

Globalized Football at a Lusocentric Glimpse: Struggles with Markets and Migration, Traditions and Modernities, the Loss and the Beauty. An Introduction

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When studying the social phenomena in and around football, five major elements and consequences of globalization processes become evident, namely international migration, the global flow of capital, the syncretistic nature of tradition and modernity in contemporary culture, new experiences of time and space and the revolutionary development in information technologies.

In an exploration of these themes, 14 international scholars have contributed to this special issue of *Soccer and Society*, which presents the results of a one-year-project of inspiring discussion among authors and editors and of its final international conference held in Lisbon in May 2006.[1] It looks at football as a major social, economic and cultural phenomenon in societies and national contexts as diverse as Portugal, Germany, England, Spain, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, China, Japan, South Korea, Russia and the USA. In examining football-related phenomena under the headings of nations and migration, myths and business, the city and the dream, this journal shows how modernized football itself is both object and subject/agent in the processes of both *neoliberal globalization* and counter hegemonic globalization *from below*.

The contributors come from a wide range of academic disciplines: Sociology, Anthropology, Social History, Philosophy, Migration Studies, Regional Studies and Studies in Sports and Popular Culture, presenting diverse perspectives and methods (ethnographic fieldwork, essays, archival work, case studies, analyses of the media, of economic and political power relations). The countries and cases concerned were chosen for two reasons. The main criteria derived from a particular research interest

which can be regarded as 'lusocentric'[2] in both a narrow sense, in that it approaches Portugal's position in Europe and its relation to other Portuguese-speaking countries, and in a broader sense, in mirroring and helping us to grasp the phenomena of football interest (popular and economic), migration pattern and identification across lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) spaces.

It is the focus on centre-periphery relations and migration trajectories of football professionals (players and coaches), which puts to the forefront the 'lusocentric' perspective of the volume. While Portugal in many aspects still plays some sort of centre role in the Portuguese-speaking world, it is often considered as marginal or semi-peripheral within European contexts. It is different when it comes to football. The high ranking of 'Portuguese football' not only serves in nationalist discourses or in order to emancipate the country from a marginal position, it also turns Portugal into a football-talent exporter, confronting it partly with the same ambiguous and ambivalent consequences as Brazil and the African countries, who lose their football talents to the European centre, where the players encounter much better career opportunities, certainly in terms of salary but also in the further development of their skills. The receiving countries, again, include Portugal. Remarkably or not, football labour migration across lusophone spaces and to Europe basically mirrors the general migration pattern of Portuguese-speaking migrants.

The second reason for this choice arose from a desire to reflect upon some of the most decisive current developments in world football at a particular moment in time: designing the project between EURO 2004 and FIFA World Cup 2006 not only suggested the inclusion of contributions from and about Portugal, Germany, the Far East (World Cup 2002 in Japan/Korea) and the USA (World Cup 1994), but also provided a focus on centre-periphery relations: Europe being here the football centre – historically, as well as in economic terms – while Brazil and the African countries provide highly mobile football talent; the USA, Russia and Asian countries can be considered as part of the periphery but also as new markets, economic powers which start shaping the players' migration and hence becoming at times challenging newcomers in the *field*.

Offside or Newcomer in the Field of Social Sciences? Football as an Object of Study

The immediate or televised participation in football events, the communication of football knowledge and identification with a team, as well as playing the game – and in the case of youth, the dream of becoming a professional footballer – play an important role for millions of people across the globe, almost independently of where they live and in whatever conditions they live in. This makes football represent one of the central cultural and symbolic forms/expressions of modernity.

A predominantly male form and expression of modernity, one can argue. An argument which faces limitations when crossing the borders to leading women's footballing nations, such as China and the USA, when viewing female fan groupings in the Far East or pictures of (veiled) female students playing with a ball in school and university fields in Iran. Iranian women, who are not allowed to enter the national football stadium, literally invaded it to celebrate Iran's qualification for the World Cup 1998 – the police

and security forces refrained from interfering. During this ongoing prohibition, which had temporarily been obsolete, many women actually went to the stadium dressed as men.[3] In active football, East Asian national women's teams achieve a far better ranking in World football than their male counterparts,[4] a proportion of success which in minor measures not only holds true for other newcomers, such as the USA, but more recently also for some of the more traditional football nations, such as Germany, who's women's team won the World Cup in 2003 and had previously won the European Championship in 1995, 1997, 2001 and 2005.

Although more men than women are involved as agents in the formation of football as a major cultural, economic and social phenomenon, the importance and impact of mediated and immediate football experience and events affect society at large. As analysing and reflecting upon phenomena which are central in people's everyday life is the objective of thousands of social scientists across the globe (among them a significant percentage of men), it appears important to ask why it is that football appears to be at best a step-child among the topics of study of contemporary social sciences?

The Undervaluation and Emancipation of Football as an Object of Study

The vision of sports sociologist Eric Dunning could constitute a wise word on this situation:

The main reason why sociologists forget about sport is because few of them are able to sufficiently distance themselves from the dominant values and characteristic forms of thought of western societies for them to have the capacity to understand the social significance of sport, the problems that this place or field of action offers for exploring areas of social structure and behaviour that, most of the time, are ignored by conventional theories.[5]

It could therefore be the case that the undervaluation of football by various types of intellectual elites is a matter of 'work ethics', a consequence of adhering to the dominant values of western societies, and to the fact that sport is less valued than other areas habitually associated with personal expression or even entertainment, such as the arts. Naturally, such representations and values are also dominant within the scientific community, including the social sciences.

Sport, in this particular case, football, appears to have been ignored as an object of sociological expression and investigation as it was always seen as tending to have less 'respectable' characteristics, coupled with the fact that it is harder to interpret in terms of the dichotomies which mark socially dominant values; for example, dichotomies which oppose work and leisure, mind and body, the serious and the frivolous, etc. Since its foundation, Sociology has orientated itself towards the so-called serious and rational aspects of life, resulting in a scarcity of relevant attention towards questions pertaining to entertainment, pleasure, games and the emotions generated within these fields, which are just some of the central aspects of sport. Within the framework of western thought, in which we include the academic, sport is generally understood as a vulgar thing, a leisure activity orientated towards pleasure that involves the body more than the mind (and it is also presumed to be the 'poor relation' to the arts). In consequence, it is taken

for granted that sport is incapable of raising sociologically important questions, as presumably happens in the more 'serious' aspects of life: in politics, the economy, etc.

