, WHY: THE INFORMATION DISSEMINATED BY THE MEDIA ABOUT THE SELECTION OF RIO DE JANEIRO TO HOST THE 2016 OLYMPIC AND PARALYMPIC GAMES

The magazine Veja, in its 2,133rd edition (year 42, number 40), dated October 07 2009, made the selection of Rio de Janeiro cover news under the title 'Marvelous and Olympic', accompanied by the illustrative image of the statue of Christ the Redeemer holding still gymnastic rings and wearing a t-shirt emblazoned 'Rio loves you'. The front cover also announced that the magazine included a 21-page special edition about the subject. It is important to note however that in addition to the 21 pages filled with large photos and captions, this special edition also included 24 pages of advertisements from different companies. Among them, 20 advertisements specifically referred to the 'victory' of Rio de Janeiro.

The four articles of journalistic content included in the magazine manifested an optimistic position and used positive sports metaphors. In the first article, the idea that the selection as a 'big victory' was evident: 'The Olympic Games are not just a competition among athletes anymore. They are spectacles of a unique capacity to boost economies and transform cities. This is the force of the conquered victory now.' [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009a: 12]. In sequence, the benefits were listed and the expectation inflated: 'the prognostics for Rio are extraordinary' [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009b: 17]. The potential benefits were listed from three perspectives: firstly, the economic boost and generation of jobs; secondly, the transformation and development of the city (public transit, access, urbanism, the environment, and sports structures) and thirdly the transformation of Rio de Janeiro into a global city. In the words of the journalists': 'To organize an Olympiad, the first in South America, is a huge, modernizing and civilizing venture' [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009a: 14].

The positive, sometimes poetical tone, is even used to present information about the steps that should be accomplished. The articles presented as a challenge the timely accomplishment of the candidate's obligations, especially concerning the environment, urban infrastructure, accommodation and transportation – 'The chronometer was triggered', the title said [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009b: 14]. In addition however, some of the chronic pre-existing problems of the city were recalled, such as violence, slums and pollution. According to the journalists. they were consequences of 'decades of abandon and decadency' [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009c: 23]. But the positive discourse revolved around overcoming the past, matching the Olympic Games' motto of 'humans overcoming' [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009c: 26].

The principal interested parties involved in both the negotiations as well as the execution of the mega-event were all highlighted in the articles: the Republic's President (Mr. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva), the governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro (Mr. Sergio Cabral), the mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro (Mr. Eduardo Paes) and the president of the Candidacy Committee and the Brazilian Olympic Committee (Mr. Carlos Arthur Nuzman). But their reasons, either personal or institutional, were not addressed. Other articles superficially indicated the IOC as an interested party, because the event will be hosted for the first time in South America [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009c], and the city of Rio de Janeiro, because of the benefits of construction and development projects that were already planned [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009d]. According to the same article, the Rio de Janeiro port project was approved and an investment of US$ 187 million

was collected for the first phase. For the Olympic Games, the estimate investment rises to US$ 1.6 billion [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009c, 2009d].

Our analysis of the newspaper Folha de S. Paulo brought different results. Its issue number 29,403 of October 03 2009 also contained a special edition on the selection of Rio de Janeiro. In this edition, 27 articles were dedicated to this event, with relatively impartial information in comparison to the magazine Veja, with the exception of seven authors' commentaries. In the first pages, the newspaper set out two opposing points of view. In one article, entitled 'A big hypocrisy' [Murray Neto 2009], the arguments were solely against the country hosting the event. In the words of the columnist: 'The decision of the International Olympic Committee was undignified. More than this, it was hypocritical. They tried to make history at the expense of the desperation of the poor.' On the other hand, other columnists pondered the challenges and potential legacies, leaning toward a perspective that 'it will be worthy'. These arguments were followed by a middle position, as in 'What about making this mega-event a way to improve in many aspects?' [Murad 2009: A3] or '[...] If, to do something, we keep waiting until the corruption finishes, we will never do anything. The challenge is to fight in order to make things right, and then it will bring permanent benefits.' [Couto 2009: D3]. Another point of view, more controlled than others, said: 'Rio won, we are all happy to have a new Carnival in October [...]. It is very good to win, but we should remember that it is just an Olympic Games' [Leão 2009: 20].

The informative articles were divided among those that presented 'characters' of the hosting selection or their institutions and the possible political benefits and visibility. Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva declared the 'burial of the mutt dog complex' and said that the victory represented the 'Brazilian conquest of international citizenship' [Coelho, Mattos & Rangel 2009a: 1]. At that time Ms. Dilma Rousseff, a minister and favored candidate for the presidential election, also obtained some profits. According to the newspaper as she '[...] earned a place as the main government authority here [in Brazil]' [Rodrigues, 2009: 6]. A similar observation was made with respect to the chief of sports institutions. The president of IOC, Jacques Rogge, won an internal political dispute, as he was perceived as a veiled supporter of Rio de Janeiro against Madrid, supported by the former president Juan Saramanch: 'The final dispute between Rio and Madrid exposed publically the divergence of two groups inside the IOC' [Coelho, Mattos & Rangel 2009b: 8]. However, it was also seen as a potential benefit to the IOC, making it a 'more democratic' institution by choosing the first host city in South America. In the national context, Carlos Arthur Nuzman won both a 'political and Olympic status'. His double conquest made him a possible candidate for

the IOC presidency and also a winner in his open, public national dispute with Ricardo Teixeira, the former president of the Brazilian Confederation of Soccer and the Local Organizing Committee of FIFA World Cup 2014 [Coelho, Mattos & Rangel 2009c: 9].

Regarding the challenges associated with the country's preparation, Folha de S. Paulo emphasized similar aspects as the Veja magazine, such as violence, poor infrastructure, lack of accommodations, transportation and pollution. However, other important issues also formed part of the paper's analysis: corruption, impunity, failure to attend to the population's basic needs, the amateurism of leaders of sports institutions, the non-integrated actions among the public and private sectors, and the unsuccessful 2007 Pan American Games. This last concern formed the special subject of attention of one article, which emphasized poorly-used sports facilities, broken promises and budget overflows [Torres 2009: 15]. Another remarkable criticism raised by the article was the location of Olympic venues, which will privilege a particular sector of the city that is not where most part of the population lives [Nogueira 2009: 10–11]. But the Olympics are also seen as a scenario of possible legacies, permanent improvements in areas such as the environment, security, urban and transportation infrastructure, widespread access of the general population to sports and a way to increase financial resources for promotion of sports. Other benefits would be generated in tourism, especially domestic tourism, and in the economy. As regards this point, reference made to a study demanded by the sports ministry that shows possible increases in direct and indirect jobs, private investments, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and some production chains – civil construction, services, oil, information and transportation, mail, and storage.

Following a descriptive orientation, another article in the economic section indicated the selection of Rio de Janeiro as the reason for the high stock exchange index in São Paulo during a day of losses on the international market [Vieira 2009]. According to a stock exchange specialist '[t]he choice of Rio de Janeiro as host of the Olympic Games was well received on the stock exchange, because it reinforced the sensation that now it is Brazil's turn' [Newton Rosa *apud* Vieira 2009: B10].

The expectations with respect to legacies in both the newspaper and magazine are relatively similar to those found by Silva *et al.* [2011], in which the scholars investigated five Rio de Janeiro newspapers from October to December 2009. By applying categories, expected legacies in the media were found to be focused on: transportation (25%), jobs (15%), environment (8%), public streets (8%), tourism (7%), public security (7%), and others. In their analysis:

We confirm that instrumental rationality, shortsighted, based on tangible results, has a much greater power of diffusion in comparison to substantive rationality. The instrumental one is more utilitarian, more objective (in the sense of quantified), but it does not mean that it is more important than fixing public policies, social legacies, institutional empowerment and cultural identities. The media has left in the distance the discussion about values, ethics and esthetics, accentuating the technical, economic and utilitarian aspects of the legacy. [Silva *et al* 2011: 953]

This analysis is compatible with the data found in this research, where the articles explored the symbolic conquest primarily from the political point of view. However, some columnists considered the 'substantive' rationality. José Geraldo Couto, in his analysis entitled 'When does the future start?', asks if this choice is not the right moment to overcome what he called 'bipolar nationalism'. One pole is the suffering of the 'dog mutt complex', as the writer Nelson Rodrigues described it after Brazil lost the Soccer World Cup in 1950 to Uruguay in the Maracanã stadium in Rio de Janeiro. At the other pole are the moments of national pride and affirmation [Couto 2009]. Mário Magalhães supports the same argument: 'If Rio is a metaphor of Brazil, the victory of 2016 draws a 'national project' that allows itself to think big' [Magalhães 2009: 20]. A similar point of view concerning the 'nation' representation was present in an article in Veja magazine. 'The fireworks [at the opening ceremony of 2016 Olympic Games] will celebrate the peace between Rio de Janeiro and its unparalleled nature, ending the war of waste, without truce, that victimized the most stunning bay of the world and made a wasteland of those forests that frame it.' [Bortoloti, Soares & Rogar 2009b: 14–17].

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this final analysis, we analyse the national media focus on Brazil as the selected host of the Olympics and Paralympics Games in 2016. As could be expected, there are several points of view, discourses, analysis and arguments, in which the 'voices' were convergent and divergent according to different circumstances. This context, in sociological terms, is coherent, as each reality depends on a set of dispositions (formatives and generators) inherent to those who analyze it. In other words, a person who 'reads' a reality does so according to his/her own set of references [Bourdieu 1989; 1990; 2005; 2007]. In this sense, it was not our intention to judge any source or argumentation as best or worst, right or wrong.

On the contrary, it is important to consider *how* 'voices' and 'realities', in the plural, are being constructed and externalized by the media.

In our analysis of the media discourses, we found differences between the two sources. The weekly magazine Veja announced the selection with more involvement, sometimes using passionate language, abdicating journalistic neutrality in order to celebrate the 'victory' in a certain way. The daily newspaper Folha de S. Paulo contained more neutral and descriptive articles, in accordance with the expectations of the object 'to inform'. At the same time, the opinion columnists generally turned to involvement and passion by showing satisfaction that the selection can offer opportunities for developing Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. Despite their relative euphoria, the analysts did not forget the infrastructure and corruption issues and other limitations to be overcome.

Besides the character of each media, the discourses presented similarities in the general discourse concerning sports' mega-events, as identified in the academic writings. Based on the three categories described by Black and Van der Westhuizen [2004], Folha and Veja employed the developmental discourse for promotion of the economy and growth in the city, identity building, and signaling, among other socio-political aspects.

With respect to the first category, development would be attained through economic inputs and tourism income, investments into the urban area, the environment, and security and transportation infrastructure, with lesser emphasis on increasing the public's access to sports and its funding. This 'urban improvement argument' concurs with the findings of Andranovich, Burbank & Heying [2001], who identified the use of mega-events to develop and increase investments by local politicians. In this case, it is valid to consider the faster availability of resources, such as the amount of money to carry out the construction. In the case of Rio, this function is especially important in light of the need to accelerate the complex bureaucratic processes for releasing funds for infrastructure. Politically, as local stakeholders are able to promote relevant 'city makeovers', their images are improved locally, nationally, and even internationally.

However, the possibility of overcoming past decades of insufficient investments also fits into the negative critiques of some international authors. For Horne [2007] mega-events should not be considered a panacea for development, and Hiller [2000] asserts that development becomes seen as priority, instead of a consequence. This argument appears frequently during the bidding for the mega-events, and the preparations and post-games effects show that these discourses and developments are not necessarily sustained.

With respect to identity building and signaling, the echo of the president's speech of 'international citizenship conquered' reinforced the idea that the country became recognized and Rio de Janeiro turned into a global city. The present and future construction of a such collective image of the population is accompanied by discourses using mega-events as evidence of "graduation" or "arrival" among the world's leading cities and countries–the achievement of "world class" or "world city" [Black 2007: 270]. As observed in the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa and the Cape Town's bid for the Summer Olympic Games, the discourses of 'a hosting country representing the integration of the whole continent' is also an element that needs to be explored [Desai & Vahed 2010; Hiller 2000; Pillay & Bass 2008; Swart & Bob 2004]. Especially the columnists used this pretense of world recognition to celebrate pride and improve the self-esteem of the Brazilians. As it is very unlikely that the columnists were pressured or censured to write exclusively positive things about the selection, we may consider that those journalists, who were not familiar to the mega-events' debates, were proud of their city and country on that day. Symbolically, for the society, this positive sensation expresses an initial impression that people may have when the city and country win an international bid competition.

In conclusion, our analysis of the media reports of the day following the selection allowed us to note the first impressions regarding why the city and country bid for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games, what they would bring for the city and the country, and what the 'victory' meant locally and nationally. This sort of analysis may be useful to understand how a climate of excitement and celebration is installed when a city successfully applies to host a mega-event, even if the social and political circumstances may vary during the preparation and hosting process.

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BRAZYLIJSKIE MEDIA I WYBÓR RIO DE JANEIRO GOSPODARZEM IGRZYSK OLIMPIJSKICH I PARAOLIMPIJSKICH W 2016 ROKU

Streszczenie

Rio de Janeiro zostało wybrane miastem-gospodarzem Olimpijskich i Paraolimpijskich Igrzysk w roku 2016, co zwiększyło skalę międzynarodowego zainteresowania Brazylią i jej regionalnym przywództwem. W artykule badamy i opisujemy jak postrzegano to wydarzenie w kraju po ogłoszeniu decyzji o wyborze. Po krótkiej kontekstualizacji sytuacji w Brazylii w odniesieniu do polityki, spraw społecznych i sportu w latach poprzedzających olimpijski wybór, prezentujemy rezultaty analizy treści dwóch drukowanych mediów – gazety codziennej i tygodnika, w której identyfikujemy głównych interesariuszy, ich interesy, wyzwania stojące przed organizatorami oraz możliwe dziedzictwo Rio 2016. Pomimo lokalnej specyfiki, w badaniu zidentyfikowano dyskursy podobne do przypadków wcześniej opisanych w literaturze przedmiotu, głównie odwołujące się do dyskursu prorozwojowego oraz tożsamościowego.

Słowa kluczowe: Igrzyska olimpijskie i Paraolimpijskie, analiza treści, media, Brazylia.

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SUPPORTERS' MOVEMENT "AGAINST MODERN FOOTBALL" AND SPORT MEGA EVENTS: EUROPEAN AND POLISH CONTEXTS

Abstract

The paper is an attempt to analyze supporters' opposition to *modern football*, which is identified with its progressive commodification in recent decades. It examines the causes and consequences of that discipline's drift toward the entertainment industry, for both fandom practices and local communities where football teams are rooted, as well as for sport competition in general. The article also investigates organized supporter groups' postulates and their efforts to "restore football for ordinary people". It seeks to distinguish the specificities of their actions both in European and Polish stadium stands. These phenomena are discussed in the context of Sport Mega Events, in particular the UEFA Euro 2012 tournament that was hosted by Poland and Ukraine.

Key words: football, fandom, commercialisation, Sport Mega Event, Euro 2012

INTRODUCTION

When Michel Platini, President of the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), announced in April 2007 that Poland and Ukraine would jointly host the 2012 UEFA European Football Championship (hereafter: Euro 2012) the majority of Poles was for that idea. According to a poll conducted at that time by the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) about 67% of respondents were satisfied with the UEFA's decision [2007: 2]. Since an event of this scale

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was to be organized for the very first time in the Central and Eastern Europe, Platini's trust in Poland and Ukraine's ability to organize the tournament was perceived as an explicit sign of their unification with the Western hemisphere after decades of Soviet dominance. It was presented in Polish public discourse as full of unprecedented opportunities to stimulate further modernization of the country. A series of statements were made both with respect to the immediate benefits of Euro 2012 (infrastructure development, money spent by fans etc.) as well as its long lasting legacy (growing prestige of host cities, urban regeneration, increased tourism, inflow of foreign investments etc.) [Borowski 2010: 24–43; see also: Giulianotti and Klauser 2011: 3157]. However, at the same time many voices of doubt also appeared in the media, underlining the huge costs that Poland would incur [Kowanda 2008]. They utilized research findings on the economic impact of previous football tournaments which proved that the expected profits from those kinds of events had been nearly always significantly overestimated [Horne and Manzenreiter 2006: 9].

