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Cosmopolitan Fandom: A Critical Postcolonial Analysis of Liverpool FC's Supporters Discourses in Brazil and Switzerland

Renan Petersen-Wagner

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Applied Social Sciences

Durham University

May 2015

"'Patriotism, Sir, is the last refuge of the scoundrel.' Thus spoke Dr Samuel Johnson some 200 years ago [...] The partisans of that older form of devotion to an abstract cause regard their sentiments as pristine, as though endowed with a kind of vulnerable virginity. They tend to defend this virginity even when it is under no discernible form of attack [...] The British way of life, for instance, is a judicious mixture of Ancient British, Roman, Saxon, Danish and Norman ways of doing things, flavoured by many incidental condiments on the side [...] The virginity, then, is an illusion. All nations, even in their essence, are amalgams, the result of primeval jostling of tribes for better bits of territory, for water, for forests, for high places. The patriotic gleam in the eye is the result of an abstract concept, the fulfilling of some sort of human need by fantasy and make-believe." Sir Peter Ustinov (Pitfalls of Patriotism, 1990)

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ABSTRACT

It is argued by different social researchers that the Western contemporaneous world is living under a different set of conditions than in the one that classical sociologist's theorised. Taking a reflexive modern perspective through a cosmopolitan sociological imagination this thesis discussed how a particular socio-cultural manifestation was used discursively by individuals to understand their being and becoming in a globalised world. As argued in this thesis, football's transnationalism provided supporters a locus for creating and expressing cosmopolitan identities that challenge the modern sociological imagination, particularly the one centred in the nation-state. My understanding of the modern sociological imagination impact on football fandom theorisations emerges from a critical analysis of the academic discourse on authentic supporters. As demonstrated in the thesis, the authentic supporter under a modern sociology is imagined as homogeneously male, white, working class, and especially local. Thus, based on an 18-month ethnographic inspired research on Liverpool FC's supporters in Brazil and Switzerland the argument that emerges from this empirical research is fourfold: the cosmopolitan football flâneur should be conceptualised ambivalently governed by individualisation; instead of a *Bastelbiographie*, individualisation should be understood as a *Dasein-für-Gewälthe-Andere*, where those others are the re-modernised structures of modernity;

cosmopolitanism does not render the nation-state obsolete as a Zombie-category, whereas it should be imagined as Frankensteins-monster; and Ulrich Beck's notions of nationalism and cosmopolitanism should be understood as more real than real simulacras.

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file, but again, please, focus on your PhD. I believe I tried to follow his advice, but probably was not that successful.

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To my family

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Anecdote

It was a cold January morning, just after New Years Eve and an English Premier League match would be on on TV. With no access to the live game at home, I ran to the nearest pub that I knew would certainly broadcast the game. I got there about half an hour before kickoff and the pub was empty, just the bartender behind the counter and three to four regular customers. It was an early afternoon kickoff, but as winter was particularly harsh that year, the walk to the pub was an adventure, which went some way to explain the lack of customers in the bar. Just to confirm my expectations I asked the bartender if they would be broadcasting the game, and with his positive answer I bought a drink and found a table with a good view of the big screen. After some fifteen minutes, more and more customers arrived at the pub, all following the same ritual: checking with the bartender if the game was on, ordering a drink and looking for a table with perfect view of the screen. The TV was soon turned on, the pundits were already talking about their expectations for the game, and the crowd behind me in the pub were also chatting and bantering regarding the upcoming game. More and more drinks were ordered as the game came close to its kickoff. What at the beginning was just a pair of customers inside the pub, now there was around twenty-five filling all available seats behind me, and some chairs next to the counter, as unfortunately just one of the screens was turned on. The game starts, and just before half of the first half the favoured team scores. They were playing at home, were top of the league, and faced an opposition side which was bottom of the league, and most pundits would put them as contenders for relegation at the end of the season. As a neutral, I didn't celebrate much, but most of the crowd behind me were jubilant, celebrating and probably

envisioning an easy game for the favourites. More drinks were ordered in the back tables, and they started to speak louder and louder, probably due to the drinks. The first half was coming to a close and as the pub's chef was on holiday, and I believed nothing important in the game would happen, I went to grab some traditional food just outside in a corner shop. It took me longer than expected, so when I got back inside the pub the second half was already underway, and to my surprise the underdogs had scored twice, to lead the game 2-1. The atmosphere inside the pub was clearly different from the one before I left it, with the ones behind me more quiet and anxious, and the ones close to the counter happier. More and more drinks were ordered and the game was coming to a close, with just less than ten minutes left to play. It seemed that a surprising result for the underdogs was certain, but on the 83rd minute of play the home striker and an idol for the fans scored a terrific goal, which led all behind me to instantaneously jump, shout, and celebrate. Emotions shifted side, and the whole pub was in ecstasy, but just six minutes later this same striker provided an assist to the home team skipper to score and take the lead again. Everyone was talking about him, and the ones sitting behind me were constantly speaking about this player. It seemed that he was very important for them. What a game, I thought, but it wasn't over, and in the last minute the away team equalised and the game finishes 3-3. With the end of the game, some just finished their drinks and left the pub, while others ordered more and continued to talk about the game and football in general.

The way the anecdote was told can lead you to believe that this happened to me anywhere in England, inside an English pub, surrounded by Englishmen cheering and supporting their local side. But this actually took place in an Irish pub, and surprisingly not in Ireland. While everyone inside the pub was watching an English channel, with English-speaking pundits and commentators, we were sitting in a pub in Switzerland, more

precisely Neuchatel, a French-speaking region. The bartender was neither Swiss nor Irish, but a Brazilian. The customers weren't just English expats, two or three actually were, but in their vast majority they were from Ethiopian and Somali backgrounds. Contrary to what you might have expected, they weren't drinking English Pint Ales, or Guinness as it was in an Irish pub, but they were having coffee and hot chocolate. When I left to grab food, I wasn't going for fish & chips, neither for a fondue or raclette, but for a Dönner Kebab. The club idol, who scored once and assisted once wasn't an Englishmen, but from Ivory Coast. The club which is based in London was sponsored by a South Korean conglomerate, managed by an Italian and owned by a Russian. The game was Chelsea v Aston Villa at Stamford Bridge, some 800km from where I was at that moment, and the striker I mentioned was Didier Drogba.

1.2 Introduction

"Sport, in particular football, constitutes one of the most dynamic, sociologically illuminating domains of globalization." (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004, p. 545)

As this introductory anecdote highlights, globalisation seems to be tearing apart the nation-state boundaries by mixing together people and institutions from around the globe (Beck, 2000c). Football as a ubiquitous element of this globalisation of signs and images through its constant mediatised flux (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002; Urry, 2000a) can be regarded alongside other popular cultural expressions as one of the prime fields in which globalisation can be studied (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). Nonetheless, as highlighted in the below quote by Miller, Lawrence, McKay & Rowe (2001, p. 1, emphasis added)

globalisation is not only about erasing those nation-state boundaries, and football again serves to illuminate these processes:

> "Sport is probably the most universal aspect of popular culture [...] Sporting culture is at once *intensively local* (we support 'our' team and we go to the nearby gym) *and very distanced* (*we watch that local side on a TV network* owned by a foreign company, or do a workout because our employer expects its labour force to appear fit) [...] Sport is so central to our contemporary moment's blend of transnational cultural industrialization and textualization that *it does more than reflect the global - sport is big enough in its effects to modify our very use of the term, 'globalization"*"

Moreover, as argued by Brick (2001) while globalisation seems to be erasing the nation-state borders it also serves to champion essentialist discourses that create and re-create an authentic supporter in opposition to a plastic one. This notion can be better grasped through Giulianotti's (2002) taxonomy where the authentic and traditional 'supporter' comes to be regarded as a truculent traditionalist that cannot accept the changes imposed by globalisation and globalism. In this sense, football is a prime context where those 'conflicting' forces (one championing a world-view society and another a more localised society, or a more 'modern' and another more 'traditional') engage in power struggles to determine their hegemonic position. Whereas globalisation and globalism with its zero-sum game approach (see section 1.3.1) have been extensively researched within sociology of sport, an ambivalent approach that understands those forces as possibly complimentary is yet to be undertaken. In this sense, it becomes imperative to look at sport through a cosmopolitan imagination (Beck, 2007b, 2010; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Delanty, 2009, 2011; R. Fine & Smith, 2003; Miller, 2007) that takes both here and there, national

and global as possible forces that can be reconciled. How sport, and in particular football, with its associated fan culture can move theoretically, epistemologically and ontologically away from its imperialistic nation-state-centred past (see Hobsbawm, 1983) is yet to be discussed.

As much as the introduction and anecdote so far have discussed globalisation with an eye on football or sport culture in general, nonetheless, as Bruno Latour (1993) would posit, this thesis is not about football in itself, nor it is only concerned with the sociology of football or sport in general. Football, here in this thesis, is understood solely as a context where the contemporaneous life is expressed and thus the thesis is interested "[...] with the way all these things are tied to our collectives and subjectives" (Latour, 1993, p. 4). The things for Latour (1993) are modernisation, technology, knowledge, society and nature, where here the main focus will be on reflexive modernisation, individualisation, cosmopolitanisation and how these intertwined aspects are reflected on football fandom, identity, flows of goods and forms of life. How these phenomena intersect and interact between and within them, thus, is the locus of this doctoral research, in a way that they should be understood separately, but at the same time also together, in an ambivalent epistemology that is shared by both Ulrich Beck and Christoph Lau (2005), and Bruno Latour (1993). As Latour (1993, pp. 15-16) would argue, "questions of epistemology are also questions of 'social order'" in what could be translated to this thesis as questions about football fandom are also questions about sociality, cosmopolitan citizenship, methodology and epistemology. Football fandom, therefore, is the canvas where these aforementioned phenomena are painted and represented. The interest then is not solely on the final painting, or football culture per se, but about how the different elements such as

cosmopolitanisation, individualisation and reflexive modernisation are put together and interact to create and recreate what is understood by football fans as fandom.

What will follow in this chapter is a discussion that sets up the research topic for this thesis. It will start by looking at the current discussion within sociology about the contemporaneous world, by looking at reflexive modernity as an alternative form of understanding socialisations. Following this, the attention will shift to the individualisation thesis proposed by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1993, 2002, 2008), which is deemed to be one of the central aspects of reflexive modernity alongside risk (see Beck, 1992). The last section of the first part of this chapter will discuss how reflexive modernity is seen as an age of cosmopolitanisation, and thus how a cosmopolitan sociology can help to shed light on our understandings of socialisations in contemporaneous world. The second part of this chapter will deal with the research problem, with its questions and objectives, and will finish by providing a theoretical, ontological and epistemological justification for this thesis.

1.3 Problem Statement

1.3.1 Background: Modernisation of Modernity: an Alternative View to Postmodernity

Different social commentators agree that most of the contemporaneous Western world is experiencing a set of new characteristics that are different from the ones of the twentieth-century. On the other hand, these same social commentators come to a

disagreement as to how this 'new age' should be themed and conceptualised. Different approaches and frameworks were developed and are available, for calling the 'new age' 'late capitalism' (Jameson, 1992), 'disorganised capitalism' (Lash & Urry, 1993), 'network society' (Castells, 2000), 'mobile society'[1] (Urry, 2000a, 2000b), or more broadly, 'postmodernity' (Butler, 2002; Lash, 1990; Smart, 1993). As Smart (1993, p. 23, emphasis added) argues:

> "[...] concept of postmodernity is employed in three distinctive senses, namely to imply differences, but through a relationship of continuity with (capitalist) modernity, to indicate a break or rupture with modern conditions, or finally as a way of relating to modern forms of life, effectively a coming to terms, *a facing up to modernity, its benefits and its problematic consequences, its limits and its limitations*."

While Smart (1993) tries to differentiate postmodern theory in three different types of approaches, these all implicitly presuppose that the period *after* modernity[2] is mainly caused by the failure of the modernist project[3] (Beck, 2000b, 2007b; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Lau, 2005). On the other hand, a different perspective which sees this 'new' period as having originated from the success of the modernist project is presented in Ulrich Beck and collaborators (Beck, 1992, 2000b; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Lau, 2005) works, through what they call, reflexive modernisation, second modernity, or the modernisation of

[1] For a discussion of mobile society within a cosmopolitan perspective see Canzler, Kaufmann & Kesselring (2008b)

[2] See Latour (1993, 2003), Wagner (2001) and Canclini (1995) for notions of temporality in relation to modernity, postmodernity and reflexive modernity

[3] For a discussion about modernity and the modernist project see Wagner (2001). For the links between modernism and the Enlightenment project see A.D King (1995)

modernity[4]. In reference to reflexive modernity, Beck (2007b, p. 288, emphasis added) argues that:

> "But this is normal sociology. There is a nostalgia and '*kulturkritischer Pessimismus'* built into the foundations of sociology which has never disappeared - starting with Max Weber and today including Foucault, system theory and *postmodernism*. Perhaps this nostalgia can be overcome by the theory of world risk society. My aim is a non-nostalgic New Critical Theory to look at both the past and *the future of modernity*. The word for this is neither 'utopianism' nor 'pessimism' but 'ambivalence'."

As so, different from Smart's (1993) conceptualisation, it could be argued that what unites the different aforementioned perspectives under a postmodernist umbrella is the fact that they share both a pessimistic outlook towards the future, as well as a sense of nostalgia regarding 'better' past viewpoints (Beck, 2007b). This could be related to the fact that these different approaches assume that modernity had failed to fulfil its dreams and objectives, and through this failure originated a postmodern period. On one hand A.D King (1995) argues that the failure of the early modernist dreams embodied by the Enlightenment view of the world suggests that modernity is just taking place now and thus is still in the process of becoming. On the other hand, Beck & Lau (2005, p. 526, emphasis in original) understand that what we are witnessing are "unforeseen consequences, not of the crisis but of the *victory* of the first [modernity]", and thus this period should be conceptualised as a second modernity. In the same token, this second modernity does not carry a structural break to modern forms of life, such as the nuclear family, the nation-state, the work system, but carries rather an internalised transformation to these structures which

[4] See Theory, Culture & Society 20 (2), 2003 special issue on reflexive modernisation for critiques and complements to Ulrich Beck's general approach

still operates in different conditions and appearances. For Beck & Lau (2005, pp. 525-526, emphasis in original):

> "[...] *all* Western societies are still 'modern' societies: there has been no movement beyond the realm of the modern to its opposite [...] therefore, that what we are witnessing is a *second* modernity."

Nevertheless, this second modernity carries an ambivalent position, which not only affirms a continuity to some modern premise, but also lays claims to a discontinuity argument. Beck & Lau (2005) posit that a second modernity presupposes both a continuity of basic principles, and at the same time a discontinuity of basic institutions. These discontinuities are effects of an internal second modernisation, or unintended side-effects of modernisation of modernity, which in turn generates side-effects of side-effects due to the close link between these modern institutions. But if what we are witnessing is a second modernity and thus not completely similar to a first modernity, what would be the conditions that originate this *different* time? Beck, Bonns & Lau (2003) argue that these following processes have reflexively modernised the way Western first modern society was organised in its institutions:

• globalisation (Beck, 2000c, 2010)

• individualisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002)

• flexible work organisation (Beck, 2000a)

• global ecological crisis (Beck, 1992)

Through these different conditions, naturalised institutions of the first modern society have been shaken and have had to be redesigned to adapt to these new conditions. Chiefly, Beck (2007b) sees the modern nation-state as of primary concern for the social sciences, not just as how it is conceptualised, but also how it naturalised the world view of

both social actors and social researchers. Other naturalised premises that changed within the modernisation of modernity were the nuclear family, the territorial organisation of work and consumption, the sexual division of labour, the relatively closed-off social milieu, and the assumed separation of social subsystems of politics, economics, culture, science and technical management (Beck et al., 2003).

While the idea of a reflexive modernisation has an explicit view to the present, aiming for the conceptualisation of contemporaneous institutions and principles, it also carries the idea of re-examining the first modernisation through an unnaturalised lens. Beck & Lau (2005, p. 533) argues that:

> "In order to recognize and make sufficient sense of the phenomena of meta-change, we need first to reconstruct the basic institutions and categories of first modernity. This is necessary, if only to stop us falling into the trap of thinking that the phenomena of the new are more novel than they really are by over-stylizing and simplifying the old."

By looking through this unnaturalised lenses (the ones that do not take for granted the modern institutions), phenomena that were once marginalised and treated as deviant by social researchers regain their *deserved* position. While Beck & Lau (2005) focus primarily on examples of globalisation, transnationalism, work flexibility and non-nuclear family organisation to argue that these phenomena were historically ever present, we could see a similar trend on works within the field of sport sociology, and especially regarding football and football fandom[5]. These works mainly dealt with questions such as commercialisation, mediatisation and the dichotomy between *non-local* and *local* fans, in a discourse of

[5] See Taylor (2005, 2010) for a historical account on migration and professionalism in British football, Peterson & Robinson (2012) for archeological evidences of the heterogeneity of the football crowd in Britain, Collins & Vamplew (2000, 2002) in respect of the drink industry and links to football in Britain, and Vamplew (1988a, 1988b) for professionalism and industrialisation links to football in Britain

othernisation, where these others were conceptualised as hierarchically inferior or non-relevant to the field (see section 3.3 for further elaboration).

But if reflexive modernisation is ever taking place, what would be the criteria to check it? Beck et al. (2003) argue that to *test* if reflexive modernisation is happening, a set of analytic criteria should be in place. They regard them as:

• the multiplicity of boundaries or the attempt to draw boundaries;

• the multiplying of rationalities;

• expecting the unexpected;

• the *quasi*-subject;

• multiplicity of subject boundaries; and

• agents of individualisation are also its victims.