As this journal shows, there are aspects where football as a relevant object of study comes into play, in analysing the economic structures and politics in and around football.[6] However, we think that the symbolic investments[7] and emotions individuals invest in football, which may not appear with the same intensity or be of equal dimensions in other sports or forms of entertainment, establish loyalties, sociability, rivalries and rituals that play a fundamental role in understanding the social centrality of football in the lives of its millions of faithful followers.

The Contribution of Football Studies in Current Academic Discourses

The terrain of football represents, in national terms, but also globally, a shared space: at the level of discourse, social trends, social processes and significant social phenomena that envelops and affects all of society in some way or another. It condenses and translates the great themes of our time, namely, at the level of the project of modernity – covering the last two hundred years – dominated by the strong tensions between the development of liberal capitalism (defending the imposition of the principle of the market) and communal and collective resistance (defending the imposition of the principle of community).

As José Neves and João Rodrigues have previously noted, the biggest proof of this mercantilisation is the selfsame rhetoric of the market in the world of football, in the continuation of what we can identify as a sport 'invented as a spectacle and progressively made into a commodity'. [8] And accompanying the reasoning of these authors, in reality, this not only exists in football but also in society at large, as a result of the 'ascension and affirmation of a neo-liberal view of life and of the world that views the integration of the Market as a norm par excellence governing social relations'. [9] Or is it a common sense neo-liberal ideology turned hegemonic? Following Boaventura Sousa Santos, [10] we can argue that the principle of the market has come to impose itself on top of the principle of the community in the project of modernity. Also in football, it cannot leave this to happen, particularly when it has turned global, and when clubs have transformed themselves into worldwide entities with the help of media groups.

This journal reflects how powerful the issue of corporate capitalism and changes in the world football market and business are: although only a small number of the studies presented here focus first and foremost on these developments, each essay on contemporary football phenomena discusses them. Furthermore, the contributions on Brazil, England, Portugal, Germany and the Far East make particularly clear that the transformation of this sport is a global cultural industry, dominated by the economic interests of agents of power, namely media networks, a transformation which is decisively altering the relationship of football supporters to 'their' game. At the same time, these transformations could put into a determinant form an implicit course of potential participation and social interaction for football.

Since at least the historical turning point of 1989, the end of the cold war and 'short century' (Hobsbawm), questions of space and belonging, normally discussed under the

heading of (collective) 'identities' have reached the top of the political and academic agenda. The field of football studies not only opens up specific questions related to the construction of imagined communities, traditional and shifting perceptions of space and belonging, we must also mention the loyalty and identification to and with clubs and the fact that following a football team brings with it a strong feeling of belonging to a collective, characterized by forms of solidarity and internal sociability which promote social integration. Without this feeling, one would be obliged to indulge in a 'militant' practice in a system of individuals, being conscious of belonging to a group of which the other members are not known personally – and this sense of belonging also exists among those who do not even go to the stadium, including some who did not even visit 'their' stadium once in their life time.

These questions are discussed in this volume, with reference to the local level by Adam Brown and Paul Martin referring to the UK (namely Manchester), related to the national level by Jim Riordan, who gives insight into the Russian case, by Barrie Wharton for the Spanish *fiesta nacionalista*, and by Wolfram Manzenreiter and John Horne in their analysis of the 'implantation' of football in the Far East, while Miguel Moniz grasps the transnational level by focusing on lusophone communities in the USA. For many scholars, the instrumentalization and role of football in national and colonial discourses in the past belong to what we call today identity politics and discourses; historical evidence is provided by Nuno Domingos, elaborating on the Mozambican football formation case in the late era of the Third Portuguese Empire and by Tiago Maranhão, who examines the role of football in Gilberto Freyre's influential theories on race and national integration in Brazil in the 1930s. Studies in football not only contribute empirical evidence and theoretical reflection to identity discourses, they also shape new approaches, for instance those related to community building processes at the local (here Brown and Martin) and transnational level (here Moniz).

Furthermore, during the last 15 or 20 years, the topics of emotions and excitement, of leisure time and aesthetic pleasure have surely been emancipated from occupying a position of attracting only minor attention within the social sciences, with some themes becoming central (as newcomers or revived classics) in studies of anthropology (for example 'anthropology of emotions') or studies concerned with popular culture, sports, cultural and aesthetic phenomena as such. Concerning the topics of emotions and excitement in contemporary societies, football-related phenomena and their analysis have become a valuable source for reflection. The often-cited pioneering work by Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *The Search for Excitement* has become what one could call a 'classic'. The excitement lived in consequence of the emotionally-relevant involvement of identification with a team (at many times more specifically, club loyalty), permits, in the case of football, the necessities of a certain socially accepted 'controlled loss of control/uncontrolledness' of emotions, legitimately including, via the characteristics of mass spectacle, transgressive forms of behaviour in the space of the stadium. This excitement, which results for the most part in the symbolic investments promoted by the fans in relation to their club (and, likewise, in the significance of the shared experience) is, especially when produced by the game of football, marked

by two crucial characteristics of modernity: uncertainty (and risk) and constant renewal (of players, competitions, seasons).[11]

Excitement appears to be one of the key experiences for those who follow and are involved in the game, accompanied by and culminating in harsh shifts of expectation and disappointment, fortune and misfortune, pleasure and grief. Although these emotions are shared with the collective, grief in the football experience, especially in cases of strong loyalty to a club, is perceived by devoted fans as a very personal matter. Grief and its loneliness, as well as the centrality of football fandom in one's biography, is vividly expressed in what is probably the most famous novel written by a football fan, Nick Hornby's *Fever Pitch*. First published in 1992, it was translated into several European languages and is perceived by some football fans to be a representative description of what it means to be a fan. It explains that, for many people, watching football is mere entertainment; to some it is more of a ritual; but to others, its highs and lows provide a narrative to life itself. For Hornby, his devotion to the game has provided one of the few constants in a life where meaningful things such as growing-up, leaving home and forming relationships, both parental and romantic, have rarely been as simple or as uncomplicated as his love for Arsenal, although his obsession has probably provided as much depression as joy and – contrary to the image of the mass event and the 'collective nature' of football fandom – less shareable feelings than one might expect:

It is a strange paradox that while the grief of football fans (and it is real grief) is private – and each have an individual relationship with our clubs, and I think that we are secretly convinced that none of the other fans understands quite why we have been harder hit than anyone else – we are forced to mourn in public.[12]

This perception demonstrates the individual's experience of being non-identical with the collective, despite the sense of belonging and identification, and despite shared emotions, concepts or convictions: it can be read as a useful hint regarding the nature of the subjective experience of members of society (and other collectives), in general.