Interestingly, less critical arguments were made regarding the foreseen impact of Euro 2012 on the transformation of Polish football itself. New stadiums and training grounds were supposed to improve players' performance as well as increase general interest in football in the upcoming years. It was also expected that stadium stands would be modernized. This was supposed to change the negative stereotype of Polish football spectatorship which had dominated the local public discourse in recent years. The term "football fan" carries with it mostly negative connotations. Acts of vandalism, prearranged fights, and other forms of disorder stirred up by fans in and outside stadiums are extensively broadcast in the media. As a consequence, despite significant differences between supporter groups, to external observers people attending football matches are synonymous with barbarians [Sahaj 2007: 81–97]. The public expected then that the Western patterns of fandom would finally root out and eliminate physical violence, symbolic intimidation, and the intolerance demonstrated by notorious fans. However, while pre-tournament investments in security and surveillance infrastructure, together with implementation of stricter regulations concerning mass events, in fact resulted in reducing the number of excesses in stadiums, football-related offences have remained one of main issues of public agenda even after Euro 2012, as Polish hooligans have moved outside football pitches. On the other hand, the institutional changes in Polish football caused by the organization of Euro 2012 have also coincided with a substantial axiological and identity shift within supporter groups. This has led to deep ideological divisions among fan

communities, which are reflected in opposite attitudes towards *modern football* – the new form of highly commercialized and mediatized football.

The most spectacular manifestations of the commodification processes that football fans' protest against are Sport Mega Events (hereafter: SME), such as the Olympic Games, the Formula One races or, referring to football, the FIFA World Cup, the UEFA European Football Championship, the UEFA Champions League and, on a more diffused level, games of major European leagues [Giulianotti 2011: 3293]. Their importance is not only based on their high-level sports competition, but also on their organizational and economic magnitude, as well as global media coverage, which are being increasingly influenced by pay-per-view television channels and transnational businesses.

This article investigates, firstly, the process of football commodification and its consequences for both the professional participants of games and, above all, football fandom in both European and Polish stadium stands. It questions the changes caused by global financial imperatives in support practices, as well as the relation between football clubs and the local communities teams are traditionally rooted in. Secondly, it examines the postulates and initiatives of those organized supporter groups that resist the idea of *modern football* and attempt to *"restore football for ordinary people"*. The problems outlined are discussed in the context of major European leagues and, in particular, the Euro 2012 tournament.

WINNERS AND LOSERS OF FOOTBALL COMMERCIALIZATION

Football is widely recognized as one of the most popular sports. According to a study commissioned by the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA), about 270 million people played football in 2006. In Europe alone there were 64 million people playing football at various levels. Ever larger crowds are reached via the media. For instance, the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa gathered half of the world's population (3.2 billion) in front of TV-sets. Viewership of such events systematically increases every year [2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa 2010: 7].

The growing interest in football cannot be regarded merely in sport or cultural terms but also, and perhaps primarily, as a global economic phenomenon. Since the early 1990s the progressive commercialization of football (and sports in general) can be observed. It is part of a world-wide tendency to monetize all areas of social life since commodification of the aesthetic has become a key feature of the contemporary economy [D. Kennedy 2013: 139]. Similarly to other

cultural phenomena which are subject to these processes, football's commercial development is about adjusting sport rivalry, organizational surroundings, and fans' collective behaviour to free market mechanisms. It also manifests itself in supermarketization trends, which result in transferring consumer patterns to non-commercial areas of social life [Szlendak 2004: 58–100]. Hence, economic profit rather than sports competition comes to determine the sense of football teams' existence.

Football has become, similarly to cinema, television or music, an important part of the global entertainment industry, with footballers achieving the status of celebrities. The growing interest of the media, which pays billions of euro to leagues for the rights to beam their matches, and transnational sponsors, which pay large sums to expose their brands on players' jerseys, as well as wealthy investors willing to take over more and more teams, have together brought about an unprecedented inflow of money to football [Rowe and Scherer 2013]. Football clubs have been transformed into "brands" and increased their revenues year by year [Millward 2011: 23–25]. For instance, in 2012 Real Madrid, FC Barcelona and Manchester United reached revenues of 513, 483 and 395 million euro, respectively [Jones 2013: 7]. It is not surprising then that players' transfer fees amount to tens of millions of euro and top class footballers' annual salaries reach up to 20 million euro.

It would seem then all interested parties benefit from big money: national and international football associations distribute television and advertising rights for matches; clubs spend that money on players' infrastructure and development; players' wages and popularity in the media is steadily growing and, finally, fans watch football (either live or in TV) at a higher level than ever before. Close analysis reveals, however, that not all clubs (leagues) make equal profit on commercialization. The interest of media and sponsors focuses mainly on the richest clubs. In 2008 five major European leagues (the English *Premier League,* the Spanish *Premiera División,* the German *Bundesliga,* the Italian *Serie A and* the French *Ligue 1*) received 88% of all revenues from TV broadcasting and 62% of all revenues from sponsorship and advertising in Europe [The European Club Footballing Landscape 2010: 42]. The disparity between rich and poor leagues in this respect is growing year by year. In 2012 the Premier League authorities signed a 3.2 billion euro contract with pay-per-view televisions to broadcast matches in the UK for three years. The biggest winners of the campaign to attract TV stations are, however, the two current richest clubs, Real Madrid and FC Barcelona, which receive over 150 million

euro per season. It is worth noting that the TV rights for all Polish *Ekstraklasa* matches cost 25 million euro a year [Kaliszuk 2012].

This asymmetry in money distribution leads to the preservation of disparities in the world of football between – utilizing Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of World-System development [2007] – the core (a few major clubs) and peripheries (much larger group of poor clubs) [Kossakowski et al. 2012: 218]. It entails, in turn, the minimization of rivalry and decline of the "spirit of the game" [D. Kennedy and P. Kennedy 2013: 117]. The unrivalled spectacle of top clubs is already offered in Spain where Real Madrid and FC Barcelona have divided 16 out of last 20 championship titles between themselves (1994–2013). A similar dominance is observed in Italy (Juventus Turin, AC Milan and Inter Milan) and England (Manchester United, Chelsea London and Arsenal London).

On the other hand, the growing competitiveness within national leagues and European cups requires investments in new players, higher wages, and better infrastructure. Extensive spending leads more and more clubs to experience financial problems or even bankruptcy. In 2008 top leagues' clubs reported bank debts and commercial loans of 5.5 billion euro. About one third of the clubs noted negative net equity (debts larger than assets) [The European Football Club Landscape 2010: 14, 70]. Real Madrid and FC Barcelona in 2011 had both the highest revenues and one of highest debts – 490 and 329 million euro, respectively [Jones 2013: 7]. For other, less recognizable, clubs, getting falling into such a financial trap usually ends with relegation to lower divisions or even termination. In recent decades we can observe a number of examples of teams that went bankrupt (Italian AC Fiorentina and SSC Napoli) or went into administration (Spanish Sporting Gijón or English Leeds United) [P. Kennedy and D. Kennedy 2013: 329].

FROM FOOTBALL FANS TO CONSUMERS OF FOOTBALL SPECTACLES

Commercialization contributes to the internationalization and dissemination of football. Major clubs and national associations can, similarly to transnational corporations, operate on a global scale. Not only do financial imperatives affect sport competition, but they also supersede the social dimension of sports, which manifests itself in a twofold fashion: changing the forms of participation in football events', and pulling the clubs out of local surroundings.

Deregulation tendencies are aimed at deconstructing the nature of support practices by shifting it away from traditional modes to the new role of football consumers. The relation between the club and its fans is reduced to a seller-buyer transaction. As truly expressed by one of the directors of Manchester United, the objective is to take a fanbase "*and put that into a money-making machine*" [D. Kennedy and P. Kennedy 2013: 118]. Fans' participation in football events is measured by the amount of money spent on services and merchandise rather than fanatic support during matches, which does not increase income and, on the contrary, often causes additional costs. Therefore football authorities eliminate fan initiatives that disturb the spectacle: standing seats, pyrotechnics, or choreographs [Antonowicz et al. 2012: 4–5].

This shift towards market-oriented football also significantly influences the relation between a club and its local milieu. It is worth underlining that football started to gain its mass popularity in the early twentieth century, when the rapid development of industry attracted inhabitents, i.e. crowds, to urban areas. Workers and their families, being uprooted from former habitats, were looking then for new identification. That gap was often filled by local football teams [Connelly and Williams 2000]. Nowadays the dominating financial rules "dismantle" the integration power of football in local communities and create individualistic consumers of sport, who gather once in a while only for the purpose of watching a football spectacle. Typical of the most recent modern times, "inclusive fan communities" are being replaced by "affiliation groups", which are ruled by principles characteristic of late modernity [Antonowicz et al. 2011: 114].

The growing distance between football clubs and their fans is a core issue in Richard Giulianotti's [2002: 33–37] typology of contemporary spectators. He differentiates the "traditional" or "hot fans" and the "cool" or "post-fans". The "traditional spectators" have "*a long-term personal emotional investment in the club*" which is also strengthened by "*a conscious commitment to show thick personal solidarity*". They are culturally *"contracted"* to the club, which manifests itself as *"a live experience, rooted in a grounded identity"*. The relationship between these fans and their favourite club is similar then to relationships between a family or friends. The "hot fans" oppose, however, the distant (often in both spatial and emotional terms) postmodern "cool" or "post-fans". The latter fans' intimacy with the team is not as deep as that of the "traditional" fans, as they are driven by the "hyper commodified" and mediatized forms of consumption. The reference points of the "cool" fans' identity are embedded in the symbols of contemporary celebrity culture [Wagg

et al. 2009: 78]. Similarly to "post-tourists" [Urry 1990: 11] they peregrinate across state borders to "collect" new sport-related experiences. These post-fans are consumers of world-recognized football "brands" and follow them around the globe only so long as their team can win. Their interest in a particular club is often shifted to another team as soon as 'their team' is out of the running and a new favourite starts to achieve success.

It seems, however, that it is too early to announce the capitulation of the "old" football culture. Football, similar to other social phenomena such as education, cannot be abstracted out of its social context and simply transplanted to the rules of the market without creating problems [D. Kennedy and P. Kennedy 2013: 118–119]. This is mainly due to the 'traditional' fans, whose attitudes and values, in fact outdated during the time of postmodernism, inevitably clash with the fandom cosmopolitism of present-day sport consumers. "Traditional" fan culture is rooted in a bygone era, when individual and collective behaviour was much more determined by tribalism, strong social control, and hierarchy than it is today. While "old" fandom participation enforces uniformization and subordination of members rather than individualization and democratic decision making, in return it guarantees equal status and a sense of belonging [Antonowicz et al. 2011: 114–118]. Since the club, with its emblem, colours, and history is an element of *sacrum* in the "traditional" fan's life, it gives a sense of being part of a community of followers. Referring to Thomas Luckmann's concept, these fan groups bring more to mind "*communities of the invisible religion*" rather than ordinary consumers [Antonowicz and Wrzesiński 2009: 129].

Consequently, it can be stated that stadium stands have become one of global arenas of confrontation between the world of "traditional" values, identified here with the "old-type" football and its spectatorship, and the world of commerce [Antonowicz et al. 2011: 138-139; see also: Giulianotti and Robertson 2004: 546]. One of the first supporter groups that vocalized their discontent with too far-reaching changes in this domain were AS Roma *ultra* fans[1]. In their manifesto they called on other supporters across Europe to unite against the common enemy: *"The future has been decided already: it belongs to the moderate fan. There's no room for ultras… [UEFA authorities] don't want any more active supporting, but*

[1] Unlike other fans, the *ultras'* attachment to the team is expressed in extensive stadium activity, focused on vocal support, showing banners, using flares, and delivering elaborated choreographies with the aim of creating a specific atmosphere which helps their own players and intimidates the opposing team and its fans [Sahaj 2012: 39–40]. The *ultras* identify with a particular style of dress, values and, most importantly, place (stands at the stadium), which is recognized as a place of "no limits" by other fans [D. Kennedy 2013: 132–133].

the kind of participation you can find in a theatre or at the cinema. These men don't understand that for us our teams are a faith, that their symbols are tattooed on our arms and that their shirts represent our cities. All the 'curva' of the world should [act] together against this factory football" [AS Roma Ultras 2006; see also: D. Kennedy 2013: 144–145].

The fans' opposition to the unfavourable transformation of contemporary football manifests itself under the slogan *Against Modern Football,* one which popped up in European stadiums for the first time in the mid 2000s. Despite this recent manifestation of opposition, as early as late 1960s fans in England expressed their disillusionment with football commercialisation, including the rising ticket prices, professionalisation of players who had distanced themselves from their working class background, and the increasing importance of the "transfer market" in football [Taylor 1971: 363; Millward 2011: 49–51]. Still, the present fan mobilisations seem to be more intense and diffused. Irrespective of the political opinions and existing animosities between fan groups, they have started a Europe-wide campaign to reverse the "degradation" of football which, they claim, has turned it away from its roots when it was "*an egalitarian means of entertainment*" for ordinary people and an important part of the local working class culture. In particular they oppose, firstly, the macro-scale tendencies of commodification in European football, including: dictates of sponsors and pay-per-view broadcasters, unfair distribution of revenues from TV rights, irrational transfer bids and wage hikes resulting in a lack of players' attachment to a team, as well as major shareholders looking to pass debt onto clubs. Secondly, the "traditional" fans' anger is pointed towards various regulations that restrict access to their clubs, for instance: rapid increase in ticket prices, games played at non-traditional times, limited influence on clubs' management, or rigorous security and surveillance measures taken against fans actively supporting their clubs in stadium stands.

EUROPEAN FANS' STRUGGLE WITH "MODERN FOOTBALL"

Despite the fact that the struggle between the commercial practices and policies of *modern football* and the world of "traditional" fans takes place throughout the whole of Europe, its intensity and forms significantly differ in particular countries. Controversies surround, among others, the issues of strict fan surveillance, expensive tickets, stadium relocations, limited involvement of fans in clubs' management, and clubs' takeovers by foreign owners. Since there is

a large body of research in this domain both in Polish and, particularly, European sociology, only selected conflict areas will be discussed in the following sections of this paper.

English stadiums, for decades famous for their atmosphere and fandom practices (chants, flags, banners and other fans' attributes), which then diffused all over Europe, have been totally transformed. This process began at the time of Margaret Thatcher's government in the 1980s, when safety standards for stadiums were significantly tightened. This was a consequence of a series of tragic events involving English hooligans during matches in Bradford (56 deaths), Brussels' Heysel (39 deaths) and Hillsborough in Sheffield (96 deaths). Although it later turned out that these tragedies were also the result of the police negligence, they legitimized the implementation of legal acts aimed at controlling supporters. As critics have noted, the sinister figure of "hooligan" that dominated the public discourse in the UK at that time became a useful tool for the Iron Lady to restrict civil liberties for all fans. In order to achieve that aim, Thatcher's efforts were particularly focused on "exchanging" fans' structure. A number of innovations were implemented on stadiums, including: removing standing-rooms and fences separating the stands from the pitch, introducing CCTV and fan cards with seats assigned to identify the crowd, as well as high fines, bans for match attendance, or imprisonment for unjustified invasion of the pitch [Kosiorek et al. 2011: 390–392].