From this set of criteria proposed by Beck et al. (2003) a general trend that underlies these assumptions which lies on the individualisation thesis can be seen (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) (see discussion on section 1.3.2). Whilst in first modernity most of the boundaries and institutions were given at birth to individuals, in a second modernity they become optional. Individuals are faced with an array of choices and decisions to be made, which in turn multiplies the existing boundaries. In the same token, in the first modernity these boundaries as well as being given, were also immutable and fixed, being regarded as an either/or choice (Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Lau, 2005). In a second modernity by the pluralisation of these boundaries, individuals and institutions operate on a both/and choice making principle, which not only make these new lines acceptable, but also moves them away from the marginal position they once held within the naturalised first modernity. But following a first modern principle of rational choices, when questioned on reasons of why and how they drew these lines and boundaries, individuals in the second

modernity end by creating multiple rationalisations. This instance leads to a pluralisation of valid claims and forms of knowledge which in turn creates more options and a new set of multiple boundaries, or the side-effects of side-effects (Beck et al., 2003). In this instance, Beck et al. (2003) affirm that individuals then become *quasi*-subjects, where they need to create their history of life individually, and not just collectively.

> "The question 'What groups do I belong to?' can no longer be answered collectively according to pre-given social patterns, but must instead be answered individually with reference to changed probabilities and stereotypes." (Beck et al., 2003, p. 24)

In this token, individuals are not only the agents of transformation and individualisation, but by the unintended side-effects of their choices, they become victims of this same individualisation. Not only do their individual choices side-effects them back, but also side-effects others to the extent that a decision made by one presents or restricts opportunities to others. As the individualisation thesis seems to be central to claims of a reflexive second modernisation, it will be dealt in length now in the following section. The other process that originated reflexive modernisation and is central to the argument in this thesis (globalisation, cosmopolitanism, and otherness) will be explored in length in following sections.

1.3.2 Background: Individualisation

"To put in a nutshell, 'individualization consists in transforming human 'identity' from a 'given' to a 'task'." (Bauman, 2001, p. xv)

As presented in the previous section, individualisation is one of the central tenets of a modernisation of modernity, but what do Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002) mean by that? Are individuals more alone in a reflexive modern world? Do they stop to come together? Are communal forms of sociability non-existent in reflexive modernity? Quite the contrary according to Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002). For them, reflexive modernity is also a time of communal practices, but these are, as explained before, modernised a second time from within, provoking discontinuity on one hand, and continuity on another. In this instance, individualisation generates a discontinuity in modern forms of communal institutions as the nation-state, the closed-off social milieu, the class system, and the nuclear family to name a few, but on the other hand basic principles of communal solidarity continue to operate. As Lash (2001, pp. ix-x) puts it:

> "[t]he second modernity and its non-linear individualism is a result of the retreat of classic institutions: state, class, nuclear family, ethnic group. The roles that reproduced linear individuals and systems in the first modernity are transgressed."

From this quote it is possible to envision the first cause of confusion vis-à-vis individualisation theory. Are individualism, individuality and individualisation the same thing? For Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2001) the answer is 'no'. Individualism as globalism (see discussion on section 1.3.3) is part of the neo-liberal project, and thus should not be confused with individualisation - *Individualisierung* - or an institutionalised individualism. For Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002, p. 11) an institutionalised individualism means:

> "[...] that in modern life the individual is confronted on many levels with the following challenge: You may and you must lead your own independent life, outside the old bonds of family, tribe, religion, origin and class; and you must do this within the new guidelines and rules which the state, the job market, the bureaucracy etc. lay down."

Simply put, the idea behind an institutionalised individualism refers to the fact that the modern institutions become individualised in a second modernity, in the sense that individuals become agents of their choices to which institutions adhere to, and for how long. On the other hand, individualism then refers to a project that not only brakes the modern institutions, but at the same time does not allow individuals to take a full active role in their choices. As with the ambivalent positions of the cosmopolitan condition (Beck, 2007b), individualisation does not lead to total control by the agents over the reflexive modernised institutional structures. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002) understand this institutionalised individualism as leading to a precarious form of freedom. This is not only in the sense that all choices fail to be available at all times, by forms of structural constraint, nor by the side-effects of other individuals' choices, but especially by the fact that individuals are obligated to choose which institutions to adhere to and for how long. That is the paradox of individualisation and the precarious freedom. Freedom to choose comes with the obligation to choose, and even by not choosing the individual is already choosing not to choose. Nevertheless:

> "Individualization liberates people from traditional roles and constraints in a number of ways. First, individuals are removed from status-based classes. Social classes have been detraditionalized. We can see this in changes in family structures, housing conditions, *leisure activities*, geographical distribution of

> populations, trade union and *club membership*, voting patterns, etc." (Beck, 2001, p. 202, emphasis added)

In this instance, as Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002) put, a human being becomes *homo optionis*, in the sense that activities and institutional affiliations are down to the smallest point of decision. Who to be? With whom to be? When? Where? Why? These are all questions and decisions that individuals face in a reflexive modern world. In first modernity on the other hand, affiliations were structurally predetermined by social classes, nationality, work and family (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Central to the argument being built in this thesis, the choices and decisions that individuals now face in a reflexive modern world are not anymore geographically and spatially predefined. As with the argument of reflexive modernisation, the other conditions, namely globalisation, individualisation, flexible work organisation, and risk society, generates unintended side-effects for each other. Thus, when both globalisation and individualisation theories are put side-by-side the available biographies for individuals cease to be territorially centred, especially within the political borders of the nation-state, resulting in what Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002) call place polygamy.

> "This brings us to the concept of globalization of biography. In the global age, one's own life is no longer sedentary or tied to a particular place [...] the multilocal transnationality of the life of one's own is a further reason for the hollowing out of national sovereignty and the *obsolescence of nation-based sociology* [...] [w]heter voluntarily or compulsorily or both, people spread their lives across separate worlds. Globalization of biography means *place poligamy; people are wedded to several places at once*." (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 25, emphasis added)

> "[...] 'individualization' means the disintegration of the certainties of industrial society as well as the compulsion to find and invent new certainties for oneself and others without them. But it also means new interdependences, *even global ones*. *Individualization and globalization are in fact two sides of the same process of reflexive modernization*." (Beck, 1994, p. 14, emphasis added)

What is interesting about this quote is not only the fact that individuals within a reflexive modernity framework create attachments to different localities at the same time, but that this effects the sociological imagination developed within the modern institution of the nation-state. The nation-state bounded sociological imagination loses contact with the contemporaneous intertwined world. This aspect leads to a call for rethinking the methodology and epistemology within a reflexive modern framework, what is broadly called methodological cosmpolitanism (Beck, 2000b, 2007b, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck & Sznaider, 2006). The critique of the modern sociological imagination, or what Beck and collaborators (Beck, 2000b, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2007b, 2009, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck & Grande, 2008, 2010; Beck & Lau, 2005; Beck & Levy, 2013; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) theorise as methodological nationalism, and the proposed alternative of methodological cosmopolitanism are presented subsequently in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, the above quotations not only focus on two separate processes, individualisation and globalisation, but the central point is the relationship between both. From this link between both, Beck (2007b) makes an argument that reflexive modernity is thus an age of cosmopolitanism (see section 1.3.3).

1.3.3 Background: Reflexive Modernity is an Age of Cosmopolitanism

"[...] isn't 'cosmopolitanization' simply a new world for what used to be called 'globalization'? The answer is 'no' *[...]"* (Beck, 2010, p. 9, emphasis added)

One might think from the above quote that, although Beck (2010) is claiming that cosmopolitanisation is a different sort of process from globalisation, he does not provide a clear and simple definition of what it is. To understand cosmopolitanisation, firstly we should understand what cosmopolitanism means. Notwithstanding, "cosmopolitanism is, of course a contested term: there is no uniform interpretation in the growing literature." (Beck, 2007b, p. 286)[6]. R. Fine & Boon (2007, p. 5) echo Ulrich Beck by arguing that "cosmopolitanism - as with many popular concepts in contemporary social and political theory - is a term that is diversely used". For instance, Nussbaum (1996a, p. 4) understands cosmopolitanism as "[...] the person whose allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings". For Holton (2009, p. 2) cosmopolitan and cosmopolitanism mean "[...] being at home in a world of mobility and travel, involving contact between peoples and cultures". Hannerz (1990, p. 238) argues that the term cosmopolitan is usually used loosely as "[...] anybody who moves about in the world", but that does not sufficiently encapsulates what cosmopolitan(ism) really is. Delanty (2009, p. 53, emphasis added) understands that cosmopolitanism:

> "[...] refers to the multiplicity of ways in which the social world is constructed through the articulation of a third culture. Rather than seen cosmopolitanism as a particular or singular condition that either exists or does not, a state or goal to be realized, *it should instead be seen as an ethical and political medium of societal*

[6] See D. Harvey (2009), especially Chapter 4, for an overview of the different conceptualisations and uses of cosmopolitanism in academia

> *transformation that is based on the principle of world openness*, which is associated with the notion of global publics."

As seen by the above quotes, cosmopolitanism carries a connotation of mobility and acceptance of differences, but also especially relates to forms of political endeavours between distant individuals that are bounded together by being citizens of the world. For instance, Vertovec & Cohen (2002, p. 9) argue that cosmopolitanism:

> "[...] can be viewed or invoked as: (a) a socio-cultural condition; (b) a kind of philosophy or world-view; (c) a political project towards building transnational institutions; (d) a political project for recognizing multiple identities; (e) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and/or (f) a mode of practice or competence."

From these perspectives, this thesis is particularly interested in three of them, chiefly the socio-cultural condition, the philosophy, and the political project for recognising multiple identities. These three perspectives also fit with what Beck and collaborators (Beck, 2000b, 2007b, 2010; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) define and operationalise as cosmopolitanism. Vertovec & Cohen (2002) regard the socio-cultural conditions of cosmopolitanism on a similar manner as Urry (2000a, 2000b) understands mobile sociology, where through the movement of both individuals, goods and images, the world becomes compressed in both time and space. Beck (2000b, 2004, 2010) and Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2008) make a similar claim, by emphasising the notion of a day-to-day cosmopolitanism, or what they call a banal cosmopolitanism. For Beck (2010) the consumer society and the flow of mainly images and goods through the media are practical examples and sites of this banal cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, Szerszynski & Urry (2002) argue that some examples of a cultural cosmopolitanism, or a banal

cosmopolitanism, are: (a) extensive mobility; (b) capacity to consume many places at the same time; (c) curiosity about different places and cultures; (d) willingness to take risks by encountering the 'other'; (e) ability to understands one's own society and culture; (f) semiotic skills to understand the 'other'; (g) willingness and openness to the 'other'. For Szerszynski & Urry (2002) the presence of a global media potentialise these practices and could in the end produce a kind of imagined community such as the one conceptualised by Anderson (2006).

> "Most, if not all, of the respondents had some kind of active and compassionate commitment to an immediate community, [...] [h]owever, this community was not always based upon a geographical territory. People also conceived of wider, dispersed communities *based not on geography but on shared interests or 'affect', organised around practices and issues such as football*, collecting for a hospice, scouting work, [...]" (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002, p. 474, emphasis added)
>
> "[...] everyday or banal cosmopolitanism on the level of cultural consumption and media representation leads to a growing awareness of the relativity of one's own social position and culture in the global arena." (Beck, 2004, p. 131)

What could be interpreted as the banal cosmopolitanisation or cultural cosmopolitanisation is the formation of a wider and non-geographical community around cultural institutions that are normally spread worldwide through the different media outlets. The idea of a community being created and sustained by media finds echos in Anderson's (2006) conceptualisation of an imagined community. In respect to mobilities, Urry (2008, p. 14) is adamant to recognise that they exist in different forms and "[...] produce social life organised across distance and which form (and re-form) its contours". For Urry (2008) these mobilities can be grouped into five different groups, being: a) corporeal travel; b)

physical movement of objects; c) imaginative travel through media images; d) virtual travel; and e) communicative travel through messages.

The second perspective of Vertovec & Cohen (2002) which is central to the argument of this thesis is the fact that cosmopolitanism is a philosophy or world-view. While they regard this aspect to be closer to what Kant and Habermas (R. Fine & Smith, 2003) envisioned as a moral-philosophical cosmopolitanism, Beck (2000b, 2007b, 2010) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) centre their arguments more on the philosophy of science[7]. From this point, Beck (2000b, 2003b, 2004, 2007b), Beck & Sznaider (2006) and Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2008) begin to critique the social sciences based within the modern concept of nation-state, or the methodological nationalism approach, and then argue for methodological cosmopolitanism's turn. The former and the latter will be discussed extensively in Chapter 2.

The third perspective focuses on the fact that cosmopolitanism, not only through the social actor, but also from the social researcher standpoint, aims for the legitimacy of plural loyalties (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Beck (2005) also claims that the plurality of borders, and thus of loyalties, is central to the modernisation of the modernity project[8]. But as with the second perspective, Beck (2004, 2007b, 2010) develops his arguments in the light of a turn in the social sciences towards an understanding of loyalties that does not depart from the notion of the modern nation-state. Vertovec & Cohen (2002) for instance, are more interested in the multiple affiliations and loyalties of individuals to political

[7] Beck (2000b, 2007b, 2010) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) are interested in an epistemological turn in the social sciences by denaturalising the nation-state and consequently the nation-state based sociology of first modernity. In this manner I understand that their approach is more related to the philosophy of science than to a wider moral-philosophy as in Kant or Harbermas (R. Fine & Smith, 2003). Nonetheless, by focusing in social wrongs and formulating a cosmopolitan critical sociology (Beck, 2003b, 2009), Ulrich Beck is to some extent also discussing in a moral-philosophical standpoint.

[8] Ulrich Beck's positions on plurality of borders and loyalties is further explained Chapter 2

engagements, claiming that these individuals might identify to a different set of political criteria over time, and would be able to move from one to another.

These conditions seem to implicitly invoke an idea of individualisation (see section 1.3.2), where individuals have at their disposal multiple choices either politically and/or culturally to decide how, when, with whom, and for how long to form their loyalties. These loyalties can, at the same time be transient, depending on the needs and aspirations of individuals. A critique which is normally imposed over the idea of cosmopolitanism and multiple choices, and thus of individualisation, lays on the fact that it is presumably supposed that it is only available to a global elite. This global elite is normally essentialised as mobile, which can understand other cultures, and have the cultural and economical capital to appreciate the *other*. But as paradoxical as it might sound, it is the (illegal) immigrant, the one that needs to juggle and adapt quickly to live through these experiences, that is the focus of this *new* conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2010; Beck-Gernsheim, 2004). As Canzler et al. (2008a) argue, individuals can move without being mobile, and can be mobile without moving, in respect that:

> "[...] the movement in space does not change the state of the actor [...] the universe of their activities does not offer an association with other environments, usually making him or her socially immobile."
>
> "Heavy consumers of long-distance communication, by use of internet, e-mails or Skype, correspond to this case [referring to mobility without movement]. These social practices lead to an association with specific and different social universes." (Canzler et al., 2008a, p. 4)

By this token, it is not just about the means of mobility, but also the intention of being mobile. In respect of that (see Chapters 5 and 6), cosmopolitanisation is not a

process coming from the outside such as globalisation, or just out there, but it is something that is taking place from within (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). It is from the base of the modern society that this cosmopolitanisation, or modernisation of modernity, is taking place.

Therefore coming back to the initial question in the opening quote, what are the differences between cosmopolitanism and other competing conceptualisations? How different is it from terms such as globalisation and multiculturalism? What does 'cosmopolitan theory' provide for the social sciences? Is it just another catch word in the vast array of concepts in social sciences? One initial differentiation from globalisation offered by Beck (2000c, 2010) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) for instance, is that cosmopolitanisation is a multidimensional process, whereas globalisation, and its associated term globalism:

> "[...] champions the idea of the world market, preaches the virtues of neo-liberal growth, and acclaims the benefits of the more or less unobstructed movement of capital, goods, and persons across frontiers." (Beck, 2004, p. 135)

Thus, globalisation is understood as a simple economical dimension acting from outside[9] (Beck, 2000c, 2004, 2010), whilst cosmopolitanisation should be understood multidimensionally, focusing on the processes that irrevocably changed the contemporaneous institutions and world life[10]. Furthermore, globalisation still operates on the assumption of an either/or principle, where institutions are either global or local, pre-assuming dualisms (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). Pieterse (1994) recognises that globalisation

[9] For an example of this economic and mainly coming from outside force in respect of time and space compression perspective, see Bauman (1998) especially his third chapter. This approach can be also seen within the sociology of sport (G. Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004; Donnelly, 1996; Giulianotti, 2002, 2005b; J. Harvey et al., 1996; Sandvoss, 2003; Walsh & Giulianotti, 2001), or in non-academic texts related to football (Bazell, 2011; Conn, 2005; Samuels, 2008).