The Pleasure of the Beauty

And still, football does not seem likely to be considered a serious contributor to contemporary culture or to the field of aesthetic experience. To think about the question of pleasure we derive from sport through the development of a truly football-oriented aesthetic is a serious challenge for academics, since, in the first instance, we do not know the answer, and secondly, because there cannot exist another phenomena exactly like sport in general but football in particular whose dimensions have increased so much in actual society that has so effectively resisted our analytic tools.[13] In his study of the powerful logic of, and aura around, football celebrities and the media, Stephen Wagg refers to one of the difficulties which comes with the challenge to use football as an object of study:

It is part of the power of sport and popular culture that it persuades us often to suspend our critical faculties – I have often been told, for example, by friends on the British left that 'we can have all those arguments about corporate capitalism – except when it comes to football. When it's football we're the same as anyone else – We Hate Arsenal, or whatever'.[14]

Keeping a necessary distance from the object of study in order to maintain a critical distance is a methodological standard and important requirement, but it does not solve the whole problem. In his essay in this journal, Detlev Claussen, who normally does not cite the Bible, reminds us about the simple fact that, 'In the beginning of football there was not the word but the ball'. He continues to say that, as yet, there is hardly a topic as difficult to write about as football, with the possible exception of music (Stephen Wagg would certainly add comedy here). It is the power of popular culture, the emotional involvement and the pleasure in its beauty, which make the analysis of football as an aesthetic experience so challenging.

Then why do athletes have so much pleasure in competing with each other and why, as spectators, do we take so much pleasure in observing them? Where is the aesthetic pleasure here? In trying to approach these questions, we will follow the hint of Gumbrecht, who presents a very short and convincing answer by a sportsman, in fact an athlete of the highest order, Pablo Morales, Californian swimmer and winner of gold medals at two Olympic Games, who describes in an extremely clear manner the special atmosphere between athletes and spectators: 'During the sport event, the athletes and spectators', according to Morales, '*get lost in concentrated intensity*'. [15]

The aspect of 'getting lost' in this definition can be compared to the 'insularity' of the football event in the stadium (like this, such 'insularity' is not only confined to the arts): when we attend our attention is so deeply absorbed in the event that the everyday world disappears. Morales' definition of 'intensity' points to the sense of a high concentration of mind and body in the athlete such as is the case with the spectator we encounter in a state of high tension. We wait so intensely for the reactions of the bodies of the players, and also for our own, that anything that happens can produce an extreme effect – an effect that can turn dangerous if a mass of spectators, or of athletes, loses control during this situation. The third aspect of Morales' definition refers to the fact that the specific tension, which relates athletes with spectators, is 'concentrated' and cannot be dissipated by any event. But what is it that they concentrate upon with such dedication? What are they expecting so attentively? Gumbrecht emphasizes that they are waiting for an epiphany, or a sudden apparition, which will have form and substance, albeit only for a fleeting moment. This becomes more graphic when taking into account that an epiphany is simultaneously an apparition and an event. And what appears as an event can be, many times, a surprise, for example, a defence by a goalkeeper never seen before. For it to be transformed into an event, an apparition only needs to create a discontinuity, a rupture. We know, in fact, that when a team enters the field at a given moment, despite complete predictability, it provokes a reaction of great tension. The epiphany, concentrated upon the expected stress of the athletes or spectators, can appear in such a manner as to be described in totality as a case of a specific relationship emerging between a substance (constituted by one or more bodies) and a form. In our perception, this relation substance-form is particularly related to team games (as opposed to sports with various judgements on physical exercise, such as gymnastics or athletics).

Team games like football create a complex genre of epiphany. Here, we don't necessarily know for sure if a body has the requisite capacity to hold a specific form, because

in football, such pre-existing concrete forms do not exist. In the stadium, we wait anxiously for the moment in which the team, with a pass of the ball, formally concretises a beautiful move. When this moment arises, it is also an event, a happening, but we cannot be certain that it is really going to happen as it is constantly threatened by the attempts of the other team's defenders.

But a beautiful move also has its own goal, because it is seen by the majority of the spectators for the first time and played in this manner for the first time. Furthermore, the form of this move is temporarily delimited: it dissolves, disappears, while it is being made, and the game will never again see a move like it. A photograph cannot capture its essence and television pictures only see it partially, because they never show the complete space or the playing field in its entirety. In the end, one of these moves can also be described as a corporeal form that only can be realized in space, and in general, in football, the domination of space is of great importance, something television cannot hope to capture. In the stadium, the bodies of the spectators are guests in relation to this form. The epiphany or apparition of an unknown form essentially determines the pleasure with which we follow the game in the stadium.

Each lover of football knows the satisfaction they feel when a team attacks with a series of surprise passes and brings off an almost perfect move in front of our eyes: the goal by Rui Costa which made the score 2-1 against England during Euro 2004 was, without doubt, one of these events. The satisfaction that emerged was a mixture of spiritual joy and physical satisfaction (although some of the supporters with circulation problems required medical assistance); normally, this sensation appears with a deep breath or a smile of joy. Such a form of enthusiasm cannot be contained. It is also different compared to the relief we feel when our team scores a goal: when our team wins, the world is pleased with us, but when a game and its moves also have beauty, then our perspectives about the representation of what is *possible* significantly increases.

In the stadium we can regularly meet with a personal experience which serves to classically define the 'aesthetic' conceit, namely in the guaranteed ability of the true fans to make a difference between a good match and a bad match – independent of the result. Everyone who has been there and taken pleasure in the game will agree with this judgement, in spite of the fact that we normally don't know how to respond when someone asks us what conceits or criteria actually constitute a 'good' match. This description can appear simple, but corresponds exactly to an answer given by Kant to the question of specific aesthetic judgement. Following Kant, this resides in the capacity to stabilize a consensus, an agreement: agreement is the basis of a judgement that has no consciousness of the same criteria and conceits – to take another well-known expression from Kant (from the Third Critique), in his 'aesthetics'. Gumbrecht makes reference to his description of the pleasure in beauty as 'disinterested pleasure'.^[16] 'Disinterested' connotes that here, in relation to our situation, we are fundamentally unable to reason what we like or dislike in things, or what we think is 'beautiful' or 'ugly', in the range of our personal aesthetic experience. When we feel attracted by certain things, it is not because their presence magnifies our wealth (which cannot be said about a visit to the new stadiums, taking the ticket prices into account) or our health (which cannot be said about a visit to the old stadiums). It is this that Kant is referring to when equating

aesthetic pleasure with being 'disinterested'. And it is of this that we talk critically and philosophically after Kant, when we talk of the 'autonomy' or 'insularity' of art.