The new regulations imposed on football fans in England were adopted across Europe in the following decades. Today they are the key issue driving European supporters' opposition to *modern football*. This particularly concerns the battle of the *ultras* to express themselves and exert influence on match day. As noted by David Kennedy [2013: 141]: "*It is felt also that under the veil of the battle against hooliganism fans are being denied the public space to air grievances on the direction of the club and, indeed, to voice concerns on wider social matters*". One of the disputes is about the freedom to watch matches in a standing position, which enables spectators to better experience spectacle. This is particularly visible in the English *Premier League* where, as noted above, all-seat stands have already been built in the 1990s. Local fans even organized countrywide protests but, despite gaining support from the Liberal Party, the existing rules have been maintained. Furthermore, fans across Europe also organized two large "*Eurostand*" protests, in 1998 and 2008. They were a message to the public to demonstrate the changing nature of football. Nowadays, the only major European league where supporting a team in a standing position is still allowed is the German *Bundesliga*. They also oppose the rules banning the usage of pyrotechnics and other choreographic features during matches, which were implemented by football authorities under

the veil of protecting fans' health and providing them comfort. Fans, however, claim that using flares makes the football matches more attractive [Antonowicz et al. 2011: 133–134]. Another meaningful example is the *Tessera del Tifoso*, the controversial fan identity card for away matches that was to be implemented by the Italian government in order to tackle stadium disorder. The main aim was to monitor and restrict fans with orders banning them for previous stadium-related offences. Interestingly, the *Tessera* could be also used as a payment card for match tickets and club gadgets. The latter feature was then highly opposed by supporters, who believed the card had been created to make profits for banks and clubs rather than prevent stadium violence. Supporters' doubts and claims have been advocated by public rights' defenders, who criticized the ability of commercial groups and the police to access sensitive private information. Therefore, just before the card was to be finally applied in 2010, fans gave up on battles with rival groups to stand against the common enemy: the authorities and their efforts to secure control *ultra* activities. In November 2009, about 8000 *ultras* from all over Italy gathered in Rome to oppose the introduction of the *Tessera* [D. Kennedy 2013: 140–141].

The progressive commercialization of football has further accelerated the "exchange" of audiences, and thus fandom patterns in stadium stands. This has been mainly fostered by the clubs' pricing policies. Rising ticket prices are not only aimed at bringing in higher revenues, but also at eliminating troublemaking fans and those fans-consumers whose income is too low to attract advertisers. As a result football matches in the late twentieth century began to become available only to the few. One of the most evident examples of opposition to this process has been the establishment of the supporter-owned club AFC Liverpool (AFC stands for "Affordable Football Club") in 2008, by the fans of Liverpool FC. As emphasized by the co-founder, Alan Perry: "*Many people have been priced out at Anfield (stadium of Liverpool FC). I do not blame the club, their prices are low compared to other Premier League clubs. They are just too much for a lot of us*" [Conn 2008].

Another issue that raises sharp controvery is the uncontrolled acquisition of clubs by wealthy (and often anonymous) investors. Probably the most spectacular case is Chelsea FC, taken over in 2003 by Russian business tycoon Roman Abramovich. He quickly made that average *Premier League* club into one of the most successful European teams. On the other hand, recent European football history also provides examples of billionaires (with particular interest from Arab sheiks) that treat "their" club as another expensive toy. Clubs are managed instrumentally, as a mean of obtaining speculative profits by passing down debts onto clubs, rather than making investments to achieve new titles.

Therefore supporters actively resist new shareholders by establishing their own football representations. Another initiative was undertaken in 2002 by the fans of London's Wimbledon FC. Following the club's bankruptcy, supporters did not accept the new owners' decision to move the club out of London and change its name to Milton Keynes Dons FC. They set up their own AFC Wimbledon, which started to play matches in the ninth division. They also forced the owners to pass all Wimbledon's trophies on to the new fan-owned club. Another, perhaps the most audible set of protests, were raised in 2005 by Manchester United's fans, who opposed the new owner, American billionaire Malcolm Glazer. Despite winning new titles, the club quickly got into financial difficulties, hence the fans accused the owner of getting it into debt and diverting money from its bank accounts. They also complained about the lack of democratic rules in managing the club, rules which did not take into account fans' opinions. Therefore, being in fear of losing "the soul and character" of their beloved club, they founded their own team – FC United of Manchester, which began to play in the tenth league. Today the new club's matches attract several thousand supporters [D. Kennedy 2013: 142]. An even tougher struggle was experienced by the fans of Austria Salzburg. This Austrian football club was taken over in 2005 by the world's largest producer of energy drinks – Red Bull. The new owner completely broke with the club's decades-long traditions and announced the establishment of a new entity called "Red Bull Salzburg", with the drink's logo and colours in the club's emblem. Since the company's marketing strategy is based on promotion through sport, it invests not only in football (it also owns another four "Red Bull" clubs on four continents), but also in the Formula One (two teams) and in a number of extreme sports events (X-Fighters series). Despite the new entity's successes in the Austrian *Bundesliga*, the fans did not accept it and reactivated the club under the traditional name "Austria" to play matches in the lowest league. Austria's matches are now attended by up to two thousand people. The list of clubs secured by fans from bankrupt or unreliable owners is much longer, including Bulgarian Botev Plovdiv, Czech Bohemians Prague, as well as Polish Lechia Gdańsk, Pogoń Szczecin or Hutnik Nowa Huta (Kraków).

Some other "positive" results have occurred in fans' struggles to influence their club's governance. This is one of the main issues on organized supporters' agenda in Germany. Regulations of the DFL, operator of the German *Bundesliga,* require majority ownership of football clubs by its members (the 50+1 rule) [Merkel 2012: 371]. This rule is aimed at preventing takeovers of clubs by commercial parties or wealthy people. Furthermore, the league authorities also protect clubs' finances by imposing strict restrictions on their debts and footballers'

wages. As a consequence, *Bundesliga* is currently the most competitive of the top football leagues in Europe (there have been five different title winners since the 2003/2004 season, a result unprecedented in other major leagues) with its clubs in good economic condition. However, in recent years large shareholders and sponsors have been increasing the pressure on league members to abolish the ownership rule and to deregulate the existing financial limitations. They argue that this would enhance larger investments in football and, in turn, enable the *Bundesliga* to compete with English and Spanish leagues on equal terms. They also have been lobbying to increase the prices of match day tickets and the role of pay-per-view television on the local broadcasters' market. Interestingly, they also claim that the present regulations fall afoul of EU laws on trade and competition. The German supporters' reaction to the proposed changes was immediate. They started to put pressure on football authorities to preserve the status quo in club governance. A series of stadium protests under the slogan "*50+1 Muss Bleiben*" (50 + 1 Must Remain) have been organized. As a consequence the planned changes have, for now, been tabled [D. Kennedy 2013: 142-143].

POLISH FANS' MOVEMENT AGAINST RESTRICTIONS ON EXPRESSION IN STADIUM STANDS

In the context of the constant crisis of Polish football, both in sporting and financial terms, the allegations of excessive commercialization would seem, at first glance, completely unjustified. Would not fans in Poland dream of their clubs defeating millionaires such as FC Barcelona, Manchester United or, to be more realistic, Shakhtar Donetsk? However, the *Against Modern Football* movement also has its followers in Poland. For even in the Polish *Ekstraklasa,* which suffers from underinvestment, a series of attempts to implement the corporate market model in governance of football clubs can be observed. Clubs also follow the Western path and try to transform the structure of their own supporters. And they meet up with resistance.

The most vivid example is the case of Legia Warsaw. After the takeover of the club by the ITI media conglomerate in 2004, the new owners quickly came into long-lasting conflict with supporter groups over, as they announced, 'notorious offences' caused by hooligan groups (the so-called *pseudofans* or *kibole*) during matches. Indeed, Legia's supporters are perceived as one of the most violent and troublemaking groups in Europe. The club implemented a series of restrictions on fans, including bans for match attendance for participation in prearranged fights

(*ustawki*) with other clubs' fans, chanting offensive and racist songs or lyrics, and conducting pyrotechnic displays, ending ultimately in their withdrawal from the stadium stands in 2012. However, it seems that the efforts of Legia's authorities efforts were not only aimed at fighting hooliganism. As Michał Syska [2010] suggests, the main objective behind them was to fill the new Legia stadium, that was built at that time by the city council, by replacing troublesome spectators with middle-class consumers. In order to secure sufficient revenues, the club significantly increased ticket prices and launched advertising campaigns targeted at people who were not so much keen on football as potentially interesting for advertisers. It turned out in the end that Legia's authorities did not succeed. The fans' solidarity in boycotting home matches forced the owners, threatened with empty seats, to make concessions and re-open the stands in 2012. Today's cooperation between the club and supporters, although still very harsh due to new disorderly conduct on the part of the fans, has helped gather one of the most numerous crowds of spectators in Polish stadiums.

What makes the Polish supporters' scene quite specific, however, is the fact that *modern football* is identified mostly with strict security regulations on "active" supporting rather than with commercialization processes as they are perceived by fans in England or Germany. This does not mean that Polish football fans are not affected by increasing ticket prices (on the contrary, as proved above) or the almighty role of owners and sponsors. In fact there are many recent examples of clubs going bankrupt because of unreliable owners (Pogoń Szczecin, ŁKS Łódź), or of teams being relocated to other cities (Dyskobolia Grodzisk Wielkopolski). However, what unifies all organized fan groups in Poland are the existing limitations on fans' expression during matches. This manifests itself in home-spun slogans "*Piłka nożna dla kibiców!*" (Football for the fans!) and "*Stadion to nie teatr!*" (Stadium is not a theater!) being chanted at every level of football competition. Fans argue that taking into account the poor performance of both the Polish national team and local clubs, the *ultras'* activities on match day (chanting, banners, flags, flares etc.) remain the biggest attraction of football events, enhancing new fans to visit stadiums. What's more, clubs like Lech Poznań or Legia Warsaw often financially support *ultra* groups in their activities aimed at increasing the attractiveness of football spectacles [Sahaj 2012: 46–47].

The main controversies surround the problem of using pyrotechnic displays during matches. In the beginning of the second millennium the usage of flares was banned due to, as explained by the football authorities and police, security reasons. Thus, fans attempted to resist the restrictions and organized the "*Ultraprotest*" during one of the league rounds in 2006, when hundreds of flares were used to

interrupt the matches. This was the manifestation of their opposition towards *modern ultras*, identified with stadiums without the active involvement of spectators. In the years following, visitors at Polish stadiums could witness other attempts to use flares. Despite the advocacy of flares by many football-related groups, including players, journalists and even Zbigniew Boniek, the present Chairman of the Polish Football Association (*PZPN*), both the state and football authorities have not decided to legalize their usage. The Act on Mass Events of 2009 defines a wide range of penalties for the use of flares, on both fans (bans for match attendance) and clubs (closure of particular stands or even whole stadiums).

Another manifestation of supporters' struggle to freely express themselves at stadiums is their opposition to restrictions on presenting "controversial" or "politically incorrect" banner messages. Football authorities, together with the police, attempt to monitor all messages displayed during matches. Their efforts are connected with UEFA's regulations in their fight against racism and extremism in stadium stands. In fact, on a number of occasions the Polish *ultras* have presented banners that either directly, or in a hidden manner, referred to Nazi/fascist, anti-Semitic or racist ideologies (e.g. Lechia Gdańsk's supporters presenting flags with Rudolf Hess and a white person humiliating a black slave, or Resovia Rzeszów's fans showing a banner with a caricature of a Jew). Interestingly, unlike many *ultra* groups in the West (one may mention just the fans of St. Pauli Hamburg, Livorno or Celtic Glasgow), organized supporter groups in Poland are almost entirely dominated by right or far right-wing ideology. They also display comments on current politics in Poland (mostly against the Polish government) and foreign affairs (banners such as "*Kosovo je srbija*"), historical events (Legia Warsaw's fans' displays concerning the 1944 Warsaw Uprising), or even greetings to their imprisoned colleagues. However, the football authorities' struggle to combat forbidden symbols and messages often leads to distortions. For instance, in September 2009 Lechia Gdańsk's supporters presented a black and white banner with the message *"17.09.1939. The fourth partition of Poland"* (referring to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact). Despite the publicly expressed support from representatives of political parties and associations of WWII veterans, the *Ekstraklasa* operator fined the club [Sahaj 2012: 41–44].

Polish fans' anger is also targeted at restrictions on their ability to travel to watch away matches. Due to the frequent excesses of football hooligans, either on their way to opponent teams' stadiums or during the games [Sahaj 2007], the match organizers often decide not to let other teams' supporters (guest fans) in their stadiums. In this context, the supporters argue that despite the number of new venues built and security measures implemented after Euro 2012, there are only

a few clubs in Poland that host guest fans. A leading example in this respect is Widzew Łódź which, due to security restrictions imposed by the police, has not opened its stands to guest fans for more than two years. Going to away matches is, however, considered by the 'genuine supporters' as the most important proof of their loyalty towards their own team. It is worth mentioning that Polish football fans are perceived across Europe as among those most dedicated to their clubs when it comes to attending away matches. The fan leaders of Lech Poznań, Legia Warsaw, Ruch Chorzów or Widzew Łódź are able to gather up to 2000-3000 supporters to follow their teams' games in other cities. A spectacular example of supporters' attachment to their club was the approximately 6000 Wisła Kraków fans who travelled to Rome to see the match with Lazio in the UEFA Cup in 2003.

EURO 2012 AS A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN "REAL" AND "OCCASIONAL" SPECTATORS

The main arena of the latest struggles against *modern football* in Poland became the UEFA Euro 2012. As part of Poland's preparations for the tournament, hooligan offences were defined, both in Poland and abroad, as serious threats to the successful accomplishment of that SME. Thus the organizers were focused on diminishing possible unpalatable excesses on the part of those groups by intensifying security measures, introducing changes in the law, and media campaigns against football-related excesses. As it turned out, with the exception of a few hooligan incidents mostly between Polish and Russian fans, the Euro 2012 ended up peacefully. It must be noted, however, that the organization of the European Football Championships in Poland has affected not only the troublemakers, who were forced to move outside stadiums, but also other organized supporter groups. In opposition to the tournament's organizational and financial imperatives, the "traditional" fans have experienced a significant axiological and identity transformation that finally enabled them to make a clear distinction between themselves and the much more numerous "occasional" fans. In the sections below the "traditional" supporters' reactions to the Euro 2012 are discussed.

As noted by Piotr Majewski [2012: 8–9], despite initial general enthusiasm caused by the UEFA decision on organization of the Euro 2012 in Poland and Ukraine, not all Poles later perceived it as an event that would positively change the country and its inhabitants. Within the ethnographic research that attempted to track the potential consequences of Euro 2012 for Polish culture, Majewski

distinguished three main attitudes of Poles towards this tournament: (1) fully affirmative attitude, shared by those who perceived Euro 2012 as a grand opportunity for Poland's civilizational progress and economic and infrastructural modernization, and positive promotion abroad; (2) as a further step towards "normality", defined as a chance to experience and learn the Western way of life thanks to organization of a globally recognizable event, and thus to diminish the existing civilizational differences between Poland and Western democracies; and (3) negative or very pessimistic attitude.