[10] What reinforces the idea of the terms cosmopolitanism and globalisation being used interchangeably and regarded as contested terms within the sociological discourse is the fact that what Beck (2000c, 2004, 2010) understands by the former is similar to what Turner & Khondker (2010) conceptualises the latter

is commonly associated with an idea of homogenisation, where people, culture and processes are assimilated within one particular set of worldviews and world society. For him, this incorporation into a particular worldview is better exemplified by Westernisation, or the overarching assumption that the world is following the Western model of modernisation. On the other hand, cosmopolitanisation focuses on the hybrids, the ambivalences, and in the case of this assumed dualism (local/global) it comes closer to both concepts of glocalisation (Robertson, 1995), creolisation (Eriksen, 2003) and hybridisation (Canclini, 1995, 2004; Pieterse, 1994)[11]. As with mobility (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002; Urry, 2000a, 2000b), glocalisation and hybridisation are regarded in particular as processes happening within reflexive modernisation. The previously-assumed distinctions of here or there, we or them are being broken by the modernisation of modernity (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck-Gernsheim, 2004). Both Beck (2010) and Canclini (2004) recognise sport, and football in particular as, examples of where 'banal cosmopolitanism' and 'hybrid' cultural practices might develop. In this matter, Beck (2010), as seen in the following quotation, uses the heterogenous nature of a football club to present his ideas of banal cosmopolitanisation:

> "What does cosmopolitan Munich signify? In the first place, and in the spirit of banal cosmopolitanism, Bayern Munich soccer club [...] Does Bayern Munich stand for Bavaria? Without a doubt. Does it stand for 'we are who we are' or, in Bavarian dialect, '*mir san mir*'? No! Absolutely not! Who scores the goals? Often a Brazilian whose wizardry lends the Bavarian football club a touch of world

[11] The term hybridisation will be preferred during this thesis as Canclini (1995) and Karavanta & Morgan (2008) regard creolisation as a pre-modern manifestation still surviving in the modern period, and thus with strong links to orientalism and *othernisation*. Even that Beck (2003a) contents that hybridisation as a metaphor for human differences are inherently connected to notions of biological differences, and thus cosmopolitanisation being a superior concept for understanding differences and similarities, he nonetheless uses hybridity throughout his works (i.e. Beck, 2005)

> class. Bayern Munich players, of course, are neither from Bavaria nor from Munich; they are of many different nationalities, speak many different languages and have many different passports. What is so dear to many Bavarian hearts - 'we are who we are' and the others are others - does not hold when Bavarian hearts are beating fastest. Bayern Munich stands for a profane cosmopolitan 'We' in which the boundaries between internal and external, between the national and the international, have long since been transcended." (Beck, 2010, pp. 10-11)
>
> "The best Argentinians, Brazilians, Frenchmen and Englishmen players are found in clubs from abroad. The decisions of what we would see, where and against who they will play, not only involves intercultural mixes: as in TV and music, in sport not only Beckham, Figo, Ronaldo, Véron and Zidane play, but brands and cars that sponsor them, the TV channels that fight to broadcast the games, or even to buy clubs. What is it that still keeps them credible when its so heterogenous composed, and designed as an international co-production for commercial purposes? Perhaps the acceptance of foreigners in sport gives clues to certain conditions that make it easy to be accepted and integrated[12]." (Canclini, 2004, p. 15)

What can be seen from these quotations are not just the heterogeneity of football clubs which is central to this thesis, but more importantly the concept of interconnectedness of fields, which were once treated separately as economy and culture. In particular, Canclini's (2004) quote is interesting as it points out the fact that sport might provide clues for the cosmopolitan mutual understanding between others, and thus strengthens the justification of using football for analysing cosmopolitanism in this thesis.

[12] Original in Spanish

Beck (2010) was adamant in rejecting the idea of working with globalisation by its single dimension focus on economic aspects of time and space compression, while neglecting other factors as the social and cultural spheres. In this token, Beck (2010) affirms that:

> "*Cosmopolitanization*, by contrast, must be interpreted as a *multidimensional* process which has irreversibly changed the historical 'nature' of social worlds and the standing of the states in these worlds. Cosmopolitanization, thus understood, comprises the development of multiple loyalties, as well as the increase in diverse transnational forms of life, [...]" (Beck, 2010, p. 9)

Beck (2010), for instance, provides another distinction between cosmopolitanism and another competing term, this time multiculturalism. As with the previous critique, multiculturalism in Beck's (2010) terms still operates within pre-assumed categories of modernity, which understands that cultures could still be distinguished *a priori*. Multiculturalism assumes that society and culture are bounded to a nation-state, so it would be possible to have as many *pure* cultures and its mixtures as political national borders exists. Multiculturalism, in this token, "[...] multiplies nationalism internally [...]" (Beck, 2010, p. 67), assuming defining borders which homogenise internally and diversify externally. Multiculturalism, as relativism, nationalism and universalism still operates on an either/or principle, while cosmopolitanism departs from a both/and one. In the same line, Canclini (1995) argues in favour of an idea of hybridisation of cultures, where practices and structures once in *discrete* forms are combined to create new practices and structures. Canclini (1995) is adamant in recognising that these *discrete* forms were already results of previous combinations, and thus not bearing an imaginative and invented cultural purity. In this instance, these cultural practices and structures would be in a

constant cycle of hybridisation, in a movement from more heterogenous to more homogenous, then to more heterogenous, *ad infinitum* (Canclini, 1995).

To summarise the overarching idea of a *new* cosmopolitanism, Beck (2007b, p. 286) argues that this research tradition is:

> "[...] united by at least three interconnected commitments: (1) a shared critique of methodological nationalism; (2) the shared diagnosis that the 21st century is an age of cosmopolitanism; and (3) the shared assumption for this reason we need some kind of methodological cosmopolitanism."

In a similar fashion, R. Fine & Boon (2007, p. 6) regards cosmopolitanism:

> "[...] as a multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary movement characterized by a more or less common research agenda rather than a specific doctrine or fixed idea (Fine, 2006). It aims to loosen the ties that bind the nation-state to social scientific forms of understanding: to theories of democracy in political science, theories of society in sociology, theories of international society in international relations, and theories of state sovereignty in international law. *Its basic intuition is that the nation-state no longer provides, if ever did, the natural space of social scientific articulation*."

The three points presented by Beck (2007b) and to some extent echoed by R. Fine & Boon (2007) are central to the argument developed in this thesis for a necessary look at the modernisation of modern football, and particularly of football fandom. As the second point has addressed in this section, the attention will shift to the critique of methodological nationalism and the national outlook of social actors (Chapter 2), to then think about a sociology based on methodological cosmopolitanism (Chapter 3). These two chapters will provide the epistemological framework to develop the general critique of the sociological

literature on football fandom and geographical otherness, allowing these theories to be deconstructed and denaturalised, to the point that through the empirical research of this thesis, a new theory within the cosmopolitan imagination will emerge.

1.3.4 Research Problem

Based on the contextualisation discussion in above sections, this thesis has three interconnected objectives that are going to be critically analysed through particular questions. As stated below, the first objective follows Beck & Lau's (2005) call for a re-assessment of sociological theorisations based on first modern epistemology and it reads as:

I. Explore the hegemonic academic discourse on football fandom geographical otherness

By exploring the hegemonic academic discourse my aim is to answer the following questions:

i. What are the implications of reflexive modernisation on football fan theorisations?

ii. What are the implications of individualisation on football fan theorisations?

iii. What are the implications of cosmopolitanisation on football fan theorisations?

The second objective of the thesis, follows Beck & Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) concept of place polygamy and globalisation of biographies I seek to understand how this impacted on socialisation practices within football, especially amongst those considered as others in the hegemonic academic discourse:

II. Explore the geographical other football fan practices

This research objective will be answered by looking at the following two interconnected questions:

iv. How are football fan practices individualised?

v. How are football fan practices cosmopolitanised?

My third objective in this thesis is to re-assess Ulrich Beck and collaborators' thesis regarding cosmopolitanisation and individualisation through a 'real' cosmopolitan outlook that takes ambivalences and both/and epistemology to its fore. This third objective and its associated questions read as follow:

III. Explore Ulrich Beck and collaborators' thesis

vi. How does an ambivalent understanding of football fan practices shed light on individualisation theory?

vii. How does an ambivalent understanding of football fan practices shed light on cosmopolitanisation theory?

In the next section I will provide the rationale for this study and justification for those objectives and questions.

1.3.5 Justification for the Research

Based on changes that Western societies were facing in the last few decades as discussed on above sections, Beck (2000b, 2007b, 2010) argued that sociology would need an epistemological shift to methodological cosmopolitanism (see Chapter 2). This shift, as proposed by Beck (2000b, 2007b, 2010), would open a new sociological field of inquiry that between different perspectives calls for a re-assessing of sociological imagination based on methodological nationalism (see Chapter 2) (Beck & Lau, 2005; Beck & Sznaider, 2006). This argument put forward by Beck & Lau (2005) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) provides the justification for undertaking the first objective of this thesis. By critically re-assessing and analysing the academic discourse on football fandom (see Chapter 3) it will be possible to explore and expose the 'influence' that nation-state based sociological imagination (methodological nationalism) had in constructing and understanding different forms of fandom. As posited by Beck & Lau (2005) this re-assessment is a necessary step for making sense of meta-changes 'imposed' by reflexive modernisation without falling into the traps of giving extra importance to processes regarded as novel (i.e. globalisation, compression of time and space, mobility, etc).

This last point provides the opportunity for the second objective of this thesis, which is to understand socialisations and practices of individuals who do not comply with

the hegemonic academic discourse on fandom. As argued by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002), individualisation, as one of the central characteristics of reflexive modernity and cosmopolitanisation, calls for an understanding that biographies are not geographically static in what is conceptualised as place polygamy. If nation-state based sociology (methodological nationalism) had a profound impact on theorisations regarding fandom (see Sandvoss, 2003), it would have assumed (as it did across other sociological fields of enquiries) that socialisations are territorially bound and those not falling into this category would be disregarded and not fully acknowledged. In this sense, to fully grasp reflexive modernisation and cosmopolitanisation in relation to fandom, it is necessary to investigate how fan practices take shape across different places. Nevertheless, as posited by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2008) those places cannot be a priori regarded as distinct based on their position within political borders of different nation-states. As it will be argued further (see 1.4.1) this research will look at two different sites without pre-assuming distinctions.

The justification for the third objective of this thesis derives from both Canclini's (2004) and Beck's (2010) tangential use of sport and particularly football to theorise hybridisation and cosmopolitanisation respectively. If banal cosmopolitanisation through cultural practices can be regarded as the epitomisation of 'real' cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2004), it must be taken as central to any theorisations that seek to conceptualise cosmopolitanism, individualisation and reflexive modernity. To this matter, this thesis proposes to take the discussion of banal cosmopolitanism, or everyday cosmopolitanism, through football fan practices to another level. It seeks to critically assess, by deeply understanding fan practices that occur across different places, the processes of individualisation and real cosmopolitanisation as described by Beck and collaborators (Beck, 2000b, 2004, 2007b, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Beck et al., 2003; Beck

& Sznaider, 2006). Based on empirical research that would allow for this critical re-assessing of Ulrich Beck's theorisations, the general aim of this thesis is to propose different forms of understanding individualisation and cosmopolitanisation.

1.4 Research Approach

1.4.1 Epistemology and Methodology

As argued by Beck (2010) social sciences are in need of an imagination change, moving from a nation-state based sociology to a cosmopolitan outlook. His call for change implies not only a methodological rearrangement, but also ontological and epistemological. As it will be discussed in Chapter 4, this thesis took Beck's (2010) call to the fore and sought to illustrate through a true cosmopolitan outlook the global interdependencies from a football fandom perspective. Ontologically, this thesis approached the subject of enquiry by understanding 'being and becoming' as a discourse construction that overcomes without erasing the political borders of nation-states. In this sense, I sought to illuminate this cross-border discourse construction by researching interconnected football supporters in two different places (Switzerland and Brazil). This interconnection, or what Beck (2010) calls unintended side-effects, derived from their love from one particular club - Liverpool FC - which is based on a third locality. The choices of those three interconnected localities are based not only on a convenience sampling (for a full discussion of methods see Chapter 4), but sought to highlight language differences and barriers, physical and non-metaphysical mobility inherent to their socialisations, and a lack of academic research (see Chapter 3 discussion on comparative sociological imagination

regarding fandom - section on stamp collector sociology) that took those different places as possible part of a same socialisation praxis. Above all, the ability of speaking the native language of Brazil and part of Switzerland (French) and the access to respondents in those places are also part of the rationale to study those localities. The language and 'cultural' knowledge of those three localities (England, Switzerland and Brazil) provided a background knowledge for thick description (Geertz, 2000). Epistemologically, I approached supporters' lived experiences as a construction and sought to understand through thick description (Geertz, 2000) how they made sense of their interconnected lives. This again resonates with Beck's (2010) idea that cosmopolitanisation is a bottom-up phenomena and thus demands a deep understanding of people's lives. Methodologically I followed both Millward's (2008, 2011a, 2012) and Gibbons & Dixon's (2010) call for taking Internet socialisations seriously and researched through an ethnographic-inspired method groups of Liverpool FC supporters 'in Brazil' and 'in Switzerland' on Facebook. Aligned with notions developed by Markham (1998, 2008, 2011, 2013) I engaged with supporters not only 'online' but also 'offline' in pubs in Switzerland and England. A full discussion of epistemology and methodology can be found in Chapter 4.

1.5 Thesis Outline

To help answer the objectives above, this thesis is divided into three parts and seven chapters plus Introduction and Conclusion. In Chapter Two I critically review the discussion on methodological nationalism and methodological cosmopolitanism within social sciences. To fully comprehend Beck's (2010) approach to methodological

cosmopolitanism and critiques he received (see Chernilo, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010) I present a short intermezzo discussion on nationalism and nation-state by focusing on Hobsbawn's (1983, 1987, 1992) theorisations.

Chapter Three builds from Chapter Two and critically analyses the academic discourse on football fandom. I initially present the critical discourse analysis approach (see Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 2010) employed in this research and build a genealogy of the hegemonic discourse. This genealogy helped the understanding of how football supporters, and in particular the distinctions between 'local' and 'distant', were conceptualised and allowed for an initial cosmopolitan outlook critique to be constructed. This chapter concludes the theoretical framework of this thesis, and helps to answer the first research question.

In Chapter Four I critically discuss the methodological and epistemological approach this thesis employed. The initial focus was on detailing the different methods I used to understand socialisations that 'disregard' the political borders of nation-state. I provided, alongside this discussion, a short analysis of epistemological and ethical issues. Secondly, I describe the practicalities of the empirical research undertaken by highlighting how those previously discussed methods were used to approach this research topic vis-à-vis proposed research questions. To help in answering the second research question I developed, based on Beck's (2010) indicators of cosmopolitanisation, a list of indicators in relation to football fandom that served as observational and conversational guiding. This chapter finishes by pointing out how thick description and critical discourse analysis were performed and how topics emerged during the interpretation phase.

The third part of this thesis is divided in two different chapters. In Chapter Five I present the first topic that emerged from empirical research - on Being a Cosmopolitan

Fan. In this chapter I critically analyse how supporters constructed discursively their practices as cosmopolitan supporters by looking at what it means to support from distance, their practices of coming together both 'online' and 'offline', how they reconstruct boundaries vis-à-vis authenticity, and how supporters use love as an analogy for their relationship with Liverpool FC. In Chapter Six I present the second topic that emerged from empirical research - on Becoming a Cosmopolitan Fan. Following the love analogy I sought to understand how supporters constructed discursively their history as Liverpool FC supporters, and how their stories displayed aspects of the individualisation thesis proposed by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002). The emerged categories discussed within Chapter Six related to their individual and collective love, the processes of learning to love, and how supporters could accommodate multiple loves. The thick description provided in this part helped in answering the second research question.

The third part of this thesis is found in Chapter Seven when, based on this thick description, I sought to theorise and provide the original contribution of this thesis. The chapter is divided in two parts and four sections, where in the first part I discuss how the empirical research shed light on abstractions and theorisations within sociology of sport. In the first section I discuss how, by undertaking a cosmopolitan epistemological outlook, it is possible to theorise those fan practices as a cosmopolitan football flâneur. I highlight in this discussion how this cosmopolitan football flâneur differs from a more pessimistic and nostalgic flâneur (see Giulianotti, 2002) by re-reading both Simmel (1950) and Benjamin (1999) under a cosmopolitan imagination. Based on this ambivalent conceptualisation developed in the first section I argue in the second section that this inherently impacts on methodological and epistemological levels within sociology of sport. I propose that instead of a Zombie analogy employed by Beck (2001) the nation-state should be understood as

Frankensteinian, as it calls for epistemological and ontological discussions vis-à-vis authenticity. This demands researchers to critically de-construct and re-construct their delimitations regarding authenticity without any a priori basis (i.e. locality, gender, social class, etc). In the first section of the second part of this chapter I critically analyse Beck & Beck-Gernsheim's (1993, 2002) individualisation thesis and propose that what was seen through the empirical research was not a 'dasein für andere' or 'bastelbiographie', but a 'dasein für gewälthe andere'. Those others are, as I argued in this section, the reflexive modernised modern structures as nation-state, nuclear family and social class. In the last section of this chapter I propose that the 'age of (real) cosmopolitanisation' as put forward by Beck (2010) should instead be understood as a time and place where cosmopolitan discursive praxis become hegemonic within the national-cosmopolitan heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981). I conclude by arguing that both cosmopolitan and national discourses should be understood as more real than real (hyperreal) self-reinforcing and conciliatory structuring forces.

In Chapter Eight I summarise all of the different arguments constructed throughout this thesis by highlighting how a true cosmopolitan outlook that takes both national and cosmopolitan discourses as conciliatory impacts both on sociology of sport and sociology of cosmopolitanism.

The next chapter begins Part I of this thesis where I provide the theoretical foundations for this research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGICAL NATIONALISM

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGICAL NATIONALISM

"[...] there is no way of totalling avoiding methodological nationalism because it is somehow inscribed in the nature of the beast itself [...] In a way, it is as though a 'small dose' of methodological nationalism is required to hold a chance of beginning *to understand the nation-state." (Chernilo, 2007, p. 161, emphasis in original)*

2.1 Introduction

The changes that Western societies faced during the last century, and more intensively in its last two decades culminating in what Beck and collaborators conceptualised as cosmopolitan world or reflexive modernity or second modernity not only modified the social actors' lives and perceptions of the world, but also influenced epistemologically the social researchers' understanding of contemporaneous society (Beck, 2010; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Lau, 2005)[13]. This epistemological shift, from what Beck (2004, 2010) called a 'national' to a 'cosmopolitan' perspective, is the basis of his critique on the associated methodological nationalism of the former. In this token, Beck & Sznaider (2006, p. 3), argue that methodological nationalism takes for granted the nation-state and assumes that societies are contained within these nation-states political borders, meaning that there are as many societies as nation-states[14]. Chernilo (2007, p. 9) is clear to define that "methodological nationalism can be simply defined as the equation between the

[13] For an archeological perspective on épistème changes in Western thought, see Foucault (2002)

[14] Harvey (2000) makes a similar point when arguing against the uncritical use of 'natural' geographies to talk about distinctive 'modes' of capitalism that are confined to distinctive modern nation-states

nation-state and society in social theory". Even without mentioning methodological nationalism, Bhambra (2007) provides a clear account of how social scientists operate with the modern nation-state boundaries as a framework for their analysis. The opening of Bhambra's (2007) quote is of relevance when Said's *othernisation* (section 3.2.3) and the proposed framework for analysing the *othernisation* discourse within football (see Chapter 4) are discussed as not only methodological nationalism operates by equating the nation-state boundaries to society, but also it implies a normative idealisation model by emphasising some peculiar characteristics to the model, and then constructing all other examples as travesties or opposites of that model.