It is evident that the existence of an aesthetic philosophy of football is not completely necessary in order to confer upon it an academic or artistic honour. If billions of people continue to watch football, despite the habitual scandals, it clearly does not need to have an academic or artistic aura. The deficiency we encounter is in another site. Serious consideration of football as an aesthetic phenomenon can show us how rigid or how limited some habitual conjectures concerning the social side of beauty are:

Yes, of all the cultural erudite phenomena, who's downfall was quickly announced by the appearance of post-modernism [...] books, opera, painting and ballet are still live. However, there is no other form of contemporary culture transmitting more beauty to more people than sport.^[17]

If we have neglected this evidence, this must be due to the enormous difficulty we have in differentiating between the *pleasure of beauty* and the rituals of the *culturally erudite*.

Kick-Off – to the Mega-event and Football Experience in new Times and Spaces

Spring 2006, Portugal, Football Season

The Superliga (now officially Liga Betandwin)^[18] approaches a decisive phase, Portuguese media follow the progress of national football professionals and celebrities abroad, hence focussing upon the national leagues in England, Spain, Italy and elsewhere.^[19] Managers and talent scouts of leading Portuguese clubs are travelling to Brazil, Mozambique and other lusophone countries, seeking young promising players and signing ('export') treaties with local clubs.^[20] Six Portuguese clubs had started in the main European competitions, but only Benfica had entered the knock-out phase of the Champions League. The Portuguese national team lies at number 10 in the FIFA ranking, the press draws attention to the 'three lusophone teams' (Brazil, Portugal and Angola) which have qualified for the World Cup, and the question of who will represent his national team in Germany occupies sport columns and football talk. These three teams and 29 others are getting ready.

Spring 2006, Global Markets, International Discourses

So are the organizing committees, security forces, travel agencies, professional fan hosting organizations, the merchandise industry, the media and, last but not least, fans and fan groupings. Preparations for the mass event on a global scale are running at full speed, across and far beyond those areas of professional and leisure time interests, which by name and during the whole year concentrate on sports in general and on the King of Sports in particular. Those include designers and artists, feature writers and researchers. Publishers, cultural institutions and the academies are calling for contributions, inviting authors and social scientists to roundtable discussions and conferences.

Spring 2006 is a privileged moment from which to view phenomena which are football-related at first sight but derive from, and are determined by, a particular logic

which lies beyond football, namely the relation between mega-events and time in modern society. These genres of events have had an enduring mass popularity in modernity since their creation in the late nineteenth century and continue to do so in a period of globalization. Much of the enormous proliferation and options of football-related economics, public and scientific interest, as well as cultural production, which one cannot help but notice right now are undoubtedly inseparable from the mega-event of the World Cup. They are not specific to football, but football, as the most popular mega-event, provides the opportunity for their birth.[21] Mega-events, or international cultural and sport events such as the Olympic Games and World's Fairs have an extraordinary status by virtue of their very large scale and periodicity.[22] Henceforth, this dimension of football-related interests, issues and markets is to a certain extent temporary, and its popularity derives from the significant positive and adaptive roles the event continues to play in relation to the interpersonal and public structuring of time. As Roche puts it, mega-events are short-lived collective cultural actions,[23] which nonetheless have long-lived pre and post-event social dimensions.[24]

Although it was the eve of the FIFA World Cup 2006 and at a time when the images of the last international football mass event, EURO 2004 were still vivid both in Portuguese society and in international discourses and memory, that the authors and editors of *Globalized Football* presented and discussed their results in Lisbon, this special issue of *Soccer and Society* is dedicated not to the mega-event itself but to football as a cultural phenomenon. In distinction to the mega-event, the subject of this journal, football in its social, historical, economic and cultural dimensions, can be seen as a *long-lived* cultural action in modernity and in people's biographies, which has *long-lived* social dimensions, including pre and post-event emotional dimensions, the latter partly 'short-lived' – during the season at least on a weekly basis. 'At least' and 'weekly basis' are the catch-words here and deserve a question mark when football in its current social formation turns into an object of study for social scientists who are dedicated to approach some of the most striking questions and recent developments concerning football in the globalized world.

During the last 15 years, one of the key issues in academic discourses on globalization refers to the *compression* and *new experiences of time and space*. [25] As a matter of fact, such changes become very graphic when viewing the relation of football (event) experience and time. The football experience of both professionals and fans, as well as the respective cultural production, were once framed in a quite reliable weekly rhythm. All kinds of pre and post-game rituals and demands of a physical and psychological, of a practical and emotional nature were embedded in a routine which structured socio-cultural traditions (and family leisure time) and were centred and culminating in the very moment: 'when Saturday comes'. Saturday (or in Portugal: Sunday) *afternoons* had once been the moment to move to the stadium, to switch on the radio or to conquer a seat or spot in a pub or restaurant or neighbour's house which provided a television.

A first shift was due to the transmission of football matches on TV, alongside the 'democratisation of TV': its implantation in the vast majority of households, for most European countries from the late 1950s onwards (in Portugal 1970s), after the World Cup in Sweden in 1958 – which brought the 'football from a different planet', namely

the astonishing elegance of the Brazilian national team, for the first time to European households, in black and white pictures.[26] The second fundamental change in football rituals and its relation to time and space derived from the privatization of broadcasting rights in the 1980s. Today it is private TV channels which determine the football schedule according to prime time TV slots. The most sought-after matches take place at night and end late, sometimes on a Sunday or Monday in the domestic Leagues, or on Tuesday and Wednesday for international club competition (first and foremost the attractive Champions League matches). Many supporters complain about the current situation, about ticket prices, the schedule and also about the costs for access to televised football. Many cannot afford regular stadium visits and/or decide to not take their children to the (late) matches anymore or do not go themselves when they have to work the next day. In several countries (including Portugal) the loss of the *afternoon* affects stadium attendance. The afternoon hour might not be gone for good: it has been partly revived already in order to increase the number of spectators. The exclusive airing of decisive and/or highly interesting matches on private TV channels causes a revival or new quality of football-related pub culture, a development which seems to be particularly strong in Germany and the UK, while it seemingly has never really disappeared in Portugal. As Marcos Alvito points out in his contribution on the Brazilian case, the concentration of power in single enterprises which are broadcasting rights holders implies another development: the domestication of football fans in the stadiums for the purpose of producing and ensuring 'clean TV pictures'.

The globalization of football gives way to the loss of certain football traditions. And as in other domains of contemporary culture, these losses are accompanied by an increasing claim or search for tradition (reflected in the media, in public and academic discourses), with the trial of renewal or re-inventions in new settings and, in our case, sporadic organized fan-protest. What we can witness in contemporary football culture is the syncretism of tradition and modernity – their nature is neither pure nor opposed, rather both present elements of the other.