The "Eurosceptic" attitude applied mostly to the "traditional" fans or the "ethnofans" –who stressed their Polish specificity. As defined by Krzysztof Jaskułowski and Piotr Majewski, the "ethnofans" perceive themselves as genuine football fans and patriots, and the only ones who "seriously" manifest attachment to both football (clubs) and the nation.[2] Their fanatic practices associated with participation in football *sacrum* are seen as the only appropriate form of supporting favorite teams [Jaskułowski and Majewski 2012: 43–45]. Therefore, they intentionally differentiate or 'emancipate' themselves from the masses of 'occasional fans' who embrace SMEs such as Euro 2012. In fact, the actual tournament itself enhanced this self-organization process within Polish football spectatorship. The already existing divisions between hooligans and *ultras* on the one hand and ordinary consumers of football on the other hand have signficantly deepened.

"Ethnofans" intentionally differentiate themselves, and thus underline their own subjectivity, from the *pikniki*, who are believed to be the main consumers of commercialized football or, in Giulianotti's terms, an exemplification of "post-fandom" [2002]. "Real" supporters stereotypically identify them as over-dressed (wearing ridiculously large hats and too many scarves, blowing a plastic trumpet) fans in their 40s-50s who attend football matches, along with others mass sport events depreciated by "traditional" football fans such as volleyball or ski jumping competitions, just for fun (hence the derisive terms *pikniki* or *Janusze,* implying

[2] Piotr Majewski and Krzysztof Jaskułowski also defined the second group as "Eurosceptics", negatively oriented towards Euro 2012. They were the so-called "rebels" (*kontestatorzy*) who protested, under the slogan of "Bread Instead of Games!", against hosting the event based on unjustified economic reasons and, on the other hand, its potentially high social conseqences. The members of this group had in general leftist or anarchist views and included, for instance, feminists who opposed the patriarchal nature of Euro 2012, alterglobalists fighting with multinational corporations, or socialists opposing exclusion of the weak and the poor. This group is not however the subject of this analysis as it did not recruit its members from organized football fan groups (that are being dominated by right or far-right ideologies) [Jaskułowski and Majewski 2012: 43–44, 51].

they attend such events as they would attend a picnic or other leisure event). Since the "authentic" fans control the stadium stands and they are the only authorized representatives of the club's supporter community to external parties (the club, football authorities etc.), the type of supporting activities preferred by *pikniki* are totally rejected or even eliminated [Sahaj 2012: 34].

What's even more important, *pikniki* are accused of being 'occasional fans', fascinated by mass sport events and orientated only towards being entertained during matches, visiting new stadiums and favourable final results of a team, rather than, as the "ethnofans" see themselves, dedicated to the national team/club "*for better or worse*" and able to sacrifice for it (e.g. to go to an away match in another city or part of Europe). Furthermore, "ethnofans" claim that contemporary national team fandom (either Polish or any other European team) is wholly dominated by the "post-fans". Therefore, they are afraid that the vision of team support promoted by the football authorities and mainstream media threatens their "traditional" fan practices, as well as attitudes and values that are based on local loyalties. Hence, they conceived Euro 2012 – and other football SMEs dominated by occasional fans - as an attempt to marginalize and push the "real" supporters beyond the pale of public discourse [Jaskułowski and Majewski 2012: 43–46].

What needs to be particularly underlined is the specific collective identity narration presented by the opponents of Euro 2012. They perceive the *pikniki's* relation to the Polish nation as ungrounded, or even false, as their Polishness is limited only to "flagging" during the matches. The post-fans' support for Polish national team is thus understood as another manifestation of, utilizing Michael's Billig concept, "banal nationalism" [1995: 6–8]. The carnival-like and ludic form of exposing national symbols and gadgets *by pikniki* is seen as an insult to other members of the nation. Consequently, the "ethnofans" believe that Euro 2012 was in fact an "anti-Polish" tournament, where sacred national symbols and values were profaned by consumerism and pseudo-patriotism. Furthermore, their opposition towards the 'national team' matches is also fostered by the multinational character of such teams, which they claim has not much in common with "real" representation of the Polish nation. Since 5 out of the 23 members of the national team on Euro 2012 could barely speak Polish (they were born outside Poland) the "ethnofans" could not identify with them. As a result, they avoid national team' matches and stick to their local teams, which they perceive as uncontaminated by commerce and Western trends [Jaskułowski and Majewski 2012: 46–47].

The above discursive practices concerning the "better" and "worse" or even "real" and "false" Polishness of footballers and their spectators are determined

by primordialism, one of the arguments in any discussion on nation building. It implies that national identity is a function of initial, inherent and inalienable biological features (such as blood, kinship) and/or socio-cultural features (culture, language, religion, customs etc.) [Szwed 2005: 316]. This approach, however, has been rejected by major theorists of nationalism, who claim it is excessively underpinned on socio-biological assumptions and does not comply with external determinants of identity such as social interactions or institutional context (as in the presently acknowledged concept of the liquid and socially negotiated identity) [Brubacker 1998: 20–21].

Furthermore, it seems that the conservative attitude of "ethnofans" can be interpreted as a specific attack not only on *modern football* itself, but also on westernization of the Polish culture, which is perceived as a serious threat. They criticize the popcultural and globalizing changes in today's Poland (and on a global scale as well), which are dominated by business-oriented, ephemeral, and cosmopolitan "anti-values" [Jaskułowski and Majewski 2012: 46–47; Sahaj 2012: 31–32]. In this context the "ethnofans" present themselves as the last defenders of Polishness - the national culture as well as the lofty values that are passing away in, as they claim, today's depraved world.

CONCLUSIONS

During the last three decades European football has faced progressive commercialization, a process which is being propelled by the increasing interest of media, advertisers, and transnational sponsors. The observed changes in football have a multidimensional impact on sporting rivalry, the nature of support practices, as well as the position of clubs in their local surroundings. It appears that despite the enormous inflow of money into football, not all clubs (leagues) benefit from it. The unequal distribution of money from TV rights and advertising leads to the preservation of disparities between the few rich clubs (or leagues) and the much more numerous groups of poorer teams. When it comes to the condition of football spectatorship, the process of deconstructing the "traditional" modes of team support to the new role of consumer-like fans is visible. On the other hand, clubs are growing more distant from their traditional backgrounds. They are not any more purely providers of joy and a source of positive affiliation for the locals, but also profit-oriented brands.

These football-related phenomena are being increasingly opposed by spectators across the whole of Europe. Under the slogan Against Modern Football

they are making an attempt to bring football back to its egalitarian roots. The form and intensity of fans' engagement in this respect differs in particular countries. The above research findings reveal that the areas of conflict in Western Europe, which was the first to face the consequences of football commodification, are very broad. Organized supporter groups oppose the uncontrolled power of club owners and sponsors, lack of democratic procedures in clubs' management, increasing ticket prices and rigorous surveillance measures taken against fans attending matches. In general terms their struggle can be interpreted as an example of the global conflict between the two value systems: the "old", based on local/national loyalties and personal linkages; and the "new" system predominated by cosmopolitanism and market imperatives.

What makes Polish organized fan groups quite specific in this context is the fact that in the beginning they identified *modern football* mostly with restrictions on their means of expression in stadium stands, restrictions that had been imposed under the veil of preventing disorderly conduct (e.g. the ban on presenting "politically incorrect" banners, using flares, displaying choreographies etc.). However, as a consequence of Poland's hosting the UEFA Euro 2012 tournament, the security and surveillance measures were significantly tightened to prevent possible excesses by Polish hardcore fans. This was perceived as another attempt to marginalize them and replace their "authentic" fan practices with *modern football* consumer behaviors. In contrast to these 'occasional fans' (*pikniki*), who despite their "banal nationalism" dominated in the Euro 2012 stadiums, traditional fans "ethnofans" see themselves as genuine patriots, who can express their sense of belonging to the Polish nation in a true manner. Unexpectedly then, the tournament has become a battlefield of the two opposite visions of Polishness – the "real" and "false" (also reflecting the similar ideological division that is a core issue within the Polish political discourse).

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Marcin Gońda

RUCH KIBICOWSKI 'AGAINST MODERN FOOTBALL' A WIELKIE IMPREZY SPORTOWE: KONTEKSTY EUROPEJSKIE I POLSKIE

Streszczenie

W artykule omawiany jest ruch sprzeciwu kibiców piłki nożnej wobec "nowoczesnego futbolu" (*modern football*), który utożsamiany jest z postępującą w ostatnich dekadach komercjalizacją tej dyscypliny sportu. W tym celu, po pierwsze, dyskutowane są przyczyny i konsekwencje tego procesu dla praktyk kibicowskich, społeczności lokalnych, z których wywodzą się kluby piłkarskie, oraz samej rywalizacji sportowej. Po drugie zaś, przedstawiane są postulaty zorganizowanych grup kibiców w Europie i Polsce na rzecz "przywrócenia piłki nożnej zwykłym ludziom". Zjawiska te omawiane są w kontekście turnieju Euro 2012 – pierwszej Wielkiej Imprezy Sportowej organizowanej w Polsce i na Ukrainie.

Słowa kluczowe: piłka nożna, kibicowanie, komercjalizacja, Wielka Impreza Sportowa, Euro 2012

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What Twente does with the community is crazy
Fan of FC Twente

PROUD TO BE TUKKER. A FOOTBALL CLUB AND THE BUILDING OF LOCAL IDENTITY: THE CASE OF FC TWENTE ENSCHEDE

Abstract

The paper analyzes the role of football clubs in the process of local identity formation in the age of globalization. The empirical base is drawn from the data collected during the fieldwork research conducted among the fans of the Dutch football club Twente Enschede. Twente is deeply rooted in the tradition of the city and the region, and at the same time involved in European international competition and global football transfer market, being exposed to pressures stemming from growing commercialization and multiculturalism in the world of football. The consequences of these processes for the local fans and local community are discussed in the article.

Key words: football, local identity, globalization, football fans, Twente Enschede.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of identity is one of the most popular, yet problematic in the social sciences. Its popularity is not connected so much with sociological 'fashion' as with the fact that identity has become a problem for members of society in the age of 'liquid modernity' [Bauman 2004]. At the individual level, the volatility of available life options and lifestyles one can chose from seems to be the most urgent

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task to resolve. Individuals have multiple existential trajectories at their disposal. The burden of responsibility for a satisfying (though never fully completed) effort in this matter lies entirely with the individual. Likewise, local communities and regions find themselves in need of constant redefinition of their collective identities. As noticed by Anna Gąsior-Niemiec [2004], local identities associated with particular regions are confronted with pressures to create a commonly shared vision of social order, or encounter the need to redefine themselves as a result of changes such as, for example, reforms of the local government. New institutional discourses impose a new habitus for local communities, making them reconstruct their 'differences' anew. The period of adaptation to the new circumstances resulting from systemic or social changes may vary, and confrontation with the new rules that generate individual strategies of coping in different situations may frequently lead to the emergence of 'torn' and 'split' habitus [Bourdieu 2001]. In addition to changes imposed institutionally, it is necessary to take into account the context of global flows, with their interpenetrating values and identities. Therefore, Joanna Kurczewska postulates the need for conceptualization of a 'new localism', a phenomenon whose foundations are grounded in ideologies built on contrasts. Theoretical approaches to this issue would involve such perspectives as methodological and ontological (social and cultural) pluralism [2004: 124].

The present article considers the potential role of a football club in local identity. In times of global flows, commercialization of many aspects of life, and such social phenomena as secularization and multiculturalism, it is not necessarily religion, language, tradition or habits only that bind people living in the same geographical area together. What's more, especially for smaller towns and regions (not as cosmopolitan as London or New York), a football club – rooted in a particular place but at the same time functioning in processes connected with the global distribution of the sport phenomenon – can be regarded both as an 'identification operator' and 'identity operator', the two key figures of 'little homeland' [Sulima 2001: 134]. The former is a symbolic image of space revealed (both physically and socially) in the local environment, while the latter is a sign communicated beyond the local context. With its symbolic dimension (a logo, colours associated with the regional folklore), a football club can operate as a source of identification, for example if club emblems are used to mark windows or other parts of a house (or a pennant is attached to a car windscreen). Beyond the local context, the 'identity operator' is expressed by wearing club shirts outside the region or travelling with the team to away games (where a group of fans becomes an extension of local identity).

The present study investigates the case of the FC Twente Enschede football club, which competes in the Dutch premier league (called "Eredivisie"). The empirical data is based on study visits to Enschede, trips to away matches with Twente fans, and in-depth interviews with supporters and employees of the club.[1] FC Twente Enschede is a local club, but at the same time it functions in the sphere of global football, as it takes part in international competitions and buys players from other countries (not only European). It is embedded in the regional context (locally-based management with no dominant private shareholders), has a long tradition that has always been associated with the city, its coat of arms has a reference to the region (a white horse in a red field, the horse being a symbol of the farming traditions of the Twente region, a part of the province of Overijssel), and it runs social programmes for the local community. At the same time, as a professional club performing in the top division of one of the leading European leagues, it complies with the international, global imperatives. FC Twente is not a global brand with a status comparable to that of Real Madrid or Manchester United, but the club authorities are committed to achieving success outside the Netherlands.

The club owns a special place, the stadium, which operates in the local area not only in a physical but also a symbolic sense. Researchers of more traditional provenance would argue that family home or local church are crucial elements for the process of creating individual identity and the local community. However, as Marek S. Szczepański points out: "there is a whole set of spaces affecting the process of continuing or, on the contrary, discontinuing local and regional identity. Almost the entire space surrounding a human being is responsive, thus one can adapt, absorb and ultimately shape it and regard as contiguous. In this particular process of transformation of space, people are inclined to attach functions, meanings and significance to their creations" [1999: 10–11]. Therefore, there are no restrictions on 'adopting' a football club and identifying with it as an important point of reference in the local environment. The club is a part of local identity not only by virtue of being embedded in 'the local', but also by providing interaction rituals forming interpersonal relationships. The calendar of a football championship provides a platform for a regular weekly cycle of rituals, and the level of openness of the club management (stadium operator) makes it possible

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to use the sports venue for other social activities bringing people closer together, such as charity actions.

The stadium and the club can become a part of a "regional mental map" [Lynch 1960], which remains subconscious in everyday life but is revealed in extraordinary situations. FC Twente has clearly emerged as a part of such a regional mental map on occasions involving important away matches. In 2011, hundreds of local residents gathered on road bridges for miles along the road from Enschede, waving flags and banners wishing "good luck" and displaying slogans associated with their club. They supported the team and all its fans who were on their way to Rotterdam, where Twente was to play the final game of the Dutch Cup. Such an attitude and behaviour could be interpreted as a message: "We are united", "Twente connects us", "We are Twente". Although they could not go to see the match themselves, they showed what role the club and its colours play in their lives. It was their fan identity which brought them to those places and made them express their commitment. Thus, if not owned by a foreign investor (which is increasingly the case, for example in England), a club can be just as important to the local tradition as the town hall, a local hero, the town historical museum, and so on. At the same time, however, the forces associated with global influences (the impact of the economic market, global corporate brands and the media) pose challenges for the club's 'locality'.

As observed by Arjun Appadurai, "any form of local social life requires agency, purpose, vision, design" [2002: 33]. The club as a form of local life is undoubtedly characterized by such features. It possesses organization and the means to provide a specific service, purpose (Championship), vision ('We are the local Club') and design (colours and symbols with particular meanings).