> "The image of the industrial revolution, then only in its incipient forms in France, was transformed into a model through the endeavours of Saint-Simon and Comte [...] These moves set up understandings of society as an internally ordered entity neglecting external relations in its constitution [...] In the transition from a philosophical to a sociological theory of knowledge the individual person was gradually replaced by human society as the 'subject' of knowledge and the relation between individual and society was emphasized [...] As Heilborn suggests, 'the idea that human beings can be understood from the social arrangements they form' means that modern societies are not 'the same sort of units as 'states' (1995: 19). *However, the extent to which this is the case in practice is open to question, as most social theorists continued to delineate their conceptions of society in terms of national boundaries*." (Bhambra, 2007, pp. 48-49, emphasis added)

Thus, if the processes and changes presented in the previous sections as individualisation, reflexive modernisation and cosmopolitanisation are taking place in the

Western world, a sociology based on the nation-state and on methodological nationalism loses its connections to *reality*. As seen in the following quotation, Urry (2008, p. 13, emphasis added) provides a further argument in respect of social sciences blindness to socialisation across national political borders, and especially to socialisations that transcend these borders:

> "Historically, the social sciences have overly focused upon ongoing geographically propinquitous communities based on more or less face-to-face social interactions between those present. *Social sciences presumes a 'metaphysical of presence'*, that it is the immediate presence with others that is the basis of social existence. This metaphysics generates analyses that focus upon patterns of more or less direct co-present social interaction."

Delanty (2009, p. 52, emphasis added) further argues that:

> "*Sociological theory, which arose in the age of the nascent nation-state* and industrial society, tended towards a view of the social as bounded and moreover was sceptical of notions of freedom that were associated with cosmopolitanism. *The social world as territorially given, closed and bounded by the nation-state* and the class structure of the industrial societies *did not sit comfortably with the openness of the cosmopolitan idea, with its universalistic orientation*."

To try to avoid falling into the methodological nationalism pitfalls of equating nation-state to society, this section will present an historical perspective on the critique of methodological nationalism (Chernilo, 2007; Wimmer & Schiller, 2002), I will discuss what kind of particular conceptualisation of nation-state (Hobsbawm, 1983, 1987) is commonly found on Beck's critiques and also on research done in the sociology of sport, then will move to present a more contemporaneous form of critique found in Beck's works

(Beck, 2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck & Sznaider, 2006). This section will finish by presenting critiques on his works and other possible solutions to avoid and transcend methodological nationalism, which are found mainly in Chernilo (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010) and will point forwards to the discussion on football fan literature inspired by the methodological nationalism debate in the social sciences.

2.2 Historical Perspectives on Methodological Nationalism

2.2.1 First Wave of Methodological Nationalism Critique

Wimmer & Schiller (2002) while reviewing the methodological nationalism history within the social sciences posit that there are three variants to the theme, namely:

> "[...] social sciences were captured by the apparent naturalness and givenness of a world divided into societies along the lines of nation-states [...] typical of more empirically oriented social sciences practices, is taking *national discourses, agendas, loyalties and histories for granted*, without problematizing them or making them an object of an analysis in its own right [...] another variant of naturalizing the nation-state is downplaying nationalism's role in modern state building by analytically separating the rise of nationalism from that of the modern state and of democracy." (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, pp. 304-306, emphasis added)

These variants encompass firstly an ignorance of social sciences theorisations to the birth and modes of nationalism and the nation-state, secondly a naturalisation of one

kind of nation-state as being the only form that it can possess, and thirdly limiting the analysis of nationalism and its variants and discourses to particular nation-states and confining these analysis to the political borders of modern nation-states. Initially, Wimmer & Schiller (2002) regarded the development of the social sciences during the nineteenth century as a reflection of the modernist project, especially to a clearer separation between topics to be investigated by the different branches of it. In this token, nationalism, nation-state formation and modes of it were neglected by sociologists but got special attention by historians. As so, sociology blinded itself to this particular topic during its development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries causing some of its grand theories to be methodological nationalists from their inception. As highlighted by Wimmer & Schiller (2002) and emphasised by Chernilo (2007), R. Fine (2003), Turner (2002, 2006) and Inglis (2009) this blindness differs from Beck's cosmopolitan theory (Beck, 2000b, 2010; Beck & Sznaider, 2006), in that it does not mean that all social science developed within the modern framework of thought relied on a methodological nationalism standpoint, but that mostly the hegemonic discourse did. Wimmer & Schiller (2002) argue that nationalism and nation-state were not only displayed in sociological research at the time because of the clear separation of topics between different social sciences fields, but also because it was regarded by early sociologists as a transitory stage in the continuum of social evolution. By avoiding discussing the nation-state and nationalism, sociologists started to take for granted these institutions which led its outcomes as discourses, loyalties and histories not to be problematised within sociological discourse. A particular argument worth mentioning regarding the naturalisation and thus the avoidance of discussing the nation-state and nationalism is the one regarding anthropological studies. This has intrinsic connections

with the sociology of culture, and thus with this thesis' objectives, where Wimmer & Schiller (2002, p. 305, emphasis added) posit that:

> "Anthropologists often assumed that the cultures to be studied were unitary and organically related to, and *fixed within*, *territories*, thus reproducing the image of the social world *divided into bounded*, culturally specific units typical of nationalist thinking."

This argument echoes Ulrich Beck's general critique of methodological nationalism, especially this chapter's opening statement where it is asserted that methodological nationalism equates societies to nation-state societies (Beck & Sznaider, 2006), and especially it equates socialisation just within the political borders of these nation-states. With this argument, Wimmer & Schiller (2002) demonstrate that a methodological nationalism thinking bases its idea on the fact that there are as many cultures as nation-states in the world, and thus these cultures are there to be catalogued and analysed separately [15] by researchers.

The second variant of Wimmer & Schiller's (2002) argument on methodological nationalism within the social sciences is the downplaying of nationalism's role in fostering the creation of the modern nation-state and democracy. For the former, methodological nationalist accounts see the nation as the people who share common background and origins while the state is the guarantor of this people in a well defined territorial space, ultimately segregating these two aspects. In regard to democracy, methodological nationalism blinds itself to the fact that nationalism was the originator of democracy in Western European nation-state formation, and segregate it to peripheral countries giving it

[15] The idea of having one different culture to each different nation-state, and the fact that anthropologists, ethnographers and sociologists are there to catalogue and analyse them separately bare resemblance to Edward Said's (1994, 2003) points on colonialism, imperialism and culture. His points will be unpacked in a greater length in the section dealing with football fandom

a negative connotation[16]. As will be seen later on in this chapter, Hobsbawm (1983, 1987, 1992) makes similar claims regarding the rise of nationalism and the creation of nation-states in Western Europe, and the change of connotation from a positive to negative point, as with patriotism (Nussbaum, 1996b; Viroli, 1995). The third variant of methodological nationalism in Wimmer & Schiller's (2002) account is that the social sciences imagination is narrowed by reducing its analytical and conceptual focuses to the confines of the nation-state's political borders. Methodological nationalist accounts tended to focus either internally to describe and understand processes within the nation-state borders, or externally focusing on facts that occurred outside the nation-state. In this regard, an either/or dichotomisation in the social sciences became apparent and normalised, creating clear divides between the internal 'we' and the external 'them'. This not only led to a dichotomous social science, but also had an impact in homogenising internally to heterogenising it externally. But as Wimmer & Schiller (2002) ask first, why were the modern nation-state's political borders chosen in the first place? And second, why are no other forms of drawing these borders and boundaries given thought in social research? Those questions are both worth pursuing in order to transcend methodological nationalism.

Chernilo (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010) when approaching methodological nationalism in the social sciences through an historical perspective broadly divides it in two waves. In a first phase of the critique, Chernilo (2007) regards the works of Herminio Martins (1974 apud Chernilo, 2007), Anthony D. Smith (1979, 1983 apud Chernilo, 2007) and Anthony Giddens (1973 apud Chernilo, 2007) as informing and formulating the base arguments regarding social sciences' methodological nationalism and its blindness in addressing the naturalising effect of the modern nation-state on questions of socialisation.

[16] Here again Wimmer & Schiller (2002) share common ground with Said (1994, 2003) in particular to the fact that by equating nationalism to a negative aspect of nation-state, and segregating it to the peripheral countries outside the Western world, an hierarchical discourse of us versus them is created

In a second phase, Chernilo (2007) understands that the works of Ulrich Beck and his collaborators (Beck, 2004, 2005, 2007b, 2009, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Beck-Gernsheim, 2004) as revitalising the discussions on the blindness of the social sciences to the limits of the nation-state and how this phenomena has impacted on methodology and epistemology within the field.

From what was regarded as the second crisis of modernity during the 1970s, social researchers, in particular Anthony Giddens, started to question themselves about the relationships of societies and nation-state, and more precisely the notion that society was the unit of analysis in sociology, and in the industrialised world that equated to the bounded (modern) nation-state (Chernilo, 2006b, 2007). Sharing a similar concern, borrowing from the methodological individualism notion, Herminio Martins coined the term methodological nationalism where the implications of regarding national societies as bounded, autonomous and isolated unities for analysis mimicked the way sociologists treated social facts as the results of the actions from individuals (Chernilo, 2007). Anthony D. Smith for instance, took Martins concerns about methodological nationalism and made it more empirically palpable by looking at the relationship between nationalism and nation-states formation during modernity, and how this influenced not only social actors point of view, but also operated within sociological studies (Chernilo, 2007).

In this regard, Chernilo (2007) posits that during the first wave of critiques of methodological nationalism in the social sciences, there were three forms of arguments: a logical version developed by Herminio Martins; an historical version by Anthony D. Smith; and a substantive version by Anthony Giddens. These three arguments as in Chernilo's (2007) vision can help the field to transcend methodological nationalism, not only by avoiding it, but also by understanding historically, logically and substantively the

connections of nation-state to society. From this point onwards it is possible to understand the basis of Chernilo's (2007) arguments, particularly in regards to how nation-states were conceptualised and understood by social researchers, and how this might have implications on how to conceptualise methodological nationalism and thus how to transcend it. Chernilo (2007) for instance, looks how at classical (Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim), modernist (Talcott Parsons, Raymond Aron, Barrington Moore, Reinhard Bendix) and contemporary (Michael Mann, Eric Hobsbawm, Manuel Castells, Niklas Luhmann, Jürgen Habermas) social theorists understood the nation-state, focusing on the premises that the nation-state is not an immutable unit of analysis over time, nor are its characteristics always similar. This has intrinsic implications further on in the discussion of methodological nationalism and Ulrich Beck's theorisations of methodological cosmopolitanism, which are going to be addressed later in this section. To advance one point and thus lay down part of the foundations of why choose one of the aforementioned authors dealing with nationalism to discuss him in length, Chernilo (2007, p. 18) understands that, "[A]t the core of Beck's critique is a rather mythical view of the nation-state as a harmonious socio-political form.". In this token, to be able to criticise Ulrich Beck's approach on methodological nationalism at the end of this chapter, first it should be discussed which kind of nation-state and nationalism Ulrich Beck had in mind when theorising his move from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism.

2.2.2 Intermezzo: Eric Hobsbawm's Nationalism Theory

Nationalism as a social phenomenon began to draw attention from commentators around the middle of the 19th century, especially in Western Europe (Wehler, 2001). The idea of the modern nation-state, nationality, and of a nationalism as understood as a pride for the home nation, were all a product of Western European thought and practice, in a way that it even came to be accepted as a quasi-natural entity (Wehler, 2001)[17]. A renewed scholarly interest during the 1980s on topics related to nationalism brought an approach that tried to denaturalise the modern nation-state by treating it as an invented modern tradition (Hobsbawm, 1987, 1992; Wehler, 2001). Smith (1998) refers to Eric Hobsbawm as the leading author in this renewed phase orthodoxy, and so his works on nationalism and particularly to his Age of Empire era will be looked at in detail (Hobsbawm, 1987, 1992). This is because it was not only the nationalism at that time that created and invented the nation-states tended to focus on harmonious and shared singular characteristics as ethnicity, language and historical past, similar to Ulrich Beck's romantic understanding of the nation-state, but also this phase saw the invention of many traditions, especially modern sport and Association Football rules (Duke & Crolley, 1996; Hobsbawm, 1983). This period also saw the emergence of what Veblen (1994 [1899], 2005 [1899]) called the conspicuous consumption and the emergence of a leisure class, which in turn bear links to the invention of modern sport, and its associated commercialisation. Veblen (1994 [1899]) argues that this leisure class did not sought any furtherance of human life through their past-time activities as through the knowledge of "[...] games and sports, and fancy-bred animals, such as dogs and race-horses" (Veblen, 1994 [1899], p. 29). Clear evidence of the

[17] Anthony D. Smith (1991, 1998, 1999, 2009) calls this approach as the 'modernist' variety, and considers it as the orthodoxy in the field. Meanwhile favouring the ethno-symbolism approach (Smith, 1991, 1998, 1999, 2009), a third variety - primordialism - can be also found on Smith (1998).

relationship between the newly invented tradition of modern sport and the Age of Empire can be seen when Hobsbawm (1987, p. 174, emphasis added) argues in relation to the bourgeoisie quest for distinction during that period:

> "A middle-class lifestyle and culture was one such criterion, leisure activity, and especially the *new invention of sport*, was another [...]"

As well when he clearly focus on football:

> "The adoption of sports, and particularly *football*, as a mass proletarian cult is equally obscure, but without doubt equally rapid. *Here the timing is easier to establish. Between the middle 1870s*, at the earliest, and the *middle or late 1880s* football acquired *all the institutional and ritual characteristics* with which we are still familiar: *professionalism*, the league cup, with its annual pilgrimage of faithful for demonstrations of proletarian triumph in the capital, the regular attendance at the Saturday match, *the 'supporters' and their culture, the ritual rivalry*, normally between moieties of an industrial city or conurbation [...] *football operated both on a local and on a national scale, so that the topic of the day's matches would provide common ground for conversation between virtually any two male workers in England or Scotland, and a few score celebrated players provided a point of common reference for all*." (Hobsbawm, 1983, pp. 288-289, emphasis added)

The argument that will unfold in later sections is that the way sport, national and international competitions, and fandom has largely been understood until now by both social actors and social researchers bear resemblance to the invented modern nation-state

formed during the Age of Empire[18]. Not only sport in general bore resemblance to the invented modern nation-state, but also as seen in Eric Hobsbawm's quote the invented tradition of football supporter being male and working class.

In a rhetorical question in the beginning of 'The Age of Empire', Hobsbawm (1987) asks what would be the main difference between the world of 1780s (Age of Revolution) to the one in the 1880s (Age of Empire). For him, it lays in one simple factor:

> "In the first place, it was now genuinely global [...] [Y]et while in one sense the world was becoming demographically larger and geographically smaller and more global - a planet bound together ever more tightly by the bonds of moving goods and people, of capital and communication, of material products and ideas - *in another it was drifting into division*." (Hobsbawm, 1987, pp. 13-14, emphasis added)

By this token, a world that was becoming more globalised, where just the old local alliances and solidarities were being reshaped to a more national, and sometimes global level, the rise of nationalism is not a factor to be neglected. It is worth mentioning, as Hobsbawm (1992) does, that nationalism was not just a right wing chauvinist and xenophobic movement, but normally originated within the left and democratic parties and carried a positive connotation at the time, as the term imperialism did for some time. The rise of a national media, a nation-wide basic education, and a national vernacular shared

[18] Clear connections between nationalism, cosmopolitanism, Age of Empire, and sport can be found in the edited book by Norbert Müller (2000) with selected writings by Baron Pierre de Coubertin at the time he was reinventing the Modern Olympic Games and creating the moral philosophy of Olympism. For instance, the idea of an international competition between nation-states was in Coubertin's view a way of safeguarding these nation-states from unpatriotic cosmopolitans as we could see in this passage: "The only way to ensure any relative long-term survival of the athletic renaissance then still in its infancy was to superimpose the immense prestige of antiquity on the passing fad of Anglomania, thereby undercutting, to some extent, any opposition from the students of classicism, and to impose on the world a system whose fame spread beyond all national borders. The *rising tide of cosmopolitanism*, which constituted a threat, had to be turned into a rampart and a safeguard. To achieve these goals in our secular age, *only one religion* was open to us. *The national flag, the symbol of modern patriotism* being raised on the pole of victory to honor the winning athlete - that was what would keep the faith alive at the newly rekindled heart." (de Coubertin in Müller, 2000, p. 573, emphasis added)

and understood by the majority of the population, were also factors that served to the rise of nationalism, and created what Benedict Anderson (2006) conceptualised as 'imagined communities'. Thus, as in Hobsbawm (1983, 1987, 1992), the idea of an imagined community through nationalism and patriotism, being spread by education and media on a shared vernacular language and public sector jobs were the answer for creating and inventing solidarities among distant individuals who had not, or would never had had the chance to meet each other, but nonetheless were bound administratively, politically, military and economically to the same nation-state (Anderson, 2006). What is important to highlight in Hobsbawm's (1987, 1992) theorisations about nationalism and the nation-state, and the table below (Table 1) developed by Chernilo (2007) summarises it, is that the Age of Empire nation-state had some intrinsic characteristics that contrasts other conceptualisations of nation-state presented in different periods, but nonetheless shares similar characteristics when modern sport, and particularly modern football and international events are superimposed.