Shifting experiences of time and space in football ritual and experience became graphic and objects of discussion as early as the 1990s. Williams and Giulianotti were discussing the social development and continued public warmth for football in Britain, citing, for example, researchers such as John Bale (1991), John Clarke (1978), and Ian Taylor (1982), who had usefully emphasized the role of the 'topophilic' triangle – between the football club, the club ground and the affective support of the surrounding community.[27] The two editors of *Games Without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity* found that there is, clearly, something to be recommended in this approach. But they called attention to the fact that in those days, however, the empirical research for this thesis was rather scant and, in consequence, there was a tendency to romanticize the past, undoubtedly adding to its appeal.[28] More seriously, its traditionalist inclinations meant it underplayed the full functions of modernity in interpolating football's continuing popular and transnational appeal, increasingly, for example, for its controllers and 'armchair' fans.

Williams and Giulianotti began to explain the mass, globalized appeal, even to millions of non-attenders, of teams such as Real Madrid, Milan, Juventus, Manchester

United and Glasgow Rangers, as being beyond constraints of national boundaries, local belonging and the effects of international social mobility:

Nevertheless, there is also an important sense (invention?) of 'place' and 'identity' which infuses the nature of, and a support for, these clubs and which mobilizes their representative communities [...] In the globalised future of televisual sports, the collage of traditional methods and the importance of the 'cultural rootedness' of place and established localisms seems to count for increasingly little in the desperate pursuit of commercial success.[29]

The reflections of the mid-1990s have already highlighted that developments in contemporary World Football cannot be seen as one-dimensional. The state of the art today even points to its ambivalence. The quality of 'cultural rootedness' and impact of 'localism' has certainly changed – due to the migration of famous players to famous clubs abroad, as well as the opportunity for consumption of particular football matches now aired on a global scale: an opportunity to follow the 'local heroes' at the international level, as well as following the (former) 'hometown' or 'home country' team when living as a migrant. The performance and success of international football celebrities is followed attentively by fans in their country of origin: the presence of Chelsea FC in the Portuguese media has been conspicuous since José Mourinho became their manager and the *camisolas* of AC Milan, FC Barcelona and Real Madrid are prestigious goods among young Brazilian football supporters, as shown by Alvito in this journal, just to give two examples. Furthermore, football identification seems to play an important role in the process of maintaining and reconstructing cultural bonds and a sense of local and/or national belonging in diasporic settings.[30] And the success of the national (or a local) team of the emigrant's country of origin often serves as a tool to compensate or emancipate from (the image of) subaltern social status in the host society.[31]

The case studies by Moniz and Brown in this volume highlight that the development as described by Williams and Giulianotti in 1994 is not one-dimensional. Moniz's example of lusophone (mainly but not only of Portuguese/Azorian origin) emigrant communities in the USA points to the importance of 'cultural rootedness' at a transnational level, the reference to place and re-established or invented localisms and how these phenomena get strengthened and used in the desperate pursuit of commercial success of soccer in New England. Brown, who focuses on Manchester United, a club which by many non-supporters is seen as the very example for an internationally supported club which lacks a strong local fan base and 'cultural rootedness', analyses the reconstruction of local supporter communities during the highly organized protest against the Glazer take-over.

The globalization of football leads to significant changes concerning individual and collective relationships to places, experiences of localism and perceptions of space. As mentioned above, it also affects the experience of time – for example in the erosion of the weekly rhythm and its culminating in the moment of the Saturday/Sunday stadium visit. What rests, as a reliable rhythm in a wider time frame – apparently untouchable in the syncretism of tradition and modernity – is a very particular concept and structure of the year, shared by devoted football fans, namely the *season*. Hornby describes the not so extraordinary extreme in stating:

Football fans talk like that: our years, our units of time, run from August to May (June and July don't really happen, especially in years which end with an odd number and which therefore contain no World Cup or European Championship). Ask us for the best or the worst period in our lives and we will often answer with four figures – 66/67 for Manchester United fans, 67/68 for Manchester City fans, 69/70 for Everton fans, and so on.[32]

Globalized Football: Aims and Perspectives

Globalization was not the leading theme or dictum during the conceptualization of this special issue dedicated to World Football. The project was initially inspired and shaped by questions responding to the heading *Football: The Nation, the City and the Dream*. Very quickly it became clear that in aiming to approach and understand football as a major social, cultural and economic phenomenon in a particular case and specific social and historical national context, it is the globalized character of present day football which demands crossing the borders of a country in question. This is true for each country represented in this volume – and it would have been true for any other country missing here, although in many cases, we were tempted to include it. During the production process, while analysing the first contributions, the major theme of Football and Globalization simply conquered the field: despite starting from a different theme and under diverse headings, most studies presented here actually focus upon the impact of globalization processes in World Football, on diverse football social formation cases in different countries as a prism to view cultural phenomena and economic developments in the era of global simultaneousness, the increase of social mobility and labour migration in football, and on changes of football-related phenomena caused by the proliferation of internationally mediated (sport) events and televisual consumption. This is a huge area and the enormous diversity of cases started undermining any chance to bring the different leads together again. While we were keen on keeping a comparative perspective at the international level, this was the moment when the lusocentric perspective came into play.

What we call a lusocentric perspective here provides a multifaceted view: For example, it sheds light on the impact of Portuguese football professionals and celebrities abroad and this is how the volume starts, namely with the thematic section *Lusophone Football Professionals in Anglophone Spaces*. Sport, celebrity and global culture and their intersection have generated considerable academic literature in the last 20 years. The most famous current example of Portuguese football talent abroad, the case of José Mourinho and his partly self-cultivated aura of glamorous, slack-tied, can-do managerialism in England, is introduced by Stephen Wagg. The author explores the politics of contemporary global football celebrity and cultural politics of capitalist globalization with specific reference to Mourinho and Eriksson: 'Where football is concerned the Manager Myth has colonised our common sense [...]. But, when the final whistle has blown, the fact remains that, to paraphrase Marx, while football managers may make their own history, they do not do so in circumstances of their own choosing.'

Less known but by no means less revealing than this case is the role of 'lusophone' football/soccer, hence the virtual and at times physical presence of Portuguese clubs,

but also of national teams or players from Cape Verde and Brazil, among emigrants from different Portuguese speaking countries in the United States. Miguel Moniz provides an overview of adaptive transnational identity processes related to soccer among lusophone migrant communities in New England. Particular attention is paid to how the New England Revolution soccer team (in the US first division) markets the club to the lusophone migrants and as a result participates in the transnational social field, important for migrant economic and social integration in local contexts.