DIMENSIONS OF LOCAL IDENTITY

Before presenting the empirical study itself, it is necessary to consider theoretical issues related to the topic of local identity. In the historical perspective, it is hardly surprising that sociologists conceptualized a number of various theories contributing to local identity, without reaching one conclusive outcome. The 'local community', the foundation of the concept of 'local identity' (as it is difficult to talk about identity without reference to social groups), is an ambiguous notion as well. Stanisław Nurek observes that "[t]he collected publications investigating the matter of the local community are – in general – perhaps the most extensive part of sociological literature" [1986: 23]. So what is a researcher supposed to

do? One available solution is to formulate an arbitrary conceptualization which could become a valuable and reliable analytical tool. The conceptualization of 'local identity' is thus a task oriented towards 'meshing' together the theoretical interpretation with the empirical data. In other words, it seems that definitions which we are not capable of being used in order to analyse the facts of the empirical world are only an abstract trinket in the minds of intellectuals.

The most frequently encountered definitions of 'local identity' stem from the theoretical findings evaluating the issue of social and cultural identity. As summed up by Marek S. Szczepański: "It can therefore be assumed that social identity is formed on the basis of individual identities, but is not reducible to them. Cultural identity is a specific form of social identity, supported by the cultural core, and the regional identity is a form of social identity, created on the basis of references to a certain territory (region), its key features and imponderabilia" [1999: 8]. On the other hand, Antonina Kłoskowska [1992] notes that social community does not really have anything corresponding to individual self-consciousness, which in the case of individuals is responsible for building a self-image or self-awareness. In a community, this function is performed by intellectuals, by various groups and traditions that establish patterns of social conduct and moral values, thus determining the self-image of a community. It is worth underlining that local identity is correlated with the social context, as both tradition and cultural patterns are created (in the course of history) by people who constitute a particular community.

Therefore, sociologists do not deal with tradition or emblematic symbols (as in the approach of Emile Durkheim, 1990) that would not come about as a result of efforts of interdependent individuals in a social group. Emblematic symbols are "actual objects or classes of objects that serve to represent particular groups: they are not the free-floating 'integrative' cultural symbols that unify members of an ill-defined society" [Ruel 2002: 110]. In this way, the dialectical nature of local identity is unveiled: on one hand it is revealed in the subjective sense of individual identification with the content of this identity, on the other it includes an objective structure of the community with all its components [Gniazdowski 2004: 17–18]. Two components – firstly, the identification of individuals with a particular community, region, locality; secondly, a set of cultural resources of the region (both spiritual and material) – seem to be the main axis on which local identity is based. Correspondingly, Roman Szul writes about the emotional identification "with a particular territory, its landscape, people, material and spiritual components of culture and its symbols" [1990: 62]. Janusz Sługocki extends the problem of identification to the collective context. He takes the view that in the case of individuals the identification relates to the local community, and in the

case of social groups it is associated with a sense of separateness in relation to others, as well as with consistency, uniqueness and continuity of the group [1990].

Maintaining the continuity of collective identity requires a continuous process of social legitimation, and therefore the socialization of new members is crucial. People properly incorporated into a social and cultural structure of a local symbolic universe will contribute to the preservation of continuity in key dimensions of local group social identity. Indeed, the *longue durée* of all traditions derives from socially introduced legitimation. In the case of a local football club, social legitimation relies on work with the 'new blood', such as inviting children to family sectors, familiarizing them with the history of the club and colours, for example through art competitions and outdoor actions. On a superficial level, this takes the form of a game, but in a deeper sense it can be interpreted as supporting the continuity of identity, initiating new generations in order to preserve the tradition and vitality of the dimensions of local culture. Clubs participating in international competition, operating on the global football market have access to the so called "overseas fans" [Millward 2011], but even the most 'cosmopolitan' clubs in the world rely mainly on local fan culture (as is the case of FC Barcelona, where *socios* pay regular contributions and are partial owners of the club). Unsurprisingly, most clubs (even those that have foreign owners, like Manchester City) are concerned about the local area and manifest their social responsibility, inviting their fans for public consultation concerning e.g. the location of a new stadium [Kennedy P, Kennedy D. 2010]. At the time of the construction of the new Twente stadium, even the most ardent, 'hardcore' supporters (from "Vak-P" group) were included in the consultation framework. Participation in this debate contributed to increasing mutual respect and the level of identification of fans with the place, as they gained a sense of being part of the club.

To assume that every inhabitant of a city identifies with the local club would be a gross exaggeration, as some people do not even know about its existence. This does not mean, however, that the club does not contribute towards maintaining the continuity of local identity. Obviously, FC Twente is only one of many elements of local culture. In the case of a club which functions as a kind of a local emblem (if the club achieves success away from the home region or abroad, for the most part it becomes a better advertisement for the region than, for instance a local delicacy), the level of assimilation is strongly associated with the community. Therefore, what emerges as a crucial variable is the social bonds with all their aspects, such as "an approving sense of belonging to a group, a tendency to preserve the most important group conformities, a devotion to common values, an awareness of common interests, but also a willingness to put the interests of the

group above personal interests if a conflict occurs, or at least a belief that the interests of the group should be preferred over personal ones" [Ossowski 1962: 52].

Supporters identifying with a club, wearing club emblems on their shirts, caps, and scarves (and in extreme cases, tattoos of the club logo), devote themselves to common imperatives (supporting the team), and put the interests of the club above personal interests (they support the club despite inconveniences, such as bad weather, a wearisome journey, or a bad score). For the most fanatical fans, this identification with the club can go as far as physical confrontation in defence of the good name of the club (or of the club paraphernalia, like scarves, flags and banners).

The history, colours, specific vocabulary, notable personalities, or the locations of memorable events constitute a set of values of the local culture in its material and spiritual dimension. Attributes of this kind help individuals to assimilate with the local identity in different contexts. Thus, what is involved here is "application of particular collective values and symbols to form intentional groups and to adopt organized and conscious collective behaviour" [Starosta 1999: 46]. Such collective behaviour means not only assembling in a group on the terraces during a match, but also interaction rituals occurring in public places and dedicated to the celebration of the club (eg. at the end of the season). Those who cannot go to see the game outside Enschede gather in the city centre, where they can watch it on a big screen as a group of several thousand spectators. In this sense, the club becomes the focus of attention, eliciting a high level of emotional energy [Collins 2004]. The unusual experience cements bonds between members of the community, and bonds with the material-symbolic space that the club appears to be. The collective emotions emphasize the difference between "Us" and "Them", thus consolidating the community by means of symbolic oppositions and symbolic hostility.

The concept of local identity consisting of – firstly – the realm of individual identification and collective continuity and uniqueness, and – secondly – a set of values, material objects, cultural symbols and spaces, will serve as the analytical tool in the analysis of empirical data relating to FC Twente Enschede and its regional supporters. In the present study, the football club will be considered as a symbolic (local) universe and its importance for the formation of local identity will be analysed within the framework of the six dimensions advanced by Marek S. Szczepański [1999: 13], which are as follows: firstly – identification of individuals with the region (here: with the club) and its society and culture (the individual and psychological dimension); secondly – the distinction between "Us" and "Them" functioning in the collective consciousness and a sense of

distinctiveness and uniqueness (the sociological dimension); thirdly – the awareness of cultural heritage, understanding and interpretation of meanings, symbols, material culture and its correlates (the ethnographic dimension); fourthly – the attachment to places and spaces (the geographical dimension); fifthly – the relationship with the history of the region (the club), local heroes and institutions (the historical dimension); sixthly – the community in the economic perspective (the economic dimension).

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CLUB

At the most elementary level, human beings adopt cultural models and moral norms relating to a particular spectrum. The case under discussion concerns the identification with the club (a particular spectrum, symbolic universe) and the perception of it as an important part of supporters' and community life. As indicated by one of the employees, it is a crucial issue for the board of FC Twente[2]:

One of our most important goals is to be strongly rooted in the local community, to be an integral part of it. The biggest mistake you can make is forget where you came from. We came from the local community so we have to help them and get involved with them, understand them and so on. It is one of our three core values, it is being involved with Twente. It is part of our DNA, it has nothing to do with business, just social responsibility. [E1]

When it comes to the level of identification among the fans, sometimes the matter is expressed in vivid metaphors, even of existential provenance:

This is the most important value. Really, even my girlfriend is not like that. It is a way of life. [F3]

Generally speaking, supporters recognize an important role of the club in the formation of identity in both senses – individual:

It means a lot for me. I can say that I am proud of it. I am proud that I am Tukker. I am a proud member of the region and I am part of the club, of which I am also proud. [F2]

and – collective:

Club represents region, it's good image of the region. [F7]

I like football, I like Twente as part of the region. This is not the richest economic region in the Netherlands, but Twente is like engine. Represents our region in the Netherlands, but also in Europe. [F6]

[2] The statements of respondents are labeled as follows: the narrations of fans are marked with the letter "F" and numbers denoting the particular respondent (F1, F2, F3, etc.). Analogically, in the case of the employees of the club (E1,...).

People often demonstrate belonging to FC Twente. Stadium is more colourful, but also outside, people have a lot of symbols of Twente. The fans are not just a big mass, but all dressed in red, they are loud, much more confident and proud of where they come from and who they support. [F1]

The word "Tukker" has a meaning similar to "Kashubian" (a label for inhabitants of the Kashubia region in Poland) or "Catalan" in the case of Catalonia, and labels the part of identity shaped in the local environment. The respondents associate FC Twente with the place, the local community. The club becomes a badge of pride for the residents and a platform of meanings that people of the region can identify with. Without a doubt it generates certain kinds of social bonds. The meaningful universe contains the dimension of consciousness, which is coupled with the structural dimension. The latter is responsible for the internal organization of the life of the group. The identification with the club (consciousness) translates into the making of a community with a structural order based on a system of values and enhanced by personal commitment. A group formed in such a way enables the continuity of the symbolic universe, and – above all – epitomizes the importance of the opposition "We – They".

COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS AND A SENSE OF UNIQUENESS

Establishing the boundaries between 'our' world, and the world of the 'other' contributes to maintaining collective identity. A football club is an ideal platform for creating the oppositions, and – not infrequently – antagonisms. Competition between football clubs from different cities, or even from different districts within the same agglomeration, has never been limited only to acts of sportsmanship. Rivalry has set the tone for aspirations to establish boundaries, and thus – to create a collective identity. At the same time, the club (and its stadium) operates in a defined location and is not subjected to "deterritorialization" (understood as "the growing presence of social forms of contact and involvement which go beyond the limits of a specific territory" – Hernández Marti 2006: 93) as easily as other values. Under the circumstances of global modernity, football clubs have a chance to become a stronghold defending the locality and the sense of "We" in many local communities. In the case of the Dutch club this seems to be a likely scenario:

For region like Twente, to be part of winning the final, or to attend the cup final, means that we can, as region, as the community here, we also can achieve something. In Holland, the people are centred mostly in the West, close to the sea. The big cities like Amsterdam, Rotterdam. PSV Eindhoven is not on this coast but is also a big club in a big city. So all the prizes in the history went to either Ajax, Feyenoord or PSV. They look at the rest of Holland like we are less than they.

So when Twente played the cup final it was good reason for people to go out to celebrate not only that we won the match, also not only we were in the cup final. It is feeling that we can do something, we showed to the rest of Holland that we are something. [E2]

Winning the Cup is a proof that, finally, "We" are better than "Them"; but above all, football glory stimulates a deeper local identification. The region is reviving thanks to the club, which is a fact the locals are proud of:

People feel that now they can proudly raise their heads, because in this region we had the inferiority complex. I specially like that, thanks to Twente, we overcome that complex. Twente is still pragmatic, even modest club with the values of the region. We are not Ajax with raised nose and telling how it was great, how many championships, how many great players. [F5]

It's different with Twente. It's not like Ajax and Feyenoord, where you buy tickets and demand winning. In Twente we walk on the earth, it's more pragmatic, more realistic. [F4]

We are not a club like Ajax, almost must win. [F1]

As revealed by the statements of the respondents, although pride in a victory creates oppositions in the most evident manner ("We" – the winners against "Them" – the losers), it is not the only factor to be observed. A sense of distinctiveness also results from a conviction that local identity can benefit, develop and maintain its continuity even without winning. This probably stems from the fact that for decades FC Twente has not been regarded as one of the top Dutch clubs, so supporters have learned not to treat it in the category of "destined to win".

The local people living in Twente help each other more than in the West. I think it's a lot of respect to each other. For example, last season we got second, we came back from Amsterdam and whole Enschede was full of people. Everybody was cheering we came number two. They were proud we got the second place. It was a big party. In Amsterdam they became a champion and there was big riot, fighting and here was a big party because we were number two. This is typical of this area. They are proud of FC Twente, what it's accomplished, they are FC Twente. [E1]

Owners with a cash-oriented business attitude would exploit a high level of attachment generated by fans to increase their income (e.g. matchday revenue). Such a strategy would be based on a producer-consumer relationship, an approach Twente authorities attempt to avoid. Emphasising their interdependence, they consolidate their mutual relations, which stimulates a sense of distinctiveness and uniqueness.

We have three values. It's football, it's our stadium and it's solidarity. Specially, with the solidarity we do a lot. You can see on the site, we have an association to do everything for the local communities, so for Twente. It is created by us together with the community, the city council, with social workers. We have help programme for youth, we get children back to school. On the stadium, on one side

we have a big box and all the social parties are sitting there and doing all the social things together. And what we do, we facilitate, we organize, they just can use the platform of FC Twente. We just help to organize, for example with our business partners. [E1]

Interestingly, the idea of solidarity is present not only on the official and institutional level (as commented on above by an employee of the club), but also functions very well among the fans, where it can be observed on the level of ordinary everyday experiences:

I give you example. I bought a new home and all guys from FC Twente came to my house. My credit was weak and they all worked and I paid them nothing, only for materials. We are just close to each other, it's like a close community, but I think it is in every club. [F4]

You know, it's important away game like NAC Breda, and you bought a new house and say "Sorry guys I cannot go to the game because I am out of money". So everyone gives five more euros and you can come with us. Of course, in other times when I will have no money, they will pay. Yeah, we are not all the daily friends and I don't see them every day, but it's love for Twente. [F1]

One of the Twente supporters seems to confirm the assumption of Emile Durkheim that emotional effusion stimulated by collective rituals produces a new quality that cannot be reduced to the sum of individual experiences:

It is feeling of belonging to the group. The group is bigger than few people, even bigger than people who are in it. You rise above yourself, you rise above the normal level of ecstaticness. (...) It is feeling that you belong, you can do anything, you are very strong. [F7]

As it turns out, collective cohesion can be maintained in spite of class differences among Twente fans:

There are guys like the football hooligans, the guys..., we have guys of construction workers, the guys who doing nothing and getting money. We have guys like managers, CEO's. It's not different. It's just way of life. We all got virus when we were very, very young. And what happened after that. It's all changed but one thing has never changed – it's love of the club. It doesn't matter you are construction worker or high profile manager, the feeling is the same. [F2]

THE COMMUNITY OF MEANING AND SYMBOLS

Another dimension forming a part of local identity is the sphere of cultural heritage, symbols and meanings. In this context, the club provides an outstandingly meaningful space, manifested particularly by logos, colours, and a coat of arms. The 'religious' character of football symbols has been considered in the sociological literature [Antonowicz, Wrzesiński 2009]. In the case under discussion, however, the logo and the colours are also a regional hallmark emblematic for the community. The symbol of the club marks the space regarded as "com-

munity's public face" [Cohen 1985: 74]. The symbol saturates uniqueness with meaning. Perhaps it is also symbolic foundations that most vividly contribute to the renaissance of the community as a reaction to global trends.