Table 1 - Evolution of Nationalism in Eric Hobsbawm's work

	Nation stands for	**Nation stands against**	**Nation relates to the world**
1789-1848 - Age of Revolution	opening of political participation to people	all inherited privileges that uphold the Ancien Regime and prevent the establishment of popular democracy	on the basis of the examples set by the French Revolution
1848-1875 - Age of Capital	restricted widening of the political franchise	both social revolution from below and non-constitutional reactionary governments from above	as compatible with internationalism on the basis of their common liberal roots
1875-1914 - Age of Empire	*a strong conception of national self-determination as the basis of an* imperial *nation-state*	*the presence and influence of aliens within the nation*	*as zero-sum game. Imperial competition among nation-states and increasing opposition between nationalism and internationalism*

Source: Chernilo (2007, p. 127, emphasis added)

The idea of a homogenous nation-state that competes on a zero-sum game against another homogenous nation-state, thus heterogenous between them, is somehow similar to the idea of modern sport[19], particularly football clubs and the way football fans were

[19] In relation to homogeneity within the nation-state and modern sport, an emblematic case is that during the 2012 London Olympic Games media in the UK was concerned with the 'plastic brits', or athletes who were not born in the UK, or had parents who were not UK citizens, and were representing Team GB. A search on google (7th December 2012) with the terms plastic brits olympics generated more than 600,000 results. A similar concern of *foreign* players taking part in League Football was also present during its inception, where continental footballers were prohibited to play for English Clubs (M. Taylor, 2005). Nevertheless, footballers with colonial links to Britain, and from the other nations within the British Isles were allowed to take part in League Football (M. Taylor, 2005)

characterised as it will be seen in the next chapter[20]. The homogeneity sought during the Age of Empire within the nation-states was primarily focused on two broad aspects: language and ethnicity. As Hobsbawm (1987, p. 146) highlights "[W]e are now so used to an ethnic-linguistic definition of nations that we forget that this was, essentially, invented in the later nineteenth century", thus giving further evidence that as more of the world became globalised, and local and regional solidarity were loosing the centrality of individuals' socialisation, the idea of homogenising the nation-state around shared language and ethnicity was a form of creating and inventing an imagined community. Nationalism, the nation-state, and ultimately nationality (citizenship) were all intended to create a "[...] real network of personal relations rather than a merely imaginary community, [...]" (Hobsbawm, 1987, p. 154). Another important factor that took place during the end of the Age of Empires, and culminated with the First World War, was the turn of nationalism to a chauvinist and xenophobic movement, in line with the idea that nation-states had to compete against each other, and against the aliens, mostly cosmopolitans[21], within their borders. The rapid growth of a middle-class in developed countries, in particular Great Britain, for this research purpose, also led to a search for distinction between different classes, not only through conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 1994 [1899], 2005 [1899]) of the super rich, but also through leisure activities as with the different invented sports within the bourgeoisie (Hobsbawm, 1983, 1987). This not only impacted on the way sport was perceived (and thus became conceptualised afterwards in sociology), but most

[20] Here I am implying the *othernisation* that is seen in both analysis between football clubs and within football clubs when fans are characterised as *real* fans. This argument is clearly seen in Giulianotti's (1999) semantic and syntactic forms and in Giulianotti's (2002) famous taxonomy. Similar arguments are found in diverse research done on football fandom and will be discussed in length in the next section

[21] As the term was understood during that time, of individuals *without* clear solidarity and loyalty to the particular nation-state where they lived. Examples of the cosmopolitans at that time were Jews and socialists, the former by having other loyalties and solidarities apart from the nation-state, and the latter for being internationalists (Hobsbawm, 1987)

importantly served to promote this form of nationalism discussed so far, as within the *turner* movement in Germany, and the whole purpose of the Modern Olympic Games[22]. By this token, Hobsbawm (1992) saw the newly invented modern sport and its contests of the end of the nineteenth century moving from a mostly middle-class activity to a phenomena that transcended all classes and becoming a mass spectacle of "gladiatorial contests between persons and teams *symbolizing state-nations*" (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 142, emphasis added). For him:

> "The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. The individual, *even the one who only cheers*, becomes a symbol of his nation himself." (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 143, emphasis added)

The idea that a football team can represent a nation by its eleven players is also found in Duke & Crolley (1996, p. 4, emphasis added):

> "Football captures the notion of an imagined community perfectly. *It is much easier to imagine the nation and confirm national identity, when eleven players are representing the nation in a match against another nation* [...] It has often been argued that only religious commitment can rival national loyalties in scope and fervour, but the passion of football supporters for their club is in the same league."

To summarise Hobsbawm's position regarding nationalism and the nation-state during the Age of Empire, he considers that three concomitant social developments occurred during that period that fostered and increased the idea of the necessity of an imagined community as the nation-state and its associated nationalism to protect

[22] During his trips to study the role of sport in different countries, de Coubertin became an admirer of the sport culture within the British public schools, and understood that this was one of the reasons that the British Empire was successful. He wanted to mimic this sport culture within the French system to promote physical activity for young men with the purpose to make France to compete in the same level as other Empires not only in the playing fields (Müller, 2000)

individuals. For Hobsbawm (1992), the increasing urbanisation and modernisation that threatened traditional groups and an increasing global migration that put strangers in direct contact with other migrant strangers, and also native strangers, made nationalism and nation-states a perfect form for inventing and sustaining imagined communities.

2.2.3 Second Wave of Methodological Nationalism Critique

"European and World Championships recall, like the large republican rituals, the force of the nation-state paradigm which does not accept a pay lip service membership or double alliances[23]." (Bromberger, 2001, p. 108)

With the idea of nationalism and of the coherent and homogenous nation-state put forward by Hobsbawm (1987, 1992), it is possible to move forward the discussion on methodological nationalism and the second wave of the critique in the social sciences, which Chernilo (2007) credited to Ulrich Beck and his collaborators (Beck, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010; Beck & Grande, 2008; Beck & Sznaider, 2006). Beck (2010) opens his section on the critique of methodological nationalism by focusing on what he understands as its principle error: the prison error of identity. To explain this, Beck (2010) draws from Beck-Gernsheim's (2004) notion of the differences between we and the other[24], and how the notion of identity in both social actors and social researchers points of view still has the nation-state as the framework. For Beck-Gernsheim (2004) that means that individuals who do not conform to the notion of a monocultural and mononational

[23] Original in French

[24] Beck-Gernsheim (2004) draws heavily on Said (1994, 2003), especially in the notion of orientalism to discuss migrants identities in contemporaneous Germany. As Said's theories will serve as the framework to discuss the fan literature, they will be dealt in length in the section below

identity, and thus with the homogenous nation-state, are always confronted with questions to assert their roots until the dissonant problem is found. This idea of monoculturality and homogeneity within political borders of a nation-state is for Beck (2010), what blinds social science to all the intertwined social facts in a reflexive modern time. For Beck (2010) a distinction should be made between the reflection of the social actors' point of view, which is conceptualised as the national outlook, with the reflection of the social researchers' point of view, which is theorised as methodological nationalism.

In this regard, Beck (2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2010) proposes that methodological nationalism has eight principles which by avoiding and transcending them, a methodological cosmopolitanism and a paradigm shift in the social sciences could be envisioned. The first principle which to some extent is the basic one as seen in the early definitions of methodological nationalism put forward at the beginning of this section, is the understanding of society being subordinated to the state (Beck, 2004, 2010). By this token, there are as many societies as there are states, in a way that methodological nationalism's standpoint is that "[...]nation-state defines the national society, not the reverse[.]" (Beck, 2004, p. 140). The nation-state passes to be the guarantor and creator of society, imposing "[...]a *territorial* understanding of society based upon state-constructed and state-controlled borders[.]" (Beck, 2010, p. 27) in a way that societies and socialisation cease to exist at the political borders of nation-states. Beck (2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2010) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) understand that by equating nation-state to society, and perceiving the former as the generator of the latter, the social researcher is missing the intertwined social aspects that transcend those political borders, and thus falling into a methodological nationalism trap. As will be seen in the next chapter on football fandom, and serving as the basis for the critique of the methodological nationalism account encountered in most of the

work published so far on the topic, there is a presumption that looking into fandom in different nation-states, different forms of fan culture should be encountered. By this token, Ulrich Beck understands that:

> "*Like a stamp collector*, the social scientist starts from the assumption that social boundaries coincide with state boundaries and hence that the boundaries of research can and *must* also be fixed by the borders of the state." (Beck, 2010, p. 28, emphasis added)

A second principle of methodological nationalism from Beck (2004, 2010) is the idea of a world society in the social sciences where the national and the international are understood as antithesis. This reinforces the nation-state idea presented in Hobsbawm (1987) where we see an internal homogenous national in opposition to another internal opposition national, and thus creating the idea of an external heterogenous international to each of these nationals. In line with this second principle, Beck (2004, 2010) understands that the third principle refers to the sociological idea of inferring from a particular national society to a universal society. For Beck (2004, 2010) most of the modern sociological imagination and theorisation took for granted the societies upon which they were developed, as Marx looking to British capitalism and inferring his theories to all capitalist societies, or Weber when writing about bureaucracy in Prussia and then universalising to all societies. Nonetheless there were advances within sociology from Beck's (2004, 2010) point of view, particularly by comparative studies. But for him these still operate as comparisons between societies comprised to nation-states, which gets back to the first and second principles. By the advent of comparative studies, especially to cultural ones, Beck (2004, 2010) understands that a false sterile opposition between either a universal homogenisation or an incommensurability of perspectives is generated, leading to what he

termed as the territorial misunderstanding of cultural plurality. Methodological nationalism for him would assume self-enclosed cultures within nation-states, leading on one hand to imperialistic and hegemonic discourses as within the universal homogenisation perspective, or on the other hand, to perspectives that resist comparisons. For Beck (2004, 2010) that would be the easier way for social researchers not to engage in research looking into the dialogue between these heterogenous cultures, across and within nation-states, and thus resisting a paradigmatic change to methodological cosmopolitanism[25].

The fifth principle of methodological nationalism from Beck's (2004, 2010) account is that the national outlook is an essentialist outlook, where it assumes and naturalises homogeneity within the nation-state political borders. For Beck (2004, 2010) this naturalisation can be traced back to the creation of Empires within First Modernity, as discussed in Hobsbawm (1987, 1992), where cultural homogeneity was invented as a basis for the invention of these Empires and nations. Not only does it homogenise internally, but it also heterogenise externally the others, as seen in Said's (1994, 2003), creating an idea of mutually exclusive identities, solidarities, loyalties and cultures based on nation-state political borders. The sixth principle of methodological nationalism to be transcended is that the national outlook excludes the possibility of a cosmopolitan outlook, operating on an either/or approach (Beck, 2004, 2010). The national outlook blinds itself to the cosmopolitan reality by focusing primarily on national, regional or even transnational unities of analysis, but nonetheless still operates on the basis of the nation-state as the framework. The seventh principle relates to the difference between a narrower and broader sense of methodological nationalism within the social sciences. For Beck (2004, 2010) the narrow sense of the critique of methodological nationalism is to expose the apparatuses

[25] Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2008) for an example of study that looks culture both within and between nation-states. In football fandom, the works of Giulianotti & Robertson (2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c) could be mentioned as the leading ones trying to avoid this principle of methodological nationalism

and theorisations developed so far in the social sciences, but on a deeper and more difficult level, the broader sense tries to find alternatives to substitute it. Regarding this broader sense that Beck (2004, 2010) and Chernilo (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010) disagree more in wording than in content, as it will be seen further in this section. To elaborate, Beck (2003b, 2005, 2010) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) propose a paradigmatic change from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism, while Chernilo (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010) still regards that methodological nationalism can provide the necessary tools for social researchers, and nevertheless the nationalism idea should be discussed and thus de-naturalised. The last principle on Beck's (2004, 2010) general critique of methodological nationalism, before advancing into the discussion of methodological cosmopolitanism, is of the distinction between international and cosmopolitan. As in the previous principles, an international perspective still operates with analysis between nations, and especially the naturalised political borders, while what should be sought is a form to analyse borders that are in constant movement and are being redesigned. By this token, an international perspective cannot be equated to a cosmopolitan perspective, as the former neglects the latter, but in Beck's words, if a cosmopolitan perspective is taken it assumes and re-looks the international and the national dialectically.

2.2.4 Avoiding Methodological Nationalism

Beck (2003b, 2005, 2010) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) argue that to avoid and transcend methodological nationalism in the social sciences what is needed is an epistemological and paradigmatic change that culminates in a cosmopolitan sociological

imagination. Beck (2003b) thus provides, as seen in the Table 2 below, a quadrant analysis of the movement from a methodological nationalism to a methodological cosmopolitanism in regard to the national and cosmopolitan political action. In regard to the national political action, and in particular to the related methodological nationalism political science, Beck (2003b) emphasises the primary characteristics of this epistemological standpoint, vis-à-vis the notion of an internal homogenous nation-state in opposition to another internal homogenous nation-state. In this regard, the political action and the sociological understanding is bound to the political borders of the nation-state. Notwithstanding, when this methodological nationalism is confronted to a cosmopolitan political action perspective a new horizon appears, initially moving away to a certain extent, from a sociology based on the notion of a closed nation-state. The cosmopolitan perspective, even under a methodological nationalism for Beck (2003b) leads to an initial discussion of what might be or ought to be the conditions and results of a globalisation from within the nation-state, to the extent to how the social actors and social researchers understand the opacity of the political borders of the nation-state. This leads to Beck's (2003b) third quadrant which already incorporates a methodological cosmopolitanism turn, and thus already make claims to a new sociological imagination which does not regard the nation-state as the centre of analysis. As the most important quadrant in regard of a epistemological and methodological turn in the social sciences towards a cosmopolitan perspective, the fourth quadrant emphasises the idea that, after an initial disregard of cosmopolitanism (quadrant 1), to a conceptual refinement and empirical research (quadrants 2 and 3), it is time for sociology to focus its attention to understanding what a cosmopolitan society and state means and what would be its enemies. Beck (2003b, p. 457) thus understand that "[T]he cosmopolitan perspective dismisses the either-or principle of

realism; either the state exists, albeit only as an essential core, or it does not exist at all.", calling for a different conceptualisation in regard of what this new cosmopolitan state is, generating a whole new set of questions in respect to citizenship, nationality, loyalty, political borders, socialisation, etc.

Table 2 - Paradigmatic Change from a National Perspective to a Cosmopolitan Social Science

Political Science	**Political Action**	
	National Perspective	**Cosmopolitan Perspective**
Methodological Nationalism	nation-state centered understanding of society and politics both in the political practice and science	globalization from within; under which conditions do actors change from a national to a cosmopolitan perspective?; actually existing cosmopolitanism
Methodological Cosmopolitanism	opening it up the nation-state centered society and politics, sociology and political science; New Critical Theory with a cosmopolitan intent; redefinition of the basic notions, frames of references from a cosmopolitan perspective	the cosmopolitan society and its enemies: what do a cosmopolitan society, state and regime mean?

Source: Beck (2003b, p. 457)

To summarise his position in regard to a paradigmatic shift in the social sciences towards a cosmopolitan perspective, Beck (2003b, p. 458) believes that:

"[A]gainst the background of cosmopolitan social science, it becomes suddenly obvious that is neither possible to clearly distinguish between the national and the

> international, nor, in a similar way, to convincingly contrast homogenous units. National spaces have become denationalized, so that the national is no longer national, just as the international is no longer international. [...] Social science must be re-established as a transnational science of the reality of denationalization, transnationalization, and "re-ethnification" in a global age - and this on levels of concepts, theories, and methodologies as well as organizationally."

This quotation by Ulrich Beck, leads to his idea of a paradigmatic shift in understanding the nation-state under a cosmopolitan perspective and some of his arguments regarding the characteristics of this new cosmopolitan state can be seen in Table 3 (see page 64) (Beck, 2005). For the sake of the argument being developed in this thesis, particular attention will be given to the characteristics of borders, ethnicity/culture, and globalisation. For Beck (2005), the epistemological break from a nation-state-centred sociology to a cosmopolitan perspective, and thus of an ontological transformation from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism, would break the assumed duality between a national and international perspective. The methodological cosmopolitanism standpoint de-nationalised the national, where the clear homogenous idea of nation-state is cast into doubt, implying that the "[...] national is no longer national and the international no longer international [...]" (Beck, 2005, p. 148). What Beck (2005) suggests with this quotation is that the first modern theorisations of what national and international stand for lost their contact to the cosmopolitan 'reality', where the clear boundaries from an inner national to an outer international become blurred and are in a constant process of being redrawn. These borders that Beck (2005) refers to are not only the political borders of the nation-state and their internal or external political agenda, but

also economical, and especially to this thesis, of socialisations. A cosmopolitan perspective in his view is one that tries to understand the constant redrawing of these borders, not taking for granted the first modern statical political borders of the nation-state.

Moreover, when moving the discussion to the ethnicity/culture level, Beck (2005) continues on his ambivalent, active and dynamic perspective, seeking to understand how this inner globalisation and cosmopolitanisation of the nation-state breaks up first modern theorisations vis-à-vis the old categories of ethnicity, household, family, class, and hegemonic cultural disposition. The cosmopolitan perspective would allow the social researcher to understand, for example, the constant metamorphosis of majorities into minorities and vice-versa, and then the constant struggle to maintain the old positional assumptions. Related to this idea of majorities becoming minorities and thus of claiming protection, within the football fan literature there are numerous research that focused on an assumed gentrification of the football crowd, or a hygienisation of the aesthetic elements of football fandom (Fawbert, 2011; Giulianotti, 2002; A. King, 1997b; Redhead, 1993). Furthermore social movements and marketing strategies that boost this local embeddedness (Edensor & Millington, 2008; Millward, 2012), largely claiming that the older male working class football culture majority is losing its place and becoming an endangered minority. It is important to highlight in Beck's (2005) position of a cosmopolitan imagination of ethnicity/culture, the idea of a co-presence of "here" and "there", and his use of inverted commas to emphasise that neither here or there are static concepts as with the national and the international. As explained previously in regard to the reflexive modernisation, individualisation as one of its elements made subjects draw and re-draw boundaries in respect to the transnationalisation of their lived experience, and thus

to live at the same time both here and there, or in a first modern terminology, both nationally and internationally.