In the age of international migration and globalization of markets, football as an object of study demands widening the lusocentric view to encompass the former Portuguese Empire, the world of 'lusotropicalism', just as other phenomena which mirror postcolonial realities do. The high percentage of Brazilian and African football professionals in Portuguese clubs opens valid research questions concerning lusophone linkages and postcolonial patterns, discussed in the second section, *Football History and Migration in/from Lusophone Spaces in (Post)Colonial Contexts*.

But firstly, the lusocentric perspective enters the field of football in the colonial past, when the game was one element of administrative cultural hegemonic power as well as the cultural appeal of the colonizers in Mozambique, as Nuno Domingos explains, giving insight into the Africanization of the game. The relation between sport and colonialism is crossed by a broad set of debates. One of these debates (widely developed within the studies on the British case), analyzes the links between sport and processes of domination, resistance and appropriation. The tension between the principles that organized the introduction of football and its local appropriation is analysed by Domingos through the examination of a glossary of local terms (written in Ronga, a language from the south of Mozambique), where moments of the game are described.

Paul Darby, who presents a detailed overview of the football migration patterns between Africa and Portugal, provides insight into the present situation of football in Mozambique, Angola and Cape Verde. Drawing on economic models of globalization to inform the empirical evidence presented, Darby's analysis assesses the extent to which Portuguese football has exploited the football resources of its former African colonies and examines the impact that this trend has had on African football at both the local and national level.

Arriving in Brazil, the lusocentric view, again, starts in the past where Tiago Maranhão focuses on 'Apollonians and Dionysiacs' by analyzing the role of football in the thought of Gilberto Freyre in respect to the 'Brazilian people'. In the preface of *Sobrados e Mucambos* (first published in 1949, and later translated into *Mansions and Shanties*) Freyre stated, as cited by Maranhão, that 'the rising of the mulatto, not only the "lighter" but also the "darker" one, could be found among athletes, swimmers, and football players that are nowadays predominantly *mestizos*'. With this new and positive notion of multiracialism, Freyre gave a renewed legitimacy to the popular practices (namely sports) that began to be widespread through the Brazilian territory. Within the context of a debate of racial theories in Brazil at the beginning of the twentieth century, this discussion provides a counterpoint to other interpretations of Gilberto Freyre concerning the Brazilian way of playing football (*dionisiaca*) in comparison to the European style (*apolíneo*), taken as a base, Freyre's own writings about this sport.

Today, the new global player market has turned Brazil into a warehouse of quality players made for export. Marcos Alvito vividly explains how Brazilian football has been deeply hurt by the globalization process. Although in Brazil the legal status of being a child or adolescent prohibits any business contracts with minors under 14 years old, the foreign clubs have as an alternative the means to 'contract' all the family, which moves jointly with the 'ace'. Today, Brazilian football is seen as an enormous shop window of 'players aspiring to play in Europe', who are ready to leave sooner or later, but preferably sooner. With a word, Leonardo Santiago, today 21 years old, who went to play for Feyenoord in Holland when he was 11 years old, sums up: 'football is business and the players are its product'.

Football labour migration trajectories from lusophone countries have recently led us to Russia. Jim Riordan starts the third section of *Globalized Football, the Nation, the City and the Dream: Different Historical and Social Experiences*, inside the game 'for Russia, for money and for power'. He explains that developments in post-Soviet football have to be seen against the cataclysmic socio-political changes that have occurred since the demise of communism and the USSR in 1991. Football has acquired a new and unique meaning for ordinary people in terms of both nationhood and even 'apolitical' dreams. Russian football today is in the hands of multi-billionaire 'oligarchs' who use the sport mainly as a gloss over their other less than sporting activities and to launder their vast wealth. As a result, the Russians are coming to world football.

Playing the Post-Fordist Game in/to the Far East, Wolfram Manzenreiter and John Horne give insight into the Footballization of China, Japan and South Korea by exploring the global dimensions, national aspirations, and local preconditions of the rise of football in the most vital growth region. Here, the burgeoning popularity of football is indicative of both the successful integration of the 'football periphery' into global commodity markets as well as changing relations of consumption in areas where football previously was close to non-existent. Local conditions are deeply tainted by the traditional arrangement of sport and entertainment, the way these are linked to local identity and inter-city competition. While national ambitions seem to be more to the forefront throughout East Asia, football as a national project stands out in modernizing China and Korea.

From the Far East back to Europe, the lusocentric perspective returns to focus on the role of the game in present day Portuguese society. The editors introduce the paradox of the Portuguese game, which becomes graphic when contrasting the two most obvious empirical facts of this social football formation case, namely the omnipresence of football in society and the absence of spectators in the stadiums. Stadium attendance in Portugal is surprisingly low during the season, while football is all-prevailing in public life, causing visible emotional reactions and a strong dedication/involvement among the so-called football crazy population. In analysing respective figures over three decades, we explain the reasons for this paradox, which are shaped by the consequences of the globalization of football and determined by the very specific social, cultural and economic Portuguese (football) context.

The particular societal context of football in the boarders of Portugal's Iberian neighbour Spain is introduced by Barrie Wharton who considers soccer as the new

fiesta nacional(ista) in distinction to the old one, the bull fights. In examining the significance of football in a broader socio-cultural framework, such as the rise of working-class club presidents and the birth of 'national' teams from the Spanish regions, Wharton discusses whether this evolving role of football in Spain may be operating as a virtual socio-cultural barometer of society with football beating far closer to the pulse of contemporary Spain than is currently considered.

The concluding section elaborates upon *Football Discourses and Social Conflict: Money, Myths and Movements*, by presenting a case study by Adam Brown, who explores the impressive scope of the oppositional stance taken by many Manchester United fans to the corporate take-over of their club by the US-based Glazer family, and an essay by Paul Martin who examines the intricacies of government initiative to fund and uphold Supporters Cooperatives in England in order to allay public fears about recent shifts that have taken place in English football organization and finance thanks to the massive intrusion of big money into the game. Martin's aim is to reconstruct the role of the fans in the future commercialization process that will affect the game from time to time. Detlev Claussen, in the final essay, unmaskes the myth that football constitutes a mirror reflection of society – but introduces the concept of the utopian moment in football. Different in nature, these essays appear as the perfect one-two. Brown describes the failure of highly politicized and radicalized fan organizations who try to stop the take-over and destruction of community this entails. The end of the story is a new beginning. The formation of a new, fan-owned football club, FC United of Manchester, established by disaffected and disillusioned Manchester United fans, who have fought for a utopian cause and won: thousands of supporters and a new community, which celebrates the elsewhere-eroding football traditions at and beyond a fever pitch in the 9th division. During the afternoon, until however late, whenever Saturday comes.