When I see it I am proud it represents the region where I live. [F6]

I think the logo is very specific logo, different from others. The horse is very typical for region. The horse is a symbol of East Holland here. It is symbol of region, of the farmers. [E2]

Yeah, they are symbols of the region. I am not special exciting to see people in colours, lots of red, but I'm proud because colours represent my region. I am proud watching the game. I like the symbol of the horse, the symbol of the region. [F7]

Symbolic systems play an important role in the integration and constitution of social subjectivity. As Pierre Bourdieu concludes, "if we admit that symbolic systems are social constructs shaping the world, that they are not satisfied with mapping social relationships, but are involved in their formation, one is compelled to agree that it is possible, to some extent, to change the world by changing the concept of it" [2001: 18].

As revealed by the statement below from a fan, symbols can have an actual impact on the physiological and cognitive aspect of a human being. The culture associated with the club cultivates habitus, whose strength is not confined to the local context, but exceeds it. On the other hand, familiar symbols can serve as a reminiscence of local identity far away from the native region. Once again, the club appears as both an "identification operator" and "identity operator":

The Horse 'says' that we're Twente. The colour is red. We are proud we are red. Yeah, it's associated with the club. Let me tell you example. I went with my girlfriend to holiday in Croatia. I met one guy walking with FC Twente t-shirt. It was feeling..., like an orgasm. It was pride that we are parts of the same club, especially when it is far away. [F1]

The above quotation also indicates other contexts. A reaction to the local symbol has a tendency to reduce the complexity of the social universe to a well-known, familiar space – both in the mind and on the map. Moreover, this is characteristic of the fans who left their local homeland, as well as the local team. "Diasporic supporters are typically migrants who maintain allegiances to their 'home' clubs or national sides [Giulianotti, Robertson 2009: 143]. Also, Anthony P. Cohen observes that "when the structural bases of the boundary are dismantled or become anachronistic (...) they are replaced by cultural bases expressed symbolically" [1985: 81]. The colours of the club can be considered as just such "cultural bases".

SPACES OF IDENTITY

Space and places important for the local tradition are crucial in the theoretical explorations of locality and regionalism. For a football club, the most glorified place is the stadium, a structure constructed to perform more than just a utilitarian function. As Niels Kayser Nielsen argues: "The stadium is also the place where the city and its inhabitants inherit themselves. Here, the city's sense of history is expressed, not only through museum-like antiquity and the aura of the stadium buildings, but also through the lived history prolonged by the sustained traditions and myths which are an integral part of stadium culture" [quoted in Cronin 1998: 92-93]. John Bale, a sports geographer, uses the term "topophilia" (from Greek *topos* – 'place' and *-philia* – 'love of') to identify the feelings and values associated with football stadiums: "[T]he love of the stadium is not rooted in a conscious awareness of any merits of design but possesses instead an authentic sense of place which is, above all, that of being inside and belonging to your place, both as an individual and as a member of a community, and to know this without reflecting on it" [1993: 69]. Supporters perceive the stadiums of their clubs as "sacred spaces" – they have psychological advantages as a 'home' and profound local pride is tied up with them [Giulianotti 2005: 122]. The emotional context associated with local spaces is expounded by Arjun Appadurai, stating that in contemporary times we should define 'locality' not as a spatial structure but as a structure of feeling [1996]. In the case of a club, the two structures can converge.

In Enschede, there was a problem of high emotional attachment to the old stadium, and difficulties accepting the new one. Arke Stadium (named after a corporation sponsoring FC Twente) was commissioned in May 1998, and replaced the old Deikman Stadium (used from 1965). Following conclusion of the contract with a major brewing company, the name "Arke" was later changed to "De Grolsch Veste", which supporters tried to boycott. In 2009, they organized a performance: the company logo on the stadium wall was covered with a banner with "Epi Drost" (the name of a legendary Twente player) written on it.

The new arena with the sponsor's logo on it is typical of the new era in global football. FC Twente earns money renting 'sky boxes' (executive boxes). The number of seats is successively increased, boosting the matchday revenue. The imperative of commercial use of the 'local home' obviously causes tensions between the club authorities and 'hardcore fans'. The latter demonstrate an ambivalent attitude towards the 'new home' of FC Twente:

Of course, for us it looks not such good, but on the other hand, it is a deal for 6 million euro and that's why FC Twente bought players like Bryan Ruiz. [F3]

We don't like it very much, but accept it in some way. [F5].

The authorities are not unwilling to listen to the voices of different groups of supporters. Therefore, at the time of construction of the new arena even the most fanatical supporters (from "Vak-P" group, whose name derives from entrance "P" at De Grolsche Veste) were involved in the consultation process. Consequently, supporters have their own terrace with a large "Vak-P" sign made of chairs in different colours. The reconciliation of interests between the traditional fans and the board appears to be a challenge:

Yes, I understand them, but they have to understand our arguments. We finance the stadium by ourselves so you have to have money. So, Grolsch pays a lot of money for naming rights. We understand that if we lose it we don't collect money. [E1].

The fact that the sponsor is associated with the region helped some fans to come to terms with the commercial nature of the name of the stadium:

I accept the stadium has the sponsor's logo. I also accept Grolsch, because it is a local company here, have roots here, a local brewery. [T7]

In some cases (Bayern Munich, English Premier League), a new arena means an expulsion of the traditional, 'fanatical' fans, who are replaced by new ones, referred to as consumers [Giulianotti 2002; Antonowicz, Kossakowski, Szlendak 2011].

The modern football, I think, goes hand in hand with the more diversified crowd. I don't necessary think it's a bad thing. I mean it's good that children, old people, women going to matches. I think the most important about modern football is keep the ticket price on the regular level. When you make the price too high it is sending the message, the signal to maybe low-class people. For me it's good that there is a diversified crowd as long as there is a big group of ultras and fanatical supporters. [F5]

The stadium is a place associated with a whole spectrum of emotions – the bitter taste of defeat and the thrill and pride of victory. Fans return to their 'home' regularly, like to a church, to participate in periodic interaction rituals in the local community. The mobility of labour, family home, interpenetration of cultures and values can be balanced by attempts to become rooted in a more stable environment. A local football club with a 'sacred' home – stadium – can function as a source of rootedness. Fans stand in long queues to get their tickets to enter their 'home' and have a chance to visit their familiar place and meet other friends of the club. People experience 'football fever' with each other. They leave the place and return there together. Hardcore supporters do not pay attention to seat numbers,

but even they are attached to their terrace (in many cases, the stands behind the goal). For most people, the stadium constitutes a parallel 'home':

Yeah, it is very important. It's a house where we are living. We saw reaction when the roof collapsed... It was like the whole of Twente lost their roof[3]. It was... When you see what happened there, all reactions and how everybody came together. Yes, this is the house we all living. It's very important, very important. [E1]

HISTORY, TRADITION AND LOCAL HEROES

A club and a stadium are an environment where history acquires a meaning, which is shaped and reinterpreted in the process of permanent recapitulation. The old times are gone, a new modern content needs to be included in the new habitus of the fans. Everyone is confronted with the need to reconcile the traditional and modern structures, which contributes to "a particular form of reflexivity of tradition, namely to empowering tradition through making it a 'tool' which would attach meaning to 'what has happened'" [Jacyno 2004: 134]. A desire to maintain the relevance of tradition leads one of the respondents to the conclusion, concerning social consequences, that:

If you ask some guys about the old stadium Diekman, you see how important it means for us. [F1]

Another fan preserves the nostalgic image of the old stadium in his memory, imagining a situation impossible in the present:

Sometimes I have a dream. Grolsch Veste is closed and we have to play one game somewhere else, and again we play on Diekman. Of course, it doesn't exist but in my dream it's standing the whole time. [F3]

Human imagination can play an important role not only in making sense of the different perspectives of time (imagination makes it possible to freely connect topics of the past and the future): "It is actually a collective tool for the transformation of the real, for the creation of multiple horizons of possibility. The production of locality is as much a work of the imagination as a work of material social construction" [Appadurai 2002: 34]. The material elements evoke memories and stimulate imagination, as in the case of statues of famous people. In the main hall of De Grolsch Veste there is a monument of Epi Drost, a legendary FC Twente player. Apart from this, his image, formed from the red and white seats,

[3] In July 2011, during the reconstruction of De Grolsch Veste, the roof placed above one of the stands collapsed. As a result, two construction workers died and several were injured.

decorates one of the stands (the upper 'hardcore' fans' sector). Respondents recall a myriad of anecdotes involving this remarkable player:

Epi Drost. Mister FC Twente. He scored one really important goal against FC Zwolle in the Cup final. One kick from twenty five, thirty meters. [F4]

He was famous in Enschede. He was owner of one pub but he never went there only when he needed money. Driving Chevrolet and was king of nightclubs. He played for FC Twente for a long time. Many people compare his lifestyle, the old times and the new times. In old times this life style was accepted. You cannot compare him to professional players now. [F3].

Recall memories can have a reference to the present, but mainly serve to maintain the traditions and perspectives of the *longue durée*. In some cases, a season ticket is passed from one generation to another. It happens very often that stories about "my first day when my father/grandfather took me to the stadium" become a part of football heritage. Anecdotes repeated over and over again and remembered heroes of 'the old times' maintain tradition and cement ties (people become closer to each other through exchanges of their memories and experiences), but most of all they sustain local identity and culture. Only artificially imposed entities can function without a historical consciousness. With no roots in the inherited (individual and collective) past, they are easily replaceable. Meanwhile, clubs such as FC Twente have a lot of reminders of 'the old times', as for example graffiti on one of the walls in the tunnel leading to the stadium, where history is available at a glance: all emblems that have been used throughout the history of the club are displayed. All the fans walking along the tunnel can personally see the way the club has evolved, and at what point in its history they have joined it.

LOCALITY IN THE ERA OF COMMERCIALIZATION

The final dimension in the study of local identity concerns management and economics, a spectrum of high importance for the life of a locality. In traditional societies, economic issues were related to the common sharing of resources: fields, forests, or the sea. The methods of cultivation contributed to the construction of culture, and rites of passage related to the soil, water and nature (agricultural cycle, weather changes) generated the processes of socialization. Practices connected with the acquisition of food raised such fundamental questions as 'how does it make sense for all of us?'. Studies, mainly anthropological, show how such economically homogeneous communities have been impacted by the capi-

talist transformation and the influx of new production systems and technology [Cohen 1985; Sahlins 1972].

The process of transformation of football fandom and professional clubs is accompanied by the pressures of the capitalist market economy. Considering the former, increasing ticket prices[4] and refurbishing stadiums (full-seated sectors instead of standing terraces, installation of CCTV systems) has contributed to a change of profile of the crowd at football matches [Antonowicz, Kossakowski, Szlendak 2011]. As regards the latter, clubs have been converted into transnational corporations dependent on corporate sponsoring, merchandising and revenues from TV broadcasting rights. The market rewards the best teams, and condemns the worst ones as undeserving, doomed to humble existence on the fringes of football. Therefore, local clubs have a dilemma whether to submit to the logic of the market requirements and give up a part of their identity, or – on the contrary – to consequently follow their own course. Doubts of this kind can be noticed also in Enschede. An opinion of one employee illustrates the logic associated with the financial management of a modern club:

> We have strategies. In 2004 we had a small stadium with 13,500 seats on it and we had budget ten millions. Then we expanded the stadium to twenty four thousand and it was in 2008, I think so. We had more business facilities and increased the budget to 35 millions. Last season, we increased the stadium to thirty thousand, more business facilities, more skyboxes, more business seats, some other concepts, increasing budget to 45 millions. And now we want to expand stadium again, to 44 thousand and budget hopefully expanded to 60 millions. This is not just way to expand a budget. If you have more budget you will be able to buy the better players, you can get the better results. Also if you can buy better players, get better results you can play in Europe. If you play in Champions League you get 13 millions so it's also a positive effect on budget. So, to increase a budget through the stadium, better players, sport results and also more fans. It's always the same, it's correlation between budget and sportive results. [E1]

The imperatives are plain and simple: a higher budget means increasing the chances of success. Recently, some European clubs (such as Paris Saint Germain, Manchester City, Cardiff City, AS Monaco) have avoided bankruptcy or escaped from their mediocre position in the league thanks to an influx of funds from wealthy investors. Twente fans, however, resist a similar transformation of the club ownership structure:

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[4] As David Conn reports: "The Premier League has priced out fans, young and old. Ticket prices have soared way beyond the cumulative 77.1% inflation rate for 20 years and excluded traditional support bases" (http://www.theguardian.com/sport/david-conn-inside-sport-blog/2011/aug/16/premier-league-football-ticket-prices, 20.08.2013)

I would like Twente to be one of the top class teams in the Netherlands, but not at all cost. I think Twente is too much regional to be sold to one owner, doesn't matter from where he comes. I think the club is very deep rooted in the region, is too great value for the region, it means too much for the local community. It will be similar situation of Manchester United, the supporters protesting against the takeover of the club by one investor. We are proud that we are the Twente fans in a way. We live here, it's our club and I think the management, the ownership of the club should be reasonable local as well. [F7]

Even in theory, I don't want that some rich American comes and buys the club. Even if it was a local man, it would not be a good idea. Good thing is gradually building and developing what we have already. [F6]

The fans are very consistent. Interestingly, they are aware that modern football is dependent on corporate and business funds. Elite clubs competing for the highest goals cannot rely only on the number of tickets sold. Furthermore, attendance is correlated with team results. Even the most ardent fans accept the presence of sponsors, but with some restrictions:

Twente has many sponsors. Big sponsors, small sponsors. Every sponsor is respected (…), but we never accept one big sponsor. It's not possible because our pride is priceless. You cannot buy our pride. [F2]

The issue of the global economy in the world of football is essentially the question of examining the function of a club in the formation of local identity. How far can the global trends infiltrate regional distinctiveness? Is it still possible to speak of a local club in this day and age?

CONCLUSIONS – LOCAL AT ALL COSTS?

Local worlds have not yet disappeared under pressure from the influences of the global economy, technology, media and transport. The reason is that "locality means concreteness, which is where the essence of life takes its specific shapes in the form of feelings, aims and interests" [Gawkowska 2007: 61]. People are compelled to search for local solutions to global problems [Beck 1992], which – paradoxically – may encourage individuals to look for their own local niches and to discover regional roots. This is also the case of locality in football. Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson present a number of strategies to cope with the global dimensions in football [2009]. Also, Stig-Erik Jakobsen, Hallgeir Gammelsæter and Arnt Flysand [2009] show that, in the case of Norway, the practice of top football clubs is still influenced by their local context (in certain aspects, the connection has even intensified). It seems that all over the world fans desire the same thing – the feeling of belonging to "Our" club. Even FC Barcelona,

making global tours in Asia or North America, is still associated with Catalonia and thousands of *socios*, for whom *Barca* embodies the local spirit and pride. In due proportion, the same is true for FC Twente supporters. On one hand, the international character of the club is recognized:

Yeah, we have a player from Iraq. He was the player of the year there. We have website in Arabic. People from there can read the results of club, what's going on, and so on. We just sold many of the gadgets in Iraq, really a lot of gadgets selling there. [E3]

FC Twente is in the spotlight now. Everyone follows Twente. The game with AZ Alkmaar was broadcasted in Surinam. It's incredible. For players it's attractive place for playing but they have no relations with the club. It's all for money. [F1]

On the other hand, the international recognition of Twente does not interfere with the fundamental longings and feelings that residents of the region associate with the club.

For me there is no danger we will lose our roots. The club was and will be regional. The Spirit of FC Twente will always be here, on the stadium, in the club. We say that Twente is like a disease – if you come, you will stay and never get rid of it. See, when I'm talking about it, I get goose bumps. I feel Tukker. [E3]

Locality in global football is still in the game. The question is: will it remain so forever?