In respect to the last characteristic of the cosmopolitan state through a cosmopolitan imagination, Beck (2005) sees that by the implosion of the old national/ international dichotomy through an inner globalisation most sociological concepts developed within the first modernity epistemology become 'zombie-categories'[26]. The cosmopolitan perspective would allow the social researcher to understand these new categories and avoid falling into old fixed dualities. For Beck (2005), methodological cosmopolitanism for example would permit social researchers to grasp that both national and international are not mutually exclusive, neither here or there as previously explained. This has an intrinsic relationship with the argument which will follow in the next section vis-à-vis the geographical othernisation within football fandom, where the "international" other can and should still be understood as the "national" same.

[26] For a discussion on what Ulrich Beck conceptualises as 'zombie-categories' see chapter 14 in Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002)

Table 3 - Paradigm shift in the Social Sciences from the First to the Second Age of Modernity

	Methodological Nationalism	Methodological Cosmopolitanism
Borders	Congruency of borders: the national differentiation of inside and outside dominates all areas; political membership is predetermined and exclusive	Incongruency of borders: inside and outside mingle according to area: borders have continually to be redrawn and justified; elective plural political memberships
Ethnicity/culture	Hegemony culture: dominant majority homogeneity premise; "minority problems"; hidden essentialism; non-differentiating universalism; race and space create a potentially fatal discourse; political goal: assimilation and integration	Non-hierarchical pluralism: universal coexistence of cultural differences; quantitative and qualitative metamorphosis of majorities into minorities and vice versa; recognition of ethnic differences; de essentialised; new mixed forms (hybrids) and lived relations ("diaspora"); plural ethnic identities, the co-presence of "here" and "there"
Globalization	"Interconnectedness": external - "additive" - globalization; the national and the international constitute two seemingly logically mutually exclusive conditions; world society secondary; primary backdrop (socially and in the social sciences) national society(ies)	Internal globalization: "cosmopolitan index"; The distinction national/ international implodes in the reference frame of transnationality; world society is the primary backdrop; sociological categories become "zombie-categories"

Source: (Beck, 2005, pp. 148-149, adapted)

Thus what would methodological cosmopolitanism be in Ulrich Beck's words? For Beck (2010, pp. 78-79, emphasis in original):

> "Whereas the epoch of the nation-state produced and institutionalized a monological imaginary centred on the demarcation and exclusion of others and aliens, the cosmopolitan age is founded on a *dialogical imaginary of the internalized other*."

The cosmopolitan age and dialogical imagination for Beck (2010) lead to the central characteristics of methodological cosmopolitanism as distinguishing the perspective from social actors and social researcher, of replacing the either/or opposition to both/and typologies, and of enquiring the congruencies and lack of congruencies between social actors and social researchers' perspectives. Methodological cosmopolitanism seeks to overcome the Eurocentric universalism, by incorporating multiple universalism, as allowing multiple perspectives coming from the first modern peripheries to be mixed in a non-hierarchical pluralism (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). These characteristics of methodological cosmopolitanism lead it to be:

> "[...] not mono- but multiperspectival. More precisely, it can and must observe and investigate the boundary-transcending and boundary-effacing multiperspectivalism of social and political agents through very different 'lenses'. A single phenomenon, transnationally, for example, can, perhaps must, be analysed both locally and nationally and transnationally and translocally and globally." (Beck, 2010, p. 82)

2.2.5 Critique on Ulrich Beck's Methodological Cosmopolitanism

But the approach from Beck (2003b, 2005, 2010) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) of substituting methodological nationalism for methodological cosmopolitanism is not without theoretical and philosophical problems, as Chernilo (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010) shows. Beck (2003b, 2005, 2011) for instance, departs ultimately from an historical perspective of the existence and theorisation of the nation-state, and thus omits both logical and substantive perspectives (Chernilo, 2007). By the same token, the idea of nationalism and especially of nation-state is naturalised by Beck (2003b, 2005, 2010) in his accounts, as ultimately the modern notion, as explained previously and exemplified through Hobsbawn's (1987, 1992) conceptualisation. As seen in Chernilo (2007), nation-state during the course of history has had many different forms, and was not even theorised as being just a coherent, safe, homogenous, cohesive and inside looking entity. Ulrich Beck by showing just one form of nationalism and nation-state is naturalising and homogenising the nation-state, and that complicates further his argument when trying to avoid and transcend methodological nationalism. Beck's (2003b, 2005, 2010) form of methodological cosmopolitanism for instance, not only naturalises nationalism as one harmonious single form, but also naturalises one harmonious form of cosmopolitanism. Not only does he fall into the methodological nationalism pitfalls of naturalising a single and harmonious nation-state, but he also in regards to the methodological cosmopolitanism with nationalist intent, when he naturalises cosmopolitanism. By the same token, by proposing an either/or movement from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism, Beck (2003b, 2005, 2010) falls into the same pitfalls he warns social researchers to avoid and transcend.

2.3 Conclusion: Transcending Methodological Nationalism

Finally, if we want to transcend methodological nationalism within the sociology of sport, and particularly within football studies we should, as Chernilo (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010) proposes in relation to sociology at large, not abstain from discussing the different forms nation-states had during history and continue have now. As with Chernilo's (2007) opening quotation to this chapter, the quest to avoid and transcend methodological nationalism is not of not discussing nationalism or moving away from the nation-state, but through incorporating both cosmopolitan and nationalist perspectives. As Robertson (2012, p. 185) states:

> "Indeed, a number of influential sociologists have insisted that the nation-state is a pivotal ingredient of globalization (a thesis cursorily marginalized by Beck), and therefore the proposition that globalization undermines, or overrides, the nation-state is redundant."

Thus to transcend methodological nationalism, the appraisal of Beck's idea of a both/and perspective where an ambivalent, active, hybrid and dynamic form that not only overrides the nation-state, but also emphasises its new role under a cosmopolitan imagination should be sought, in conjunction with a methodological cosmopolitanism. As Chernilo (2006a, p. 133) puts:

> "Instead of methodological nationalism, that is, a fixed relationship between social theory, the concept of society and the historical formation of the nation-state, I propose that there is a changing relationship between the nation-state's self-understanding and social theory's conceptualization of the nation-state. By acknowledging the existence of different conceptualizations of the nation-state we

> already start disentangling the equation between the nation-state and society and therefore the nation-state stops being the natural and rational form of society in modernity. The first of social theory's antidotes against methodological nationalism, the recognition of its historical opacity, points in the direction that the nation-state is a modern form of socio-political organization but is not the necessary product of modernity."

By this token, methodological nationalism should be rejected and transcended, but not by effacing the history and/or the contemporaneous socio-political characteristics of the nation-state, but by incorporating these characteristics to the cosmopolitan imagination. In a similar vein, Go (2013) argues that to understand cosmopolitanism, its roots to European imperial colonialism should be taken into consideration. Thus to transcend methodological nationalism through a cosmopolitan imagination, what is needed is a process which demands a postcolonial epistemology that effaces neither the modern nation-state and its associated nationalism, nor colonialism and the associated cosmopolitanism.

CHAPTER THREE

FOOTBALL FANDOM

CHAPTER THREE: FOOTBALL FANDOM

"[...] the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying "us" Europeans as against all "those" non-Europeans, and indeed, it can be argued that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures." (Said, 2003, p. 7)

3.1 Introduction

Football has been characterised by Giulianotti & Robertson (2004, p. 545) as "[...] one of the most dynamic, sociologically illuminating domains of globalization", and as will be argued in this thesis, of cosmopolitanisation and reflexive modernisation. Numerous accounts on how globalisation impacted upon sport in general, and football in particular, emerged in the last twenty years within the field of sociology of sport. Notwithstanding these researchers looked initially at globalisation as an external force perspective, whereas cosmopolitanisation presupposes a globalisation from within and thus a different theoretical and epistemological take on the subject. On the other hand, such research, in particular on football, were unanimous in pointing not just to the economical aspect of globalisation, but also to the cultural and ritualistic ones. Characteristics of the period after modernity as polygamy of place, extensive mobility both of media images and individuals, multiples loyalties and nationalities and a transnational way of life led researchers to start to become interested and theorise what they called: a new or post-fandom (A. King, 1997b; Redhead, 1997), or the one absent from the stadium (Redhead, 2007), or the flâneur (Giulianotti, 2002), or the other (Brick, 2001; Lestrelin, 2010), or the

transnational fan (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004, 2007a, 2007b; Hognestad, 2006; Millward, 2011a; Nash, 2000), or the long-distance fan (Farred, 2002), or the mediated fan (Eastman & Land, 1997; Eastman & Riggs, 1994; Weed, 2006, 2007, 2008). But who is this *other* fan? How was he/she *othernised*? He/she is the *other* compared to whom? How is the *other* represented? To what extent does the discourse of *othernisation* represent a manifestation of power and hegemony? In a Derridean (Derrida, 1967; Royle, 2003) sense (see section 3.2.3 for further elaboration), how do these different notions of fan reinforce the discourse of *otherness*?

To start answering these questions, initially based on the available literature on football fandom, a post-colonial understanding of *otherness* will be employed, rooted mostly on the work of Edward Said (1994, 2003). The links of Said to the previously presented cosmopolitan theory could be seen not only informing the works of Ulrich Beck and collaborators (Beck, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck & Grande, 2008), but also in particular to Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim's (2004) *Wir und die Anderen* (we and the other) book, and Chernilo's (2012) ambivalent defence of cosmopolitanism vis-à-vis universalism. In respect to the initial stage of this section, Chernilo's (2012) *otherness* understanding in regard of cosmopolitanism will be presented first for the sake of continuity between this and the previous section. Following on, Said's (1994, 2003) orientalism and culture and imperialism will be presented, focusing primarily on the idea of constructing and representing the geographical other, giving special attention to the hegemonic (Gramsci, 2007; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) and discursive powers (Bourdieu, 2001; Foucault, 1969) inherent to his theorisation. This initial part of this section will finish with the construction of a framework that the available literature on football fandom will be analysed regarding the geographical other in section 3.3.

3.2 Cosmopolitanism and *Otherness*

"There are two types of football, prose and poetry. European teams are prose, tough, premeditated, systematic, collective. Latin American ones are poetry, ductile, spontaneous, individual, erotic." (Pier Paolo Pasolini in T. Mason, 1995, p. vii)

3.2.1 Introduction

To understand the implications of a cosmopolitan outlook (see Chapter 1) towards sociology of sport theorisations vis-à-vis fandom and authenticity it is necessary first to discuss how otherness can be conceptualised. The theoretical, ontological and epistemological position taken in this thesis departs from Edward Said's (1989, 1994, 2003) notion of orientalism, and seeks to understand how the other is discursively constructed by 'us'. If a true cosmopolitan imagination is to be employed, where the distinction between 'we' and 'others' are mitigated and transcended, it is imperative that the academic discourses of otherness are deconstructed. In this section I will overview Said's (1989, 1994, 2003) notion of orientalism in light of a cosmopolitan sociology, and will present how Foucault (1969, 2002) and Gramsci (2007) were incorporated in Said's thinking. I will conclude this section by providing the rationale of critical literature review framework presented in section 3.3.

3.2.2 *Otherness within Cosmopolitanism*

"The new cosmopolitanism begins by trying to keep in single focus at all times both a universalist insight that nationalists tend to deny, and a nationalist insight that universalists tend to deny." (Hollinger, 2002, p. 230)

Central to the discussion of cosmopolitanism within academia lies the assumption that while multiculturalism is a North-American conceptualisation and theorisation, and it is widely used and accepted within the North-American academic community, cosmopolitanism is bounded to European history and thus is Eurocentric from its inception (Delanty, 2009; Go, 2013; Hollinger, 1995; Van der Veer, 2002). This Eurocentric lineage of cosmopolitanism can be traced back not only to the Ancient Greek Stoics, but especially to the revival of cosmopolitan theory through the works of Immanuel Kant and Hannah Arendt, and more recently to Ulrich Beck (Krossa & Robertson, 2012). As Van der Veer (2002, p. 165, emphasis added) argues:

> "At least this is the way I understand the notion of cosmopolitanism and *already it is clear that I do not see it as a view from nowhere, but as a view from somewhere and from sometime, namely from the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century*. It is an inextricable part of European modernity and of the claim that its Reason is universally applicable. Universalism and cosmopolitanism go together."

Nonetheless, cosmopolitan theorisations presuppose universalistic claims that are particular to modern Western thought (Delanty, 2009; Van der Veer, 2002), both of laws and human rights (R. Fine, 2003), but specifically in the case of this thesis of mutual understandings and viable solidarities (Chernilo, 2012; Hollinger, 2002; Skey, 2012). This last universalistic claim points to how the other is understood and conceptualised, and to

what extent his/her voice is heard and praised within the many available discourses. But, as it is alleged, if cosmopolitanism is Eurocentric from its inception, how can it claim universalistic notions? What will prevent it from falling on particular universalism and maintain hegemonic imperialist and colonialist structures? Which universalism is being conceived? Or as Robertson (2012) in a direct critique to Beck & Grande (2008) asks, how can we theorise just a cosmopolitan Europe? After all, is not cosmopolitanism universal? What is needed is a sort of postcolonial cosmopolitanism that does not take for granted its shared past to European colonialism, but also do not efface it (Go, 2013)[27]. Delanty (2009) for instance calls for a post-universalistic cosmopolitanism that accepts and takes as its starting points the possible multiple modernities, or hybrid modernities (Canclini, 1995). By this token, to understand the other, and specifically Said's (1994, 2003) *othernisisation* theory used to construct the framework to analyse the literature on football fandom vis-à-vis the geographical other, a brief discussion on universalism within cosmopolitan theory will follow.

For instance, Chernilo (2012, p. 47) on his ambivalent defence of cosmopolitanism within the social theory understands that it must:

> "[...] to be looked at less in relation to the particular use of the word, or its attachment to specific projects of institutional reform, and more in relation to how the question of universalism is being addressed."

and it must "[...] continue to uphold universalistic claims which, however problematic they may have become, constitute its intellectual core". For Chernilo (2012) even that one of the idealisation and conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism normally refers to a world class elite, and that a cosmopolitan condition will not be shared universally by all humankind.

[27] A similar point is made by Bhambra (2007) in respect of modernity and a presupposed Eurocentrism to the term and the period.

Probably at some point in life, individuals will face situations of unfairness no matter how rich and powerful they are. This idea of a possible universal unfairness points back to the notion previously discussed in section 2.2.4 regarding the paradigm shift from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism vis-à-vis ethnicity/culture characteristic, especially the constant metamorphosis of minorities into majorities and vice-versa. This metamorphosis not only changes the perceived balance of power and hegemony, but creates situations where even the hegemon understands that it is being treated unfairly in relation to other groups. This is one of the main critical points presented by Giulianotti (2002, 2005b) in respect of commercialisation of football and the alienation of the *traditional custodian* of the game, namely the local man, working class, white supporter. By this token, Chernilo (2012, p. 49) argues that:

> "The critical question is thus whether, and to what the extent, one's own theoretical frameworks allow for the kind of potentially universalistic underpinnings within which it remains possible to listen to the other, and to be listened to as the other, in the belief that she may actually be right."

And from this point Chernilo (2012) understands that instead of looking for a single universal position, or universalisms in the plural that could carry both a positive or a negative form of universalism, social theory must seek forms of claiming universalism. This point of concern of a possible negative notion of universalism, the one that resembles particularism in disguise, as through imperialistic and neocolonialist forces looking to impose their vision of the world on others, is also shared by other cosmopolitan theorists such as R. Fine (2003), Hollinger (2002), Wallerstein (2006) and Beck (2010). This concern of how to (re)concile both the universal and the particular seems to be one of the central interests of cosmopolitan theory in relation to otherness.

Beck (2010), for instance, focuses his analysis on what he calls a realistic cosmopolitanism. For him, it "[...] should be conceived, elaborated and practised not in an exclusive manner but in an *inclusive* relation to universalism, contextualism, nationalism, transnationalism, etc." (Beck, 2010, p. 49, emphasis in original), in a way that both universalism does not suppress individualities, and individualism does not render universalities impossible to achieve. To transcend this duality position regarding individualism and universalism, Beck (2010) proposes that the discussion should move from an either/or to a both/and perspective. On an either/or postulation, which Beck (2010) regards as bound to a first modern epistemology, the dichotomy of either individualism or universalism leads to three Janus-faced results in respect of relativism, nationalism and ethnicism. Regarding the first outcome, relativism is understood as constructing and drawing new boundaries whilst universalism supposes the suppression of these boundaries. While relativism to some extent corrects the Janus-faced universalism of concealing individualities and promoting an imperialistic hegemon, in its absolute form it creates what Beck (2010) calls the principle of incommensurability. This relativism manifests itself through nationalism, culturalism and localism positions, departing from false propositions that assume an internal homogeneity against an external heterogeneity, neglecting the interwoven histories of nations, cultures and localities (Beck, 2010). In respect to the Janus-faced nationalism, Beck (2010, p. 56, emphasis added) understands that:

> "The way in which nationalism strategically manages the social treatment of difference can be understood as a combination of the strategies already mentioned, namely, hierarchical difference, sameness universalism and relativism. Hierarchical difference prevails in external relations and sameness universalism in internal affairs, whereas relativism is a territorial relativism that coincides with

> national borders. *Nationalism denies difference internally, while affirming, producing and stabilizing it externally*."

This quotation demonstrates the recurrent topic through Ulrich Beck's numerous works on cosmopolitanism of an internal homogenisation and an external heterogenisation, for instance essentialising cultural characteristics both internally and externally, and finally creating the basis for an either/or perspective. This reasoning, as it was seen previously, is part of the overarching argument made by Ulrich Beck of transcending methodological nationalism in social theorisations. In regard to the Janus-faced ethnicism, similar to the idea of incommensurability of perspectives presented previously, Beck (2010) understands that a recent argument employed against a post-colonialisation in regard of globalisation is the fact that ethnicities are calling for ethnic territorial autonomy for themselves. This call for autonomy not only relates to territorial autonomy in regard to political and economical decisions, but also to epistemological perspectives, calling for African solutions to Africa, or South American perspectives to South America, etc. While a Janus-faced universalist perspective would be seen as imposing practices to these ethnicities, the Janus-faced ethnicism would be promoted by the idea that *locals* could understand themselves and thus decide for themselves their routes and actions.