Concluding with Open Questions: Football – The Nation, the City and the Dream

Conceptualized in the aftermath of EURO 2004 and released on the eve of FIFA World Cup 2006, the project moved between two football mega-events. One of its conclusions is that the social importance and cultural impact of football, although differing in the cases presented here, moves far beyond those extraordinary occasions when two or thirty-two national teams compete against each other: it lies in everyday life and what counts is the season.

Although the attention to, and celebration of, football matches at the national level opens important research questions concerning the relation between football identification, national integration and the production of national(ist) discourses,[33] football is not a child of the nation. To consider football a predominantly national phenomenon appears – at least in Europe – both a historical and sociological mistake, because first and foremost it comes from the cities, the regions and local neighbourhoods.[34] Furthermore, and corresponding to the phenomenon of football's importance and its identification beyond the nation, it is in international club competitions that the harsh reality of the world football market can really be seen, and not in the World or European championships, which have more the character of an international festival.

Aesthetically, the difference is between tough competition on the one hand and the international celebration on the other, symbolized in the look of the uniformed fans: the black rune-like symbols/writings on the flags of the extremist 'Ultras' or the charming faces of men, women and children painted in green and red (in the Portuguese case), dancing to the rhythm of the samba. The international – and not national – aspect of football mega-events, again, was best demonstrated by fans who came to Portugal during EURO 2004 from countries all over the world, including Mexico, Scotland, Japan, Australia and other countries which did not take part in the competition. Those who had come to see as many matches of their national team as possible kept on supporting another national team after their own had been eliminated from the tournament. Amidst all this joy, those who left the stadium as winners did not sing their national anthem as they celebrated on the *Avenida da Liberdade* in Lisbon. Instead they did what has become a tradition in football, singing 'We are the Champions'.

For those interested in such a ranking, one can find an international dictum among devoted fans (who do not consider themselves 'ultras'), which states: *First comes the game, then the club, then the nation*. Empirical data on this topic is still scant, but it appears very interesting to focus upon this phenomenon. For instance, although present across diverse national borders, these narratives find their counterpoint in societies of the Far East, where the (recent) history and social meaning of football – as explained by Manzenreiter and Horne – is of a different nature to, for example, that to be found in Europe and South America.[35] As an interviewee at a Japanese University[36] responded shortly after the World Cup in 2002 to a question about how this event would remain in local collective memory: 'The Japanese like festivals, Koreans like Korea. Some people like football.'[37]

And still, these narratives of fans in the *football centre* which are summed up in the above dictum invoked this section's headline, which had been the working title of this volume in the early stage of the project, albeit upside down: Globalized Football – The dream, the city and the nation.

We suggest 'the dream' as a metaphor for 'the game' here, in respect to the priorities of those fans who despite their clear opposition and protest against doubtful (and at times clearly illegal) practices in club and football management and business, against the volatile entanglement of football and politics, against all kinds of instrumentalization within the game, and despite the high ticket prices and the ongoing scandals, go to the stadiums late at night, in rain and cold or incredible heat not only because they want to see goals (which are, as a matter of fact, very rare in high quality football) or their team winning (which often seems rather unlikely, taking injuries/missing players or an impossibly strong adversary into account). They are doing so because they hope to see a beautiful game, or at least an impressive move/pass/sequence. We use the metaphor of the dream because football – or rather, the game – seems to provide what one can call a utopian moment. The concept of the utopian moment in football is developed by Detlev Claussen in his essay and becomes graphic, for instance, in the prevailing logic of the game, namely by the ever-present chance that the very outsider, probably underprivileged in terms of hiring opportunities of expensive players, can win the match against a 'dream team' or a whole tournament. This is interesting because

the economic capacity of a club/national team determines important conditions (training and living conditions of the players, the quality of their health care, etc.), which determine the quality of a team to a far greater extent. The whole state of the art of Globalized Football appears ambivalent: on one side, it seems to be obvious that the modernization of football is especially determined by new capitalist practices, the power of broadcasting rights and the proliferation of its mediation. On the other, football (culture agents) struggle(s) to be still more than the business around it and its celebrities since it provides live emotion, passion, protest, emancipation and belonging in times where traditional bonding, traditions themselves and some major democratic values are being eroded. Is it possible that football is one of the last spaces in contemporary societies to offer the experience of a utopian moment in an alienated life world? Contrary to this theory is the following: related to acts of violence and racism in football stadiums, representatives of football-managing institutions (for example spokesmen of the German Football Federation, DFB) frequently state that 'football cannot be better than the society where it is played'. The success of anti-racist and anti-violence policies in and around other European stadiums (again, England in the first place), as well as anti-fascist fan organizations (for example BAFF, in Germany) point to the fact that this statement does not necessarily reflect reality but serves to justify the unwillingness of the institutions in charge to develop and introduce respective strategies.

Vividly expressed in all four sections of this volume, the ambivalence of Globalized Football has motivated the group of authors to continue their discussion on the challenging question: how far can football be better than the society where it is played?

Notes

- [1] The conference *Globalized Football: Nations and Migration, the City and the Dream*, took place at the Institute of Social Science of the University of Lisbon (ICS-UL) on 12 May 2006, where the special issue *Futebol Globalizado* of the peer-reviewed Portuguese journal *Análise Social*, vol. XLI (179), 2006, was released. The essays presented here, with the exception of Barry Wharton's contribution on Spain and Paul Martin's contribution on Supporters Trusts, were published, mostly in a former, pre-conference version in Portuguese in *Futebol Globalizado*. As editors and conference organizers, we want to highlight our gratitude to the authors/speakers and, also on behalf of the latter, for the financial support this project and conference received from ICS-UL and the British Council (special thanks to Rosemary Hilhorst), from FCT (Foundation of Science and Technology, Lisbon) and the City Hall of Lisbon (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa).
- [2] The adjective 'Luso' is often used as an equivalent to 'Portuguese'. We use it here as a linguistic category in the wider sense in referring to 'Lusophone' matters and spaces. 'Lusophone', again, refers to the Portuguese idiom, meaning 'Portuguese Speaking' in the same sense as 'Anglophone' stands for 'English Speaking' countries, people, etc. Countries with the official language Portuguese or where Portuguese is the prevailing language among the majority of the population are nowadays Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Cap Verde, Mozambique, the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea Bissau, East Timor and Macao. In the colonial past, the provinces Goa, Damão and Diu on the Indian subcontinent also belonged to this category. The notion 'Lusophone Spaces' used here not only refers to countries, but to any space where the Portuguese language is prevailing among the population which dominates such a space in numerical or other terms (for example regions and neighbourhoods which are predominantly inhabited by Portuguese-speaking emigrants).
- [3] Bromberger, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, April 1998, 3.