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Radosław Kossakowski

"DUMNIE BYĆ TUKKER". KLUB PIŁKARSKI I BUDOWANIE LOKALNEJ TOŻSAMOŚCI. PRZYPADEK FC TWENTE ENSCHEDE

Streszczenie

Artykuł analizuje rolę klubów piłkarskich w procesie formowania się tożsamości lokalnych w epoce globalizacji. Empiryczną bazę stanowią dane zgromadzone podczas badań terenowych przeprowadzonych wśród kibiców holenderskiego klubu piłkarskiego Twente Enschede. Klub Twente jest głęboko zakorzeniony w tradycjach miasta i region, jednocześnie uczestnicząc w międzynarodowych rozgrywkach oraz globalnym piłkarskim rynku transferowym, będąc zatem poddanym procesom wynikającym z rosnącej komercjalizacji i wielokulturowości świata futbolu. W artykule omówione są konsekwencje tych procesów dla miejscowych fanów i społeczności lokalnej Enschede.

Słowa kluczowe: piłka nożna, tożsamość lokalna, globalizacja, fani futbolowi, Twente Enschede.

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TRANSGLOBAL NORWEGIAN? GLOBALISATION AND THE CONTESTATION OF IDENTITIES IN FOOTBALL[1]

Abstract

The paper discusses transformations of the fans' affiliations in the era of football's transnationalization and de-territorialization. Firstly, it shows that the traditions associated with local football clubs or national teams have been important elements in the symbolic construction of regional or national identities. Secondly, referring to the example of British and Norwegian fandom, it argues that these loyalties are being replaced by more complex, multiple identities. This is reflected in the transformation of football spectatorship, both in terms of matchday participation, as well as long term attachments to particular clubs and national teams.

Key words: identity, football, glocalisation, transnationalism, globalization.

INTRODUCTION

'For club and country' is an old phrase in football, denoting the traditional duopoly for allegiance and loyalty in the game, for both players and supporters. The privileged position of such local (club) and national (national team and league structure) boundaries are still evidently manifest in discourses on football and identity, especially through various post Bosman expressions of the difference between 'home grown' players versus 'foreign' players. While footballers have

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always been on the move [Taylor 2007], the intensification of player migration along with an increasingly neo liberal, transnational market economy has revolutionised football in most European leagues since the mid-90's. Prices for live television coverage of games from England, Italy and Spain have skyrocketed in this period, along with player salaries. Football has become a big business, whereas formerly it was either a small business or no business at all. This was generally the case in the amateur-based Scandinavian leagues until the late 1980's, despite a notable exception in the relative success of IFK Gothenburgh, IFK Gothenburgh-side, which won the UEFA cup twice during the 1980's [for a history of Swedish football see: Andersson 2002].

During the same period globalisation has become a dominant, if now ubiquitous, focus in the sociology of sport. Perspectives shift from viewing sport as the "Europeanisation of a global monoculture"[Maguire 1996] to Giulianotti and Robertson [2004], who adopted a less imperialist model in which globalisation in sport is seen as a web of complex interdependencies between local conditions and global structures, evident in the concept of 'glocalization'[1992]. David Rowe [2003] has repudiated the significance of globalisation by arguing that the very structuring principle of sport consists of producing national cultural differences, and is hence unsuitable for carrying the generic production of sameness so often associated with globalisation. In a recent article, Andrews and Ritzer [2007] use Rowe's repudiation as a starting point for a counter attack from what could be labelled the 'cultural imperialist' camp within the sociology of sport.

My argument is that both these positions ignore how passionate local identities are operationalised in a complex, yet concrete, transnational landscape. By drawing on examples from Scandinavian football and research on the influences of English football in Norway [Hognestad, 2003], this article addresses the significance of globalization and the nation – the latter depicted in academic debates more often than not in terms of rather self-evident 'local' responses to the former. I address the need to question the emotional significance of categories such as national, local and global, as well as the impact of late capitalist structures on the cultural production of sameness and difference in football.

WHO ARE WE?

While studies of football fan cultures during the 1980's were dominated by a rationalist focus on hooligan behaviour in a British context [Armstrong, 1998], football as an arena for expressing local and national identities in various corners

of the world became a new paradigmatic focus during the 1990's, notably in the edited collections by Armstrong and Giulianotti [1997], Giulianotti, Hepworth and Bonney [1994], Giulianotti and Finn [2000] and Brown [1998]. Other seminal contributions to a wider understanding of football as an arena for generating and expressing identities include the monographs of Armstrong [1998] and Archetti [1999], the sociological overview of the game provided by Giulianotti [1999] and the edited collections on football, race and multiculturalism by Carrington and McDonald [2001] and Back, Crabbe and Solomos [2002]. A number of chapters in these books deal with local or regional opposition to nationalism or hegemonic versions of national identity.

Identity is a concept often deployed in academic texts, and in common sense language, to denote an often vague 'something'; people, places, villages, towns, districts, nations, continents, languages, dialects, sexualities, gender, pets, landscapes, saints, objects, smells, technologies, tastes and just about anything else under (or above) the sky that provide people with existential meaning and/or a sense of belonging. Football supporters frequently define themselves as negations of the most relevant other. As a global game it is structured around various rivalries. Football identities evolve around local identities, yet participation in 'local tribalism' in football is not restricted to those locals born into one context. Through forces of globalisation and transnational connections, identities in football tend to contract semiotic significances that extend across terrestrial and national borders. Hence a diversity of people with various social and cultural backgrounds currently contribute to the construction of hybrid mythologies in football.

In his book on the construction of an Argentinian national identity, Archetti argues that: "... the existence of a clear boundary between 'us' and 'them' calls for the hybrid, the mixed, the less pure, which is created by the transgression or the possibility of transgression of this boundary." [1999: 24] Hybridization is a term deployed by social scientists in order to analyze the meeting and intermixing of various cultural practices in places marked by significant degrees of immigration. Theoretically, the term has in recent years been related to 'de-homogenizing' arguments derived from the idea that all societies are heterogeneous and marked by a complex variety of cultural encounters [1999: 23], rather than representing culture as 'a seamless whole'. [Keesing, 1994] Hypothetically, it is possible to imagine that a Norwegian supporter of a local English football club could be seen by locals as the incarnation of an unwanted 'globalized' hybrid. Marginalising structures in football based on race and ethnicity are analysed in the works of Back, Crabbe and Solomos [2002] and also Carrington and McDonald [2001].

It is imaginable that in football any 'foreigner' pollutes the meanings attached to having 'grown up' with the club and having one's autobiography closely woven into the physical community of the club.

However, negative responses towards Norwegian supporters were rare during my research at and around various English football grounds in the years between 1999 and 2004. The most common response was to embrace 'long distance supporters' as a part of an international club community. These encounters were characterised by *sameness* rather than difference or 'otherness'. As a cultural practice football is closely associated with collective identities and football clubs are still intimately associated with specific localities such as townships, streets and a stadium. 'The local hero' still resonates as a privileged participant in the world of football. At the same time, football is regularly described as the most globalized sport in the world, with games from the largest European leagues (notably the English, Spanish and Italian) being broadcast to a global television audience. Football is currently developing from these frictions of 'glocal' inclusions and exclusions.

A GLOBAL GAME?

Zygmunt Bauman once labeled globalization as..."a fad word fast turning into a shibboleth, a magic incantation, a pass key meant to unlock the gates to all present and future mysteries". [1998: 1] Globalization has occupied the no. 1 position as the theme of mainstream social science since the early 1990's. As a concept it resonates well with a widespread, yet paradoxical feeling of an expanding world that becomes smaller and more accessible, a condition that in various ways relates to large-scale changes concerning the speed and flow of information, finance and trade across terrestrial borders. Early on, Anthony Giddens [1990: 64] defined globalization as..."the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distinct localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." Economists tend to relate it to the spread of market liberalisation and trade operating in accordance with transnational (rather than national) laws.

Most significantly, globalization has been strongly associated with capitalist power, seeing certain states and corporations as controlling world markets. A social and cultural homogenization, marked by the universalization of particular, dominant centres such as 'The West' or 'America', is often depicted in rather dystopic ways as the real consequence of these influences. A leading scholar

within more recent 'cultural imperialist' thinking is George Ritzer, who has taken his theory of 'McDonaldization' [1998] to a theory of 'grobalization' [2003], a term applied to denote the financial powers of late capitalist, mostly American-owned transnational corporations and the need for ever expanding markets on a global scale. These processes are deemed to carry with them apocalyptic potentials which inevitably overwhelm and erase traditional and indigenous cultural practices, derived from the grounding realisation that no corners of the world remain untouched by the hegemonic forces of globalisation. Previously, Grossberg argued that theories of globalization were often based on an assumed dichotomy between the local and the global, which tended to celebrate the local as a "heroic response" to globalization [1997]. With the introduction of the rather awkward concept of 'grobalization', Ritzer formulates a similar critique, intended as a critical supplement to the more optimistic take on the creative and subjective possibilities embedded in'glocalization' and related theories such as 'creolization' and 'hybridization'.

Hannerz [1996: 68] argues convincingly that the new world system does not lead to cultural homogeneity, but rather a whole new diversity of interrelations, in which people can draw on a series of cultural impulses and resources in order to create identities and transform the alien into their own. This critique is embedded in Chris Barker's understanding of globalization in connection with global media and the spread of television: "...globalization is not to be seen as a one-way flow of influence from the west to the 'rest', rather, globalization is a multi-directional and multi-dimensional set of processes" [1997: 17].

Numerous studies dealing with the topic of sport and globalization have appeared among 'sports academics' during the last decade or so. The twinning of sport with globalisation has been analysed in connection with the issues of sports labour and international migration by Bale and Maguire [1994] and Taylor [2007], and in terms of national responses to the pressures of globalization, as studied by Alan Bairner [2001]. Also Joseph Maguire's study of modern sports as part of a more general cross cultural civilization process suggests that sport is neither a process of "cultural homogenization" nor representative of "chaotic cultural diversity"[1996]. This to some extent nullifies the meaning of the concept altogether, as Taylor concluded when he postulated that academic writing on the specific subject of football migration..."has tended to employ 'globalization' uncritically, as if it were an established fact rather than a contested concept" [2007: 45] Robertson's five-stage model has proved to be the among the most fruitful models of globalization [1992], applying the concept to a number of social processes that, over time, have seen a rise in various transnational connections and

an intensified global flow of ideas, mediated images and commodities between individuals, social groups, corporations and organisations. In order to underline the interdependencies between the local and the global, Robertson introduced the concept of 'glocalization' to the social sciences.

By applying their concept of 'grobalization' to sport, Andrews and Ritzer underline the overwhelmingly homogenizing effects of corporate transnationalism in sport on glocal sporting communities. They assert that sports cultures and identities are structured around the financial powers of a limited number of huge transnational sports corporations that control the commercial aspects of sport; from club ownerships to control over sports media companies to companies producing sports gear [2007]. This is also reflected within the context of the sociology of sport, where local and national representation are regularly depicted as a unified response to the forces of globalization, visible in the phenomena ranging from player migration to the increasingly transnational constitution of club ownerships to the sport-media complex [Maguire, 1996]. Andrews and Ritzer take as their starting point an argument against David Rowe, who countered what he saw as the exaggerated effects of globalization. Rowe repudiates the global in the context of sports as an arena for forging identities, based on the argument that sports are concentrated on producing *national* cultural differences, and therefore unsuited to carry out the significance of globalization. Rowe draws his examples from national representations in the tabloids, based on the coverage of a global media event such as the 2002 World Cup, and asserts that "the nation... is never far below the surface of sports discourse" [2003: 286]. Like many sports researchers, Rowe presents, rather self-evidently, the nation as the primary frame for particularity and identities in sports, in opposition to the universalising principles and forces of globalization. The world wide popularity of a sport such as football can be interpreted from a principle of rivalry; without the staging of a contest between "us and them" where would the passion, drama and meaning of sport lie? The questions remain however: who are 'we' and who are 'they'?; and how important is the nation for to the dedicated fan?

Andrews and Ritzer [2007] criticize what they see as the widespread "glorification of the actor" and a dominant optimistic focus on the ability of local communities and nations to mount a challenge against the forces of globalisation in sports research. From the basic assertion that no community exists as "unpolluted" by globalization, they argue that the divide is not between the local and the glocal, but between the glocal and the *grobal*, a concept introduced in order to include '...the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations and other entities and their desire – indeed, their need - to impose themselves on various

geographic areas' [Ritzer, 2003: 194]. Building on the argument of Grossberg that theory often seems to provide researchers with an *a priori* tautological device through which their engagement with the empirical can be filtered and confirmed, Andrews and Ritzer advocate a critical approach beyond what they see as the perpetual focus on "heroic subjects" [2007].

While this is an intriguing analysis, it nevertheless appears to be a retreat to some of the old cultural imperialist arguments which tended to depict development as a one way eradication of local culture at the expanse of an overwhelming transnational capitalism. From such a perspective it is not difficult to find evidence of an experienced difference between Manchester United and Nike. Even though both share the status of a highly transnational brand name with American ownership, they do not share the inducement for passionate involvement. Andrews and Ritzer present the case of Manchester United fans protesting against American business tycoon Malcolm Glazer, who purchased a majority of the shares in the club in 2005. By quoting a journalist who ridiculed these supporters for making Manchester United look like a club being run by 'some sort of worker's cooperative or hippie commune" [2007: 146], their conclusions suggest that contemporary football fandom is charged with naivety and a lack of awareness about the reality of the game. In a sports context this view appears to be exactly the same as that of Pierre Bourdieu, who claimed over 30 years ago that sports spectators are merely "illusory participants" [1978].

My concern here is perhaps an ethical one, yet no less legitimate: how do we preserve the ways the subjects of our research experience reality? Global processes manifestly effect and structure the experiences people have of living in the world, yet if we scrutinize *how* people experience the global we might find that the world does not look as big, floating and marked by overwhelming sameness as it might seem for a researcher studying global, neo liberal capitalism. While the world of our research subjects is no longer confined to local or national communities, at the same time they rarely act in a boundless 'around the globe' world. Most football supporters in the world who are older than 30 have watched Maradona play for Argentina and know which clubs he played for during his career because they interact in a global football discourse, which may be facilitated and structured by transnational corporations in various ways, but where experience and practice are always charged with a particular, local content. In studies of passionate identities, people are always focused on relatively confined localities. For a supporter of Brann Bergen and Middlesbrough football clubs, the relevant geographical territories are to be found in a very small part of Northern Europe. 'The huge rest' may exist in his mind and he may be under the influence of

transnational football consumerism and sports capitalism, but in terms of passion and experience his focus has a clear and privileged focus on two football clubs, concretely manifested through notions of 'home' attached to Brann stadium in Western Norway and Riverside stadium in the North-east of England. So if we are searching for 'local heroes' as voices opposing globalisation, sport may very well be a legitimate arena to look at. This is not meant as an excuse for ignoring the effects of capitalism on sport, which is evident in the corporate naming of stadiums such as Reebok (Bolton) and Emirates (Arsenal) in England and Color Line (Aalesund) and Aker (Molde) on the North Western coast of Norway, or in lucrative sponsorships and television deals etc. People can only navigate within the social and economic structures they are part of and it is sometimes worth recalling that globalising processes do not induce the same sense of indifference and homogenizing flow in every social and cultural context. As a consequence we cannot make simple dichotomies between 'victims' and 'assailants' in the globalization processes.