But then what would be the possible solutions to (re)concile the universal to the particular, and the particular to the universal? Based on Benhabib's (2002 apud Chernilo, 2012) ideas of confrontations and conversations across perspectives and cultures, Chernilo (2012) understands that a cosmopolitanism claim to universalism would seek to balance analytical and conceptual questions to propositions and normative assessments. Even that cosmopolitanism:

> "[...] remains an abstract and somewhat remote normative framework, and yet it is somehow becoming an inevitable fact that even if we decide *not* to recognize socio-cultural differences and normative disagreements as legitimate, we still need to face the challenge not only that people bearing these differences live next to each other, but that these differences themselves can only be accounted for if we look at them from the point of view of a single humanity [...] Cosmopolitanism can be seen as a philosophical orientation that is based on a claim to universalism deriving from principles of fundamental equality and full inclusion, in which others are not only given the right to participate, but also listened to or heard in the expectation that they may be right - since, in dialogue, positions are frequently reversed, and we ourselves may be wrong." (Chernilo, 2012, pp. 57-59, emphasis in original)

By this token, Chernilo's (2012) positions vis-à-vis cosmopolitanism claims to universalism relies on a constant dialectical dialogue between particularities which seek common universal ground. This argument is in line with the idea discussed previously regarding homogeneity and heterogeneity within the nation-states (Beck, 2010), where these particularities are not just bound homogenous entities, and thus heterogenous between them, but that these particularities share similarities and thus can claim universal positions. In this manner, to only understand universalism as ethnocentric is to falsely believe that particularities are just heterogenous between them and cannot find common universal positions (Benhabib, 2002 apud Chernilo, 2012). On the other hand, R. Fine's (2003) solution to (re)concile both universalism to cosmopolitanism, can only happen when cosmopolitanism moves away from its abstract conceptualisation, and thus clear definitions of its limits are presented. By facing the same forms of obstacles as modern

politics, or the nation-states politics, a cosmopolitanism universal claim needs to be put forward with clear ends, bearing in mind that nation-state politics (particularities) would still play a significant role on its universal claims (R. Fine, 2003).

Even though Chernilo (2012) and R. Fine (2003) could be read as an indirect and sometimes direct critique to Beck's (2010) positions regarding cosmopolitanism, and also the universalism associated to it, all three authors to their form still regard that universalism would not exist without the presence of particularities. As anticipated before while discussing Ulrich Beck's universalism versus individualism dichotomy appreciation and its three Janus-faced outcomes, his approach seeks to transcend this dichotomy by taking what is excluded by both positions. For Beck (2010), cosmopolitanism and its universal claims mean a position where others are seen as both different and similar at the same time. Cosmopolitanism, thus understood, would avoid the totalitarian and hegemonic position of universalism by taking particularities into account, while avoiding the particularist positions by looking at universal principles (Beck, 2010). In a similar fashion, Hollinger (2002) argues that while universalism and cosmopolitanism once shared similar objectives, the new cosmopolitanism, where Ulrich Beck's theories are situated, can now distinguish itself from universalism as it does not seek a unique position (particular universalism), even that both often are still united against common enemies. For Hollinger (2002) these enemies are the extreme relativist positions, normally associated to 'postmodernism', where no consensus would be achievable, while Zizek (1998) understands as globalism, or the economic form of globalisation. By this token, the new cosmopolitanism would allow particularities to maintain their self-positions while it would also accept and absorb different visions and experiences (Hollinger, 2002).

A similar solution emerges from these four authors' different perspectives, which tries dialectically to conciliate both universalism to particularism[28]. To summarise, this conciliation proposition where both universal claims that do not suppress particularities, and particularities that do not create a zero-sum relativist game, Wallerstein (2006, p. 49, emphasis added) seems to be the more lucid and synthetic:

> "To be non-Orientalist means to accept the continuing tension between the need to universalize our perceptions, analyses, and statements of values and the need to defend their particularist roots against the incursion of the particularist perceptions, analyses, and statements of values coming from others who claim they are putting forward universals. *We are required to universalize our particulars and particularize our universals simultaneously and in a kind of constant dialectical exchange*, which allows us to find new syntheses that are then of course instantly called into question. It is not an easy game."

3.2.3 Edward Said's *Otherness*

"As both geographical and cultural entities - to say nothing of historical entities - such locales, regions, geographical sectors as "Orient" and "Occident" are man-made. *[...] The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of* power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony *[...] The Orient was Orientalized not only because it was discovered to be "Oriental" in all those ways considered commonplace by an average nineteenth-century European, but also because it could be - that is, submitted to being - made Oriental." (Said, 2003, pp. 5-6, emphasis added)*

[28] See Sznaider (2007) for an example of the universal-particular conciliation in respect of cosmopolitanism

The previous discussion of cosmopolitanism universalist claims, two themes were recurrent, on one hand the idea of two homogenous entities we and them, and spawning from this, on the other hand that these two entities could develop their own particularities in opposition to universalist claims. In respect to the former theme, Said (1994, 2003) recognised that the *creation* of both we and them, in other words the *othernisation of others*, carried an inner relationship of power, dominance and hegemony between these two parties. From this *othernisation of others*, and the hegemonic process of defining the *other as hierarchically inferior*, some particularities became the ultimate goals for universalist claims, which Wallerstein (2006) exemplifies with European Universalism. By this token, to transcend a particular hegemonic neo-imperialistc universal position, and thus lay down the foundations for possible universal understandings within the sociological theory, initially the *othernisation of others* process should be deconstructed (Derrida, 1967; Royle, 2003). This would need to be done in a way that these *we* and *other* entities are denaturalised and the discourse that creates both is understood as inherently carrying both ideological and power relations, which in turn would allow for a cosmopolitan reconstruction of this discourse. To follow Beck's (2003b, 2005, 2007b, 2010) arguments, here in this thesis the discourse that creates this *other* is not only understood as coming from the social actors point of view (or national outlook in Ulrich Beck's words), but especially the sociological discourse (or methodological nationalism in Ulrich Beck's words) that reinforces and to some extent *scientifically justifies* these hegemonic power relations. This process of *othernisation of the other*, and the inherent hegemonic discursive power relations, will serve as the basis for the analytical framework vis-à-vis geographical other within football fan literature which will be presented in the following sections.

While writing and theorising orientalism, Said (2003) not only examined how the Orient and Occident were constructed and reproduced within western literature, but was particular interested in forms of transcending this simplified opposite polarity of *we* and *them* (Turner, 2004). To achieve the first goal regarding his orientalism thesis, Said (2003) employed Michel Foucault's notions of power and knowledge (Foucault, 1969; C. Gordon, 1980) and Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony (Gramsci, 2007; Laclau, 2000; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). This was to show how the representations of the Orient by Occident and western literatures were a form of colonial power and domination while portraying the *other* as backward and inferior, to the extent that it justified European colonisation of the *other* (Said, 2003; Turner, 2004). Said (2003, p. 3) contended:

> "[...] that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage - and even produce - the Orient politically, sociologically, military, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period."

Thus to understand Said's theorisations regarding orientalism, *othernisation* and culture and imperialism (1989, 1994, 2003), and lay the foundations for how the texts and *scientific* discourses on football fandom will be read, analysed, deconstructed and reconstructed in the following sections, a brief overview of Foucault (1969) and Gramsci (2007) theories will be initially presented. The section will follow by discussing Edward Said's contributions to orientalism and postcolonial theorisations, and will finish by presenting a more contemporaneous use of Said's theories which already tries to overcome some of its limitations.

As a general initial statement, Michel Foucault's (Foucault, 1969; C. Gordon, 1980; Mills, 2003) discourse theory operates within a post-Marxist tradition, where the relations between discourses is one of power, and thus of hegemonic struggles (Gramsci, 2007; Laclau, 2000; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). By this token, to fully understand what Foucault meant by discourse, *épistèmé*, and forms of authority of discourses, it is critical to comprehend from where he drew his notions of hegemony. In a similar fashion that this thesis is trying to analyse through an archaeological and genealogical perspective the geographical *othernisation* of football fandom, Laclau & Mouffe (2001) sought to demonstrate the archeology and genealogy of the concept of hegemony. For them:

> "The concept of hegemony did not emerge to define a new type of relation in its specific identity, but to fill a hiatus that had opened in the chain of historical necessity." (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 7)

From this quote, it could be seen that Laclau & Mouffe (2001) understand that the processes of hegemonic struggles and hegemony in general were ever present in a historical sense. For them, the theorisation of these struggles into the single concept of hegemony came to give positivity and a meaning to these processes, allowing for an understanding, both from the agents and researcher point of view, of these events. Despite Antonio Gramsci (2007) being the most cited and used author in respect of hegemony, Laclau & Mouffe (2001) trace back the genealogy to the works of Rosa Luxemburg vis-à-vis her comparative analyses of strikes and workers' movements in Russia and Germany in the early 1900s. For Laclau & Mouffe (2001), the historical conditions in Germany, especially the fragmentation of the workers' movements in contrast to a unified movement in Russia, led Rosa Luxemburg to be interested in the way these different positions

established themselves, and most importantly, in the relations between these positions when seeking a unifying stance. Thus:

> "The concept of 'hegemony' will emerge precisely in a context dominated by the experience of fragmentation and by the indeterminacy of the articulations between different struggles and subject positions." (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 13)

By this token, Laclau & Mouffe (2001) understand that hegemony is the process of articulatory practices leading to a discourse, or the structured totality of all moments. These moments are the different positions in respect of the practices, and their articulations should be of interest for understanding hegemony. As Laclau & Mouffe (2001) employ a different notion of discourse from the original conceptualisation by Foucault (1969) vis-à-vis the discursive and non-discursive practices, a detour to Michel Foucault's theorisation will be made at this point. As so, his positions in respect of discourse will be now presented, while Laclau & Mouffe's (2001) conceptualisation will subsequently follow.

Moving on with the argument, Michel Foucault's theories have been influential in numerous theorisations within critical theory in the past decades, especially to post-structuralist, post-modernist, feminist, post-marxist and post-colonial theorisations (Mills, 2003). In respect to that last area of inquiry, the interconnection of his concepts of power, knowledge and discourse can be regarded as the founding basis of Said's (1994, 2003) arguments in respect of Orientalism. For Mills (2003), Michel Foucault's oeuvres can be broadly divided by his concerns on one hand to the archeology, and on the other hand to the genealogy of power. In respect to the former, Foucault (1969) in *L'Archeologie du Savoir* was interested in understanding the formation (the archeology) of discourses and traditions within particular areas of scientific inquiry. Nonetheless discourse being one of the most frequently used terms from his works, "[...] at the same time, it is one of the most

contradictory" (Mills, 2003, p. 53). As warned by Mills (2003), by his inner characteristics, the appropriation and use of any of Foucault's theorisations should be approached with caution and not oversimplified. This warning comes from the idea that most of Michel Foucault's argumentations (as would be seen subsequently in respect to discourse and *reality*) are constructed based on an inversion of the departing point.

In his archeological phase, Foucault (1969) starts by looking at how discourses are formed, and begins by making a caveat to his own engagement to the topic by affirming that he has used the term indiscriminately together with the concepts of statement and event. As so, to understand discourse formation, Foucault (1969) focused primarily on the ways that statements started to get grouped together within a particular object of knowledge over time. In a preliminary thought, Foucault (1969) sought to argue that statements referred to *real* objects and thus were grouped around these objects of knowledge. By this token, as per his example, all statements belonging to psychopathology would refer to the object of madness. But Foucault (1969) soon realised that these numerous statements, coming from different perspectives as the judicial, psychological, or religious approaches did not only refer to the object of madness, but indeed created *reality* and the object to be analysed. As seen in the following quotation by Mills (2003), the statements grouped together in discourses are the basis of our perceived reality:

> "[...] instead of considering that language simply reflects an underlying reality, in the *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1972) he asserts that discourse determines the reality that we perceive." (Mills, 2003, p. 5)

In a similar fashion to the previous point, Foucault (1969) initially sought to group the different statements around a discourse through a certain kind of style or way of describing and representing the object. But through his argumentation, he realised that

there is not just one kind of discursive style for a particular object over time, as these styles and the whole discourses are constantly being displaced and replaced by others. Other forms of trying to group discourses on Foucault (1969) were the idea of a constancy of the concepts being discussed and a reference to a similar topic. As with the previous points, Foucault (1969) sought to demonstrate that neither forms could group discourses a priori, but what makes discourses to be similar and thus on a hegemonicaly level position was the idea of a regularity in dispersion. In this instance, by the reproduction of some of the available discourses, and by a regularity of their appearance, some would take a position of dominance and to some extent of oppression. For Mills (2003) this is one of the strengths and reasons that Foucault's (1969) discourse is widely used within the post-Marxist tradition, as it relates to power and ideology but adds a further complexity by not just regarding them as means of oppression, but also of resistance. Foucault (1969) understood that this interrelationship between the numerous discourses, oppressing and resisting over time, formed what he defined as the *épistèmé* of a period. This idea of oppression and resistance comes closer to Gramsci's (2007) hegemony, in respect of seeing that multiple forces and powers operate in the same field, but there are hegemons to act as the oppressive forces. For Foucault (1969), the transition from one *épistèmé* to another *épistèmé* was not gradual and smooth, but presented with a discontinuity discursive break, which for Mills (2003) allows researchers to see the strangeness of past acceptable discourses, and their formations, as per methodological or epistemological approaches.

Another argument from Foucault (1969) in respect to discourse formation that interests this thesis' broad argumentation is that while:

> "[...] deciding to say something, we must as speakers focus on a particular subject, *we must at the same time make a claim to authority for ourselves in being able to*

speak about this subject, and we must, in the process, add to and refine ways of thinking about the subject." (Mills, 2003, p. 57, emphasis added)

What Foucault (1969) was concerned with in this particular topic were forms of authority that some discourses possessed and how they maintained their authoritative position over other discourses. For Foucault (1969) there would be three forms of warding off other discourses: by taboo, the distinction between the mad and the sane discourse, and the distinction between true and false. To the argument being developed in this thesis, the latter form is of particular importance, as it focuses on the authoritative position of the speaker, thus the ones being considered as 'experts' are the ones providing the discursive truth, while others would be disregarded as for speaking non-truths. Again, Foucault (1969) implies a notion of hegemony (Gramsci, 2007) to decide whose discourse would be regarded as bearer of the *truth* and whose will not. As it will be seen in the next section, the authoritative discourse on otherness within football fandom, especially to geographical otherness, was not only being produced by the *experts* on fandom as practitioners, as by only focusing on the local, male, working class, *real* fan. Rather it was also reproduced by experts within academia, or by the government especially in Britain when focusing on hooliganism[29]. By this token, the discourses coming from others that were not male, local, working class, were *a priori* rejected as the truth, and thus lacked authoritative power to break a sole resistance stance.

To summarise the usefulness to this thesis of Foucault's (1969) discourse theory in his archeological phase, and Orientalism (Said, 2003), it could be said that it resides in the fact that it makes the researcher be reflexive on how he/she perceives the way *reality* is framed by available discourses. In addition, how the interrelationship between resistance

[29] The authoritative discourse of portraying male, working class, local fans as *real fans* and thus as possible hooligans can be generally seen in these papers (Dunning, 1994; Dunning et al., 1991; Dunning et al., 1984; Giulianotti, 1995; Melnick, 1986; I. Taylor, 1971)

and oppression between these discourses within an *épistèmé* operates, and how authoritative power ends by defining whose *truths* should be heard and spoke for. Nonetheless, as expressed by Laclau & Mouffe (2001), Foucault's (1969) understanding of discursive practices was fixed to the linguistic aspect. Laclau & Mouffe (2001) thus provide a more comprehensive approach to discourse, in the way that they regard not only the linguistic but also the behavioural practices associated to it. In this respect, their analysis:

> "[...] rejects the distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices. It affirms: a) that every object is constituted as an object of discourse, [...] b) that any distinction between what are usually called the linguistic and behavioural aspects of a social practice, is either an incorrect distinction or ought to find its place as a differentiation within the social production of meaning, which is structured under the form of discursive totalities." (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 107)

Mills (2003) as in the following quote provides other arguments for the general usefulness of Foucault's (1969) discursive theory.

> "*Foucault's work on discourse and power is useful in helping theorists to consider* the way that we know what we know; where that information comes from; *how it is produced* and under what circumstances; whose interests it might serve; *how it is possible to think differently*; in order to be able to trace the way that information we accept as 'true' is kept in that privileged position. *This enables us to look at the past without adopting a position of superiority* - of course we know better now - *in order to be able to analyse the potential strangeness of the knowledge which we take as 'true' at present*." (Mills, 2003, p. 66, emphasis added)

As mentioned before, in a Foucaultian and Gramscian sense, Said (1989, 1994, 2003) was interested in understanding and exposing the hegemonic discourse that the Occident constructed and used to represent the Orient. For Said (2003), the classical orientalist created and recreated the Orient as an image of difference in respect to Occident, and thus sought to demonstrate this otherness through a scientific discourse. This same discourse not only described the Orient as an other place and thus created knowledge about it, but ended by reifying and even making this *reality* exist. This discourse was normally a confirmation of the 'primitiveness', 'backwardness', 'exoticness', and 'mysteriousness' of the Orient's essence (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 1999). Some of these characteristics, especially the 'exoticness' and 'mysteriousness', will be recurrent in the *stamp collector sociology of football fans* (see section 3.3.4) discourse phase, where researchers sought to highlight the differences between the peripheral nations and zones such as Africa, South America, Asia, and even Eastern Europe, to the yardstick of the core of Western European football practices. Said (2003) understood that both knowledge and the reified Orient generated a tradition, which for him resembled Foucault's (1969) idea of discourse. This hegemonic discourse about the Orient, embedded with the authoritative power of the rigorous scientific knowledge, was the basis for the *natural* idea of superiority and domination of the Orient by the Occident (Said, 2003).