- [4] In summer 2004, five women's teams from East Asia were in the top 25 of the FIFA ranking, while among the male national teams only South Korea and Japan took one of the last places in this first division. And while the male teams from North Korea and China were no. 119 and 78, their female counterparts achieved no. 7 and 5 in the international ranking (Manzenreiter, 'Fußball und die Krise der Männlichkeit in Japan', 1). On women's football in East Asia see Manzenreiter, 'Her Place in "the House of Football"'.
 - [5] Dunning, *Soccer*, 2.
 - [6] For example, Horne and Manzenreiter, *Mega-Events*.
 - [7] Bromberger, *Le Match du Football*.
 - [8] Rodrigues and Neves, 'Do Amor à Camisola' (About the Love for the club shirt), 170.
 - [9] *Ibid.*
 - [10] Sousa Santos, *Pela mão de Alice*, 79.
 - [11] Elias and Dunning, *A Busca da excitação*; Bromberger, *Le Match du Football*.
 - [12] Hornby, *Fever Pitch*, 109.
 - [13] Gumbrecht, 'Die Form der Gewalt', 11f.
 - [14] See Stephen Wagg's essay in this journal.
 - [15] Gumbrecht, 'Die Form der Gewalt', 11.
 - [16] *Ibid.*, 16.
 - [17] *Ibid.*, 12.
 - [18] Since the 2005/06 season Liga Betandwin is the official name and main sponsor of Portuguese top football championship. Betandwin is a known betting company, which works mainly through the internet.
 - [19] In the daily sports newspaper 'O Jogo' a ranking of Portuguese migrant players in Europe is updated every week based in their appearances, goals, etc.
 - [20] See, for example, *O Record*, 15 December 2005, 6–7.
 - [21] See also Horne and Manzenreiter, *Sports Mega-Events*.
 - [22] Roche, 'On Time Structures in Global Society', 99.
 - [23] Greenhalgh called this 'ephemeral vistas'. See Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*.
 - [24] Roche, 'On Time Structures in Global Society', 99.
 - [25] The concept of the 'compression of time and space' was introduced by David Harvey in 1989. While Harvey did not use the notion globalization, his book *The Condition of Postmodernity*, in particular the third part of the book where he elaborates on the experience of time and space, sets a core impulse in and beyond so-called postmodernist debates and those on globalization concerned with economics, culture, societal experience, etc.
 - [26] The first World Cup to be seen on TV in colour was in 1974.
 - [27] Bale, 'Playing at Home'; Clarke, 'Football and Working Class Fans'; Taylor, 'Class, Violence and Sport'.
 - [28] Williams and Giulianotti, 'Introduction: Stillborn in the USA?', 12.
 - [29] *Ibid.*, 13.
 - [30] A respective study, conceptualized by Stephen Wagg and Nina Clara Tiesler, is currently at tender. It aims to compare the role of football in the reconstruction of Portuguese culture and sense of national belonging with other elements (such as language, cuisine, Portuguese media attention, electoral behaviour, folklore, etc.) among emigrant communities in six diasporic settings (London, Hanover, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Maputo and Massachusetts). Among the authors of this journal, Alvito, Brown, Domingos and Moniz are confirmed as contributing researchers.
 - [31] The Champions League match Lille vs. Benfica (22 November 2005) did not take place in the local stadium in Lille but in the National Stadium, Stade de France, in Paris. The stadium of the World Cup Final of 1998 was full. The chants for Lille were hardly heard, but those for 'SLB', 'Benfica' and, uncommon for an international club competition, 'Portugal', were loud. Among the 70,000 spectators, the majority are Portuguese emigrants numbering around 40,000 – a number which matches or slightly exceeds the recent average of spectators present

at Champion's League games when Benfica played at home roughly at the same time. The match ended with a rather disappointing nil-nil draw but with standing ovations while the players of Benfica were expressing their appreciation to their supporters. Next day, the Portuguese sports daily newspaper, *A Bola*, stated that the frenetic enthusiasm of the supporters had turned the French National stadium 'into Portugal' for 90 minutes.

- [32] Hornby, *Fever Pitch*, 106.
- [33] Back et al., *The Changing Face of Football*; Boyle et al., *Sport and National Identity in the European Media*; Coelho, *Portugal, a Equipa de Todos Nós, Nacionalismo, Futebol e Media*; Crolley et al., 'National Obsessions and Identities in Football Match Reports'; Sugden and Tomlinson, *Hosts and Champions*.
- [34] Tiesler, 'The Fiesta, a Dictatorship, a very dry fish, the Symbol and its Lovers', 14–15; 'Futebol e "Identidades"?' While examples from the Portuguese football social formation case make the importance of club football and its season particularly clear, the same example could easily stem from some other European country: the first big match between Portuguese clubs after EURO 2004, Benfica vs. Porto (17 October 2004, Estádio da Luz, 0-1), generated more waves of public attention and more column inches than either of the two World Cup qualifying matches the national team played roughly at the same time. Furthermore, it seems obvious that no really committed Benfica supporter could truly have celebrated Porto's victory in the Champions League in May 2004. What the observant of football discourses at the level of everyday life could witness on this occasion, when for the first time in 17 years a Portuguese team had won the most prestigious international title in club competition, did not point to national identification. To be observed were half-hearted TV-produced remarks (by non-Porto football fans), such as: 'At the end of the day, they are Portuguese as well, aren't they...? Well, kind of...' – which did not sound like national pride, but rather like a double disappointment. It is no coincidence that most studies about football identification focus on the importance of (a sense of) local, rather than on national belonging (Boyle, 'We are Celtic Supporters'; Williams, 'Rangers is a Black Club?'; Gehrman, 'Football and Identity in the Ruhr'; Bromberger, *Le Match du Football*; Robson, 'No one likes us, we don't care').
- [35] For the history of football around the globe, see Wagg, *Giving the Game Away*.
- [36] Interview by John Horne quoted by Wolfram Manzenreiter, 'Wenn der Zirkus die Stadt verlassen hat' (223), who describes the interviewee PhD-candidate of International Politics, Youth coach and fan of Bayer Munich.
- [37] Manzenreiter, 'Wenn der Zirkus die Stadt verlassen hat', 233, citing an interview conducted by Horne.

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