For many fans, stadiums are monuments of local, topophilic attention, linked to identities woven around specific football clubs. The sense of belonging to a collective humanity through football is not an indifferent flux experience, but quite the opposite. A Norwegian football supporter's relationship to an English club community is in many ways like a 'passionate exile', which is not to suggest that they feel 'exiled'. It is generally experienced more like a 'home away from home'. Football is to many people a constance in lives that otherwise tend to change continuously. This is not to say that football identities are unchangeable and unaffected. Football supporters travel and adapt to new impulses transmitted via media or through concrete explorations into new football universes. New layers of knowledge and meaning are thus added to their status as supporters of specific clubs, in accordance with changes in the game. The making of identities in football moves and changes, yet 'being a supporter' continue to induce sentiments and emotions related to virtues of loyalty and solidarity among the game's devoted identity agents. As shown by Andrews and Ritzer, it is awkward to integrate 'globalization' into studies of the meanings of our various "heroic subjects". Too often the term conveys self evident meanings about the intricate and complex interdependencies between large scale processes and local ones. There is an obvious need to keep a focus which takes into account the concerns of our research subjects and avoids ending up in taxonomies that tend to reduce everything to various diluted and abstract concepts of globalization.

THE GLOCAL WITHIN THE NATION

While the nation retains its structural position, evident in league systems and international tournaments such as the World Cup, the existential meanings and emotional attachments in football are ingrained in a cultural complexity that gives reason to question the assumption that the 'local' and the 'national' are part of the same emotional axis in any unequivocal way. Football in Norway is part of a universe where the significance of the nation is contested and sometimes evaporates, between a local, civic patriotism tied to the support of a local club and transnational allegiances to predominantly English club teams. While the dramatic commercial alterations of football in recent years have paved the way for new "football customers" and changed the experience for supporters and spectators alike, football clubs in general seem to retain and strengthen their significance as a generator of passionate identities.

The development of the status and influence of English football in Norway can be described as a movement from a media dependent pastime to a big business and a provider of passionate, semiotic significance. The support for English club teams would be unthinkable without the historically substantial coverage of English football evident in Norwegian media since 1902, the year the Norwegian Football Association was formed. Throughout the 20th century football passion in Norway developed with a privileged orientation towards England, an orientation certainly more marked by admiration than antagonism. While the introduction of live TV-coverage of English league matches in 1969 was an all-Scandinavian project, the passion for English football clubs has had a continuous appeal unmatched in Sweden and Denmark. Ninety percent of the 55,000 members in the Scandinavian Supporter Union for British football are Norwegian [Hognestad, 2003].

This 'anglophile' basis of football in Norway has paved the way for a football universe in which a majority of fans develop a relationship to one local Norwegian club and an English club. A century long passion for football in Norway has grown, in the last two decades, to become a major arena for forging and expressing identities, spun around themes such as rural and urban backgrounds, civic and national pride, and the more idiosyncratic semiotics connected with the support for English football clubs. It was not until the 1990's that travelling to away games and the extended social rituals which are currently evident all over the country became commonplace for Norwegian football fans, be it in connection with Norwegian league games or in pubs that make a living from showing live televised football from England [Armstrong, Hognestad 2003].

Greater affordability to travel to games in England, combined with modern technology such as internet forums or watching live televised games with fellow fans in one of the numerous football bars,[2] have provided the basis for the construction of new networks.

Simultaneously, attendance at Norwegian top level league matches increased somewhat haphazardly in the years between 1991 and 2007, Since the introduction of "Tippeligaen" in 1991, the average attendance at top division matches doubled, from 5,083 in 1991 to 10,521 in 2007, but then took a dive to 7,003 in 2012. This recent sudden decline in crowd attendance reflects a similar trend in the rest of Scandinavia, and may be interpreted as a negative effect of the commercial attention and glamour generated by the global football of the top European leagues such as the EPL and La Liga in particular. Nevertheless, since the professionalization of the game in Norway was introduced, fan communities around Norwegian clubs have developed, both in terms of increasing numbers of fans and also through a professionalization of supporter organisations, which currently exert influence not only through vocal support during games, but also on decisions made at boardroom level. At the same time there has been a growing tendency toward home made styles of support, which to some extent is contrasted to the transnational orientations of fans of English clubs. As a consequence the parallel orientation between a local Norwegian and a long distance English club has in recent years been challenged by a more dominant 'monogamous' morality, which underlines that there can only be one football club in your life - your local one - expressed through slogans such as "one life – one club". This morality is sometimes expressed as a national response to globalization and, in this context, to impulses from a more glamorous football league.

WHERE IS HOME?

When Rosenborg played Arsenal in the Champions League in Trondheim in 2004, the predominantly Norwegian away contingent of Arsenal fans were greeted with a banner displayed by the home supporters which stated "Norwegian teams – Norwegian fans". A Norwegian Arsenal fan told me after the game that they ought to have replied with a banner that said "International teams – international fans". Football generates a set of complex, multiple identities, which the more "monogamous" fans see themselves in opposition to. In 1996 the then-coach of

[2] An estimated 30 bars in Oslo alone currently (in 2013) make most of their living from showing live football.

Rosenborg, Nils Arne Eggen, told the press how shocked and upset he was to find that most spectators were supporting Liverpool in a friendly match between Rosenborg and Liverpool at Ullevål stadium in Oslo. However, such a moral call for a nationalist-grounded loyalty appears irrelevant for a football fan based in Oslo supporting, say Liverpool and Vålerenga.

Back in 2002, on a busy night for live televised football, three Champions League matches were played on the same night: Rosenborg vs. Inter Milan, Arsenal vs. Borussia Dortmund and Valencia vs. Liverpool. In Bohemen, a pub partly owned by the Vålerenga fan group, and also a famous venue for watching live football on TV in the Oslo city centre, three matches were screened; Valencia vs. Liverpool, Arsenal vs. Borussia Dortmund, and Millwall vs. Burnley – an English 1st Division match. Bewildered pub clients looking for the Rosenborg match were told by a sarcastic barman over the speaker system that people with moustaches and cowboy boots must watch their football elsewhere. The reference to moustaches and cowboy boots here is linked to the metonymic caricatures often associated with males from the Trondheim area. This is not to suggest that a league game between Millwall and Burnley was seen to pull more people and more drinkers to a pub in Oslo than a champions league match involving Rosenborg. The bar staff knew that with the live screening of Liverpool's and Arsenal's games the pub would be full anyway. Nevertheless this was an act that quite clearly questions the relevance of a privileged nation-centred loyalty in football.

While these processes are not valid in other footballing and sporting contexts focused on national competition and rivalry, the suggestion that players always return to [a national] "home base", as Rowe argued [2003: 286], is a simplification of a much more complex reality where the significance of the nation as a frame for forging identities in football is highly debatable. The civic pride expressed through support for Brann Bergen is very much of an anti-national, anti-capital kind, antagonistic towards anything associated with Eastern, Oslo-based political and cultural hegemony, not unlike that of an average Catalonian football fan's contempt for the Spanish national team. Similar regional animosities are evident in a number of professional football leagues. For an average Brann supporter it is unthinkable to support for instance Rosenborg from Trondheim or Vålerenga from Oslo in international matches out of any meaningful, common national identity. A Brann supporter is more likely to support *any opponent* to teams from Oslo or Trondheim, similar to the attitude a lot of devoted club fans worldwide would adopt (Armstrong and Hognestad, 2003).

THE LOCAL GOOD, THE NATIONAL BAD AND THE TRANSNATIONAL UGLY?

Following the ground-breaking analysis of the nation as an 'imagined community' [Anderson, 1983] and as 'invented tradition' [Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983] the focus on the nation as a frame for negotiating and defining identities was firmly established. Despite the myriad of perspectives and theories of the origins and meanings of nationalism and national identity, the significance of nationalism as a contributor to the construction of identities is nonetheless undeniable, as noted by Mike Cronin and David Mayall [1998]. However, we need to contextualise how and why the nation is a significant generator of patriotic sentiments. In discourses on sport the nation is often treated as a privileged frame of reference for expressing identities. A sports commentator is likely to speak of 'our men' when referring to athletes or players representing the nation. The concept of the nation as a fairly uniform collective frame still prevails in sports media coverage all over the world, frequently supported by sweeping academic analysis which argue in self evident ways about the nation being the primary collective identity to which individuals are attached [Whannel, 1992].

Hoberman [1993: 18] quite rightly argues that 'sportive nationalism' should not be regarded as a single generic phenomenon, but must be related to the varying national contexts in which it appears. Hoberman's studies of 'official nationalism' in sport have been supplemented by several studies of sport and national identity from historians and also from academics coming from a variety of other social scientific disciplines. Alan Bairner shows that the construction and reproduction of national and ethnic identities are manifest in sport as local responses to globalization [2001]. From an ethnographic perspective, MacClancy [1996] shows how Athletic Club de Bilbao through their '*la cantera*' policy of cultivating local talent and players with a Basque ethnic origin only, became a central vehicle for expressing Basque ethnic nationalism in relation to their Spanish adversaries. In a Norwegian context, Matti Goksøyr has given several historical accounts of sport as a vehicle for expressing Norwegian national identities [1998]. Goksøyr and Olstad [2002] have also provided a historical analysis of football in Norway, which includes both local and national accounts of the significance of the game in Norwegian communities. Despite the apparent existence of transnational football fandom there seems to be a reluctance in academia to view this as generative of new identities contesting the more traditional ones related to the nation as a privileged frame for structuring and reproducing identities. Two decades ago Real and Mechikoff [1992] published an article where they discuss transnational

fandom in sports from an American perspective, but relate it solely to media consumption and the commercialization of sports, not to the experiences of 'sports consumers'. In discourses on sport the word 'transnational' is frequently associated with international capitalism, cultural imperialism, and the continuous commodification and commercialization of sport. The term is often mentioned in connection with agencies like the International Olympic Committee and others, which are regarded as central agents in the development of a global sports-media complex [Maguire 1996: 20]. Hence the whole notion of 'transnational' identities seems to fit awkwardly into the bulk of social and cultural theories on sport, possibly because it is associated with the opposite – loss of identity.

There may be moral issues among Norwegian supporters over the contrasts between support for a local Norwegian team and the support for an often more glamorous English team. Yet you will not find many devoted Norwegian fans who acknowledge supporting an English football club because of the presence of Norwegian footballers on that club. Legitimate moralities and loyalties among devoted club supporters tend to put the imagined community of the club first, rather than rotating players and their national belonging. Studies of dedicated Norwegian supporters of English clubs overwhelmingly support the argument that the national identity of a player is considered as a secondary importance. This is similar to the 'absence of nationalism' which De Biasi and Lanfranchi [1997] found among devoted Italian club supporters, more commonly known as *ultras*. The transnational nature of the game challenges the significance of the club's national location, evident in the way the squads of both small and big professional clubs in Europe and other parts of the world currently consist of players from many nations and a great variety of cultural backgrounds. Football has truly evolved into a global labour market during the last couple of decades.

Football fans also travel more, establishing transnational connections with large or small football communities. The connections between Norwegian and English fans are no longer marked by one way traffic from local Norwegian communities to English. English fans are also designing football holidays to locations in Norway, as is evident in the connections between football fans in Bergen and the North East of England [Armstrong and Hognestad, 2003]. The increasingly transnational nature of football support means that participation in various club communities is no longer restricted to local residents, but points out the readily available semiotic devices in which new passionate identities and 'liminal spaces' may be generated via television and through overseas travel. These travels, that in their individual and sometimes sophisticated nature affect the ways specific teams, grounds or cities are experienced, resemble Urry's

depiction of a 'post-Fordist holiday making' in contrast to the mass ('Fordist') tourism of gigantic holiday resorts [2002: 14-15].

Due to the many strong territorial local football communities, combined with the growing transnational and de-territorialized composition of squads and supporters, national frames of references seem to have lost its significance in many football communities. However, these processes are not necessarily applicable in other footballing and sporting contexts. The World Cup is played between nations and continues to grow in terms of global interest, and the nation retains its position as a privileged frame of reference in national media. In sports media this is expressed, for instance, through substantial coverage of star national athletes performing abroad at the international level. Yet there is substantial evidence suggesting that for many football club fans, Norway and other countries are nationless states. The nation, manifested through a national football team, simply does not induce the same level of passion as say Brann or Arsenal.

Nevertheless passion and interest, measured by crowd attendance at games in which the Norwegian national team plays, appear to be more dependent on success than on the club level, which is indicative of a shallower and less partisan support than the ways "deep playing" fans support their club. If measured by interest in national team football, my data seems to give a perfect illustration of Paul Heelas' argument that the self-determining authority of the nation has become weaker [1998]. In a survey among Norwegian football fans in 2000, just prior to Norway's participation in Euro 2000, a mere 15% stated that they followed national team football with a stronger passion than club football [Hognestad 2006]. While it can be argued that this data is a bit outdated at the time of writing this article (October 2013), it is hardly controversial to suggest that for dedicated football supporters the national team rarely attains the status of an intimate 'us', let alone something that is closely attached to a 'me'. The main concern of fans supporting teams with international players appears to be that the players will return to their clubs unscathed after appearing for the national team. The World Cup is, for some of these supporters, regarded as a pastime where support is more shallow and orientated towards maybe several national teams that include players from their local or "global" club.

CONCLUSIONS

In the world of club football the traditions associated with the club, the town or the region stand out as important building-blocks in the symbolic construction of identities. Football provides a space in which the meanings of 'partisan fanhood' are more focused on local than on national conditions and realities, whether 'the local' means the physically immediate surroundings or the location of a club located elsewhere or in a different country. Everyday football is played out in the more esoteric universes of clubs on a frequent, week-to-week basis. National team football is played with a lower frequency and generates substantial interest and passion in connection with the odd big games or international tournaments such as the World Cup. As a global media event the World Cup holds a position which no club-based tournament can challenge. Club football remains sectarian and liminal while the rituals of the World Cup penetrate societies and global communities. In this sense, tournaments such as the World Cup constitute major occasions for enacting the imageries of nations. Yet the World Cup lasts only one month every four years and attracts spectators resembling Grant Jarvie's and Graham Walker's depiction of the *90 minute patriots* [1994], i.e. spectators whose commitment is more superficial, inconsequential and limited than that of everyday club supporters. While the nation maintains its structural domination in football and other cultural contexts there are clear indications that the nation is not where the heart is for contemporary dedicated football fans. Under the influence of transnational networks, commodified semiotics and impulses they share an emotional preference for the physicality and passion created around 'glocal' club communities.

These processes of "localisation" and "transnationalisation" currently threaten the position of how significant national team football is as a marker of identities in sport in general, and in football in particular. Growing global orientations within football may enforce imageries of the nation during events such as the World Cup, yet the nation as a privileged common reference for notions of loyalty, morality and the construction of identities remains a contested proposition.

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PONADNARODOWY NORWEG? GLOBALIZACJA A KONTESTACJA TOŻSAMOŚCI W PIŁCE NOŻNEJ

Streszczenie

W artykule podejmowany jest problem przemian tożsamości kibiców piłki nożnej, które towarzyszą procesom transnacjonalizacji i deterytorializacji tej dyscypliny sportu. W pierwszym rzędzie ukazane zostaje, jaką rolę w kreowaniu regionalnych i narodowych identyfikacji pełnią lokalne kluby i drużyny narodowe w piłce nożnej. Po drugie, na przykładzie praktyk kibicowskich w Wielkiej Brytanii i Norwegii zrekonstruowany zostaje proces zastępowania lojalności o charakterze lokalnym czy narodowym przez bardziej złożone tożsamości. Znajduje to swe odzwierciedlenie w zmianie form kibicowania – zarówno na poziomie jednorazowego udziału w widowisku sportowym, jak i bardziej utrwalonego kibicowania i wspierania danej drużyny klubowej czy narodowej.

Słowa kluczowe: tożsamość, piłka nożna, glokalizacja, transnacjonalizacja, globalizacja.