As by the idea of a *natural order* where Occident was superior to Orient, classical Orientalists, as seen in the following citation by Malek (1963 apud Said, 2003), already expected to find otherness in the Orient, and thus focused their analyses on the differences, highlighting and reifying them in their discourses. In this instance, the discourse on Orient not only created otherness, but reinforced this otherness to a point where newer studies already departed from the idea of essentialised differences.

> "On the level of the *position of the problem*, and the problematic ... the Orient and Orientals [are considered by Orientalism] as an 'object' of study, stamped with an otherness - as all that is different, whether it be 'subject' or 'object' - but of a constitutive otherness, of an essentialist character [...] on the level of the *thematic* [the Orientalist] adopt an essentialist conception of countries, nations and peoples of the Orient under study, a conception which express itself through a characterized ethnist typology ... and will soon proceed with it towards racism." (Malek, 1963 apud Said, 2003, p. 97, emphasis in original)

What is interesting about this quotation of Malek (1963 apud Said, 2003) is the idea that Orientalists adopted an essentialist notion of places and peoples, which links back to Beck and collaborators' (Beck, 2000b, 2007b, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Grande, 2008, 2010; Beck & Levy, 2013; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) broad critique of sociology's methodological nationalism epistemology. As highlighted by Bryce (2013), Said's (2003) orientalism missed the intertwined reality of Ottoman and Christian Europe, to the extent that Said (2003) regarded orientalism happening just in the Orient, as essentialising it to a particular place[30]. In a similar fashion Delanty (1995) while discussing the possibilities of a European cultural identity regarded that its definitions were commonly based on essentialist nostalgic discourses where Europe was understood as the place of high culture. For Delanty (1995) the old idea of a European cultural identity in its homogenising fashion followed the lines of grand narratives and discourses as Christendom, the West, the birthplace of Modernity and the nation-state, which reinforces

[30] Again Bhambra (2007) analyses of the supposed links between modernity and Europe seems appropriate to understand why and how Said (2003) failed to consider the influences of the Orient in European thought and vice-versa

the point by Bryce (2013) vis-à-vis the missed historical heterogeneity of Europe[31]. By this token, when applying Said's (1994, 2003) idea of Orientalism and culture and imperialism to football fandom, this thesis is not only looking at the peripheral geographical other, or the notion that the othernising of the other is only taking place out there, but it is also assuming that this process is happening within the same geographical context. The notion that othernising the other is also occurring *here* seeks to overcome dualities such as here and there, to the extent that both places and peoples are not essentialised and homogenised à priori.

By this token, the first aim of a cosmopolitan and postcolonial approach on football fandom is to deconstruct the hegemonic discourse of othernisation vis-à-vis who is the *real fan*, and thus seek to reject all claims of superiority and inferiority in fan ritualisations. The deconstruction (Derrida, 1967; Royle, 2003) of the scientific discourse on hyphenated forms of fandom seeks not only to describe this discourse (constatative utterance), but also to demonstrate how it reinforces (performative utterance) the opposite notions of authentic and non-authentic fandom. Secondly, the postcolonial approach to fandom seeks to reconstruct through a cosmopolitan discourse forms to de-essentialise the different fans, in particular the geographical other, and recreate claims for a universal conceptualisation of fandom, or as within a Derridean tradition of deconstruction, to create a new term that marks this hierarchical opposition. These aims are echoed in the following quotation by Bryan S. Turner.

> "Our aspiration must be that, because of their exposure to global concerns and global issues, cosmopolitan intellectuals might, in recognizing the ubiquity of

[31] A similar point is found in Beck & Grande (2008) in respect of cosmopolitan Europe and the multinational, polyethnic and multination-state experiences

> cultural hybridity, *reject all claims to cultural superiority and cultural dominance*." (Turner, 2004, p. 177, emphasis added)

3.2.4 Concluding Remarks: *Otherness* Framework to Analyse Football Fandom

"Global risks tear down national boundaries and jumble together the native and the foreign. The distant other is becoming the inclusive other.*"* (Beck, 2007b, p. 287, emphasis added)

As explained in the previous sections on cosmopolitanism, otherness, and orientalism, the idea of exposing the hegemonic discourse, especially the scientific authoritative discourse, on fandom, allows the researcher to reject claims of cultural superiority vis-à-vis who is the *real* fan, or what the *real* fans' rituals look like. By reading the academic and non-academic texts as forms of discourses, it is possible to challenge the *normative scientific* assumption that language and speech *just* reflect the experience of the researcher. Paraphrasing Norman Denzin, what is understood here in this thesis is that these discourses "[...] create experience and in the process of creation constantly transform and defer that which is being described" (Denzin, 1997, p. 5). In this respect, by exposing and deconstructing these discourses, researchers are able to de-essentialise the opposition notions of *here* and *there*, and of the *authentic* and *non-authentic* fan, where both particularities and universalities are dialectally conciliated. By de-essentialising particularities within the discourses that are bound to a nation-state society epistemology, researchers could start to avoid methodological nationalism and move forward to a cosmopolitan imagination on fan theorisation.

By this token, arising from the framework presented by Beck & Sznaider (2006, p. 13) regarding the "[...] three phases in how the code word 'globalization' has been used in the social sciences: first denial, second conceptual refinement and empirical research, and third, epistemological shift.", the following sections will show how the geographical other within the fan literature has been treated within the sociology of football so far. It will be argued through the next sections that mainly geographical otherness[32] within football fan literature, and in particular to within football clubs' fan groups, has seen three phases: first the other was treated as hierarchically inferior, second the other was acknowledged as existing and empirically researched through a stamp collector sociology, and third, an epistemological and methodological shift of the existence of other as different but equal occurred. By this token, the rest of the chapter will follow this framework discussing the geographical *othernisation* in football fan literature, and will conclude by pointing to a direction where these others could be universally understood as similar without loosing their particularities. This intends to move forward the discussion of a cosmopolitan imagination, and of transcending methodological nationalism, within the sociology of sport. In summary, the aim of the following sections is to deconstruct the hegemonic discourse on geographical otherness on football fandom, and thus lay down the foundations for the arguments that will be constructed through the empirical research of this thesis.

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[32] Otherness as Giulianotti & Armstrong (2001) argued is a central characteristic to football fan culture, where the definition of who we are and who we are not is basal to the construction of social identities revolving around the football clubs. The *othernisation* could take different forms, not only between rival football clubs as commonly argued, but also within the different football clubs' fans groups. In the football fan literature, *othernisation* regarding who the *real* and *authentic* fan is could be seen in relation to gender (e.g. Erhart, 2013; Free & Hughson, 2003; Hughson, 2000; K. W. Jones, 2008; Pope, 2011, 2012; Toffoletti & Mewett, 2012), media, gentrification and consumption (e.g. Cleland, 2011; e.g. Fawbert, 2011; e.g. Giulianotti, 2002; e.g. A. King, 1997a; e.g. Redhead, 1993; e.g. Weed, 2007; e.g. J. Williams, 2006), and in particular to this thesis, through the idea of the geographical other. In popular culture, the idea of portraying the *other* can be seen in 'Bend it like Beckham' (Fox Searchlight, 2002). For a review of othernisation in football in a global context see Armstrong & Giulianotti (2001b)

3.3 Football Fandom

3.3.1 Introduction

In respect of sociology to sport, and particularly to football, fandom or fan culture is inexorably one of the most fertile domains of, and for investigations. Numerous researchers have approached football fan culture from a variety of epistemological standpoints, relying on different core sociological theorisations. Regarding the work generated in the English context, there is to some extent a clear three phase historiography[33] where in the first place studies focused on aspects of deviance and criminality especially hooliganism (see Bairner, 1999; Dunning, 1994; Dunning, Murphy, & Waddington, 1991; Dunning, Murphy, Williams, & Maguire, 1984; Giulianotti, 1995; Hughson, 1998; A. King, 1997c; Melnick, 1986; I. Taylor, 1971), to a second phase where questions of commodification were addressed (see Dubal, 2010; Fawbert, 2011; Giulianotti, 2005b; Greenfield & Osborn, 2001; Moor, 2007; Stewart, 1987; I. Taylor, 1984; Walsh & Giulianotti, 2001). A third period within the English context could be characterised by an intense research agenda regarding the globalisation of football (see Andrews & Ritzer, 2007; Armstrong, 2007; Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2001b, 2004; G. Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004; Donnelly, 1996; Edensor & Millington, 2008; Eriksen, 2007; Giulianotti, 1999; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2009; J. Harvey & Houle, 1994; J. Harvey, Rail, & Thibault, 1996; Houlihan, 1994; Leonard, 2009; Millward, 2011a; Nash, 2000; Poli, 2010; Rowe, 2003; Samuels, 2008; Sandvoss, 2003;

[33] I am not implying a clear and ideal type historical phase as works that addressed questions from each phase to some extent superimpose themselves. As well, these phases should not be understood as clear paradigm shifts within the sociology of sport, and of football in particular.

Smart, 2007; J. Williams, 1994)[34]. As argued further in section 3.3.4, the intense interest by researchers on topics related to globalisation led to the conceptualisation of fandom that started to regard the other as someone that existed and was worth researching. Nonetheless, as Brick (2001, p. 11, emphasis added) argues:

> "Paradoxically, as the boundaries between the local and the global become less fixed, as Giulianotti suggests, *discourses championing the 'essentialist' centrality of 'traditional' local relationships to the cultures of English football have proliferated. Indeed, within populist critiques of the contemporary game 'essentialist' discourses of local 'authenticity' dominate* [...]"

In this instance, the whole ideal of local as authentic fans and thus of the other as unauthentic is strengthened, not only in the populist discourse as argued by Brick (2001), but also within academia as it would be seen in sections 3.3.3, 3.3.4, 3.3.5. In respect of *otherness*, Giulianotti (1999), Armstrong & Giulianotti (2001a) and Giulianotti & Armstrong (2001) understand that the processes of creating the *other* and thus of ourselves is an integral part of football culture. For Armstrong & Giulianotti (2001a, p. 1):

> "The history of football is the story of rivalry and opposition. Indeed, the binary nature of football, involving rival teams and opposing identities, precedes the modern game of 'association football' (soccer) and its codification in 1865."

Giulianotti (1999) understands that identity formation within football culture is displayed in two different forms: either by affirming who we are (semantic); or by defining who we are not (syntactic). Giulianotti & Armstrong (2001) present seven structured relations of football opposition governed by the construction of identities based on legitimising, resisting and projective endeavours. Nevertheless, the approach by the

[34] As argued by Robertson (1990) globalisation became the central concept analysed in sociology during the 1990s

authors (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2001a; Giulianotti, 1999; Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2001) to some extent privilege identity oppositions between clubs and nations, where in this research what is sought is oppositions within clubs and nations, particularly by emphasising the notion of the *geographical other*.

By this token, this section will seek to provide a genealogical approach (Foucault, 1969) to how globalised fandom in football was and still is conceptualised within sociology of sport. A caveat should be made in respect of the heteroglossia of possible available discourses (Bakhtin, 1981), especially the ones generated in the 'periphery', and not widely published and available to the 'centre'. As mentioned previously, my approach here relies heavily on work published within the English context, either by focusing on English and British football, or by being published in English. To that extent, most of the works analysed to construct the genealogy of football fandom geographical otherness come from the 'centre', either by being written by academics from the Western World, or by being collections where the editors were from the 'centre'. Even that these collections, especially in the second phase of the genealogy, had contributors coming from the 'periphery', these authors to some extent had to be subjected to editors' academic orientations. The aim is not to provide an exhaustive appraisal of the literature on the subject, but to be able to provide a compelling argument that shows how the other was and still is conceptualised within sociology of football.

The section will follow by first providing the methodology for the critical discourse analysis, followed by works that regarded the other as hierarchically inferior to the real fan, either explicitly or implicitly by silencing the other, then analysing the works that started to provide voice to the other but still operated within a stamp collector approach where the yardstick for measurement of *'who the real fan is'* is the one of the English

model, and will finish by exploring later works that to some extent started to regard the *other as equal but different* and thus made the first steps to avoid methodological nationalism.

3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

"Critique brings a normative element into analysis [...] It focuses on what is wrong with a society (an institution, an organisation etc.), and how 'wrongs' might be 'righted' or mitigated, from a particular normative standpoint" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 7)

Following Foucault's (1969) position that the authoritative academic discourse can produce and reproduce the way social researchers perceive the social world, by using a critical discourse methodology (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989, 2010) to analyse the academic discourse on football fandom, and especially on othernisation, would allow researchers to denaturalise these different discourses and move beyond their dogmatic positions. By this token, a brief introduction on Fairclough's (2010) critical discourse analysis methodology will be presented, alongside its application to this thesis' general topic of football fan cultures cosmopolitanisation and its associate othernisation.

Fairclough's (2010) methodology for critical discourse analysis is based on a four stage approach which he has previously developed in partnership with Chouliaraki (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). For Fairclough (2010, p. 226) the stages are:

> "Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect; Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong; Stage 3: Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong; Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles"

In respect to the first stage, Fairclough (2010) understands that critical discourse analysis is suitable for comprehending the nature of social wrongs, and thus for denaturalising these social wrongs. For him, social wrongs could be understood as any forms of structures or practices that creates and recreates positions that are normatively undesirable, as poverty and racism. In this research I understand that the social wrong associated with football fan theorisations is the idea behind of conceptualising some fans as 'real' while others are regarded as 'plastic' or 'travesties' of the 'real' identity. This social wrong has not only theoretical and epistemological shortcomings as it is argued throughout this thesis, but also carry practical implications as creating and recreating some sort of inequality that could prevent the 'plastic' fan of accessibility and political activity[35]. The second stage for Fairclough (2010) relates to the moment where obstacles to addressing the social wrong are identified, especially structural elements that prevent researchers from looking, in this case, to certain sociological aspects. As argued previously, methodological nationalism blinds researchers from examining socialisations that take place across the political borders of the modern nation-state, moreover it understands that the 'real' socialisation is the one occurring within these borders and assumes an inferior normative position for transnational socialisations. In this manner, the obstacle to addressing the social wrong of theorising 'real' and 'plastic' fans, especially in respect of geographical othernisation, lies on a methodological nationalism epistemology that assumes modern nation-state borders as barriers for socialisation and the necessity for a metaphysical of presence (Urry, 2008) for 'real' socialisations to occur.

[35] See Millward (2009, 2011a, 2012) for football fan political engagement. The idea behind fan engagement and fan ownership of football clubs in England is a topic in vogue at the moment, nonetheless there is no discussion who this fan is or should be. To some extent, it is assumed that fan ownership should mean the 'traditional' and 'real' fan ownership, or as it will be seen in section 3.3.3, the club should be owned and run by an homogenous group of white, working class, and especially local men.

Stage three in Fairclough's (2010) critical discourse analysis methodology relates to the idea that the social order might need the social wrong to maintain itself. Researchers should denaturalise the social order as means to question the social wrong in a way that it will allow this social wrong to be mitigated. Fairclough (2010, p. 238) argues that "if a social order can be shown to inherently give rise to major social wrongs, then that is a reason for thinking that perhaps it should be changed.". Here in this thesis, the social order can be understood as sociology's nationalist gaze, whereas nation-states are the primary units of analysis in both normal and comparative sociology. By highlighting the political borders of the modern nation-state as frontiers for socialisation, and researching within this political borders as in normal sociological studies, or simply between these frontiers in comparative sociology, researchers tend to assume distinctions between these borders. Moreover, as it will be seen in the following sections, these distinctions carry normative connotations, where some examples are regarded as the 'real' and 'authentic' and the others are relegated to a position of inferiority. By this token, it can be argued that the social order gives rise to the social wrong, and thus should be changed.

The last stage in Fairclough's (2010) methodology states that researchers should try to identify possible solutions for avoiding and mitigating these social wrongs. For Fairclough (2010) this stage is where researchers move from a negative to positive critique, in the sense that in the past three stages there is an emphasis in highlighting what is wrong, as with the social wrong and the social order, where now researchers should propose positive paths for solving these wrongs. In the case of this thesis, the denaturalisation of the modern nation-state, its associated nationalism, and the spillover of this nationalism in both the ways sport and sociology were invented and imagined in the last century, would allow researchers to move beyond the aforementioned social wrong. By

understanding the methodological nationalism gaze in which sport sociology, and particularly the sociology of football, was and still is mostly based on, the academic discourse on football fandom geographical otherness could start to be denaturalised. This can provide the initial steps for moving from a national to a cosmopolitan sociology. In the same line, by denaturalising these discourses a position that avoids yardsticks and inferior-superior statuses and where the other is understood as both different and similar at the same time could emerge, as will be illustrated by the empirical research of this thesis.

3.3.3 The Other as Hierarchical Inferior

"Traditionalists are constructed as regressive figures from the past - chauvinists, romanticists, xenophobes - in sum, truculent locals who refuse to reconcile themselves to the ineluctable hegemony of neoliberal principles of football" (Giulianotti, 2002, p. 40)

In the archeology and genealogy of the discourse on football fandom, the first phase is understood as the one where the *other* was treated as culturally and ritually inferior to the pre-assumed traditional 'authentic' fan (for an ethical critique of the 'traditional' fan see C. Jones, 2003). This 'authentic' fan was considered as a homogenous group of male, white, from a working class background, and most important to this thesis whole argument, local (see Back, Crabbe, & Solomos, 1998; Giulianotti, 2002; A. King, 1997a; I. Taylor, 1971). What will be argued through this and the following sections, but especially to the idea of the *other* as inferior, is that while some of the papers explicitly conceptualise these *others* as inferiors, most of the discourse vis-à-vis *othernisation* is pre-

assumed hidden within the texts[36]. In this respect, through a Spivakean (Maggio, 2007; Spivak, 1988) approach it will be argued that by silencing the *other*, and focusing particularly on working class local man[37] to analyse football fandom, the discourse that this homogenous group was 'the real authentic fan' was perpetuated and reproduced within academia.

One of the major works in the sociology of football, and particularly within football fan theorisation, is Giulianotti's (2002) taxonomy where through a Weberian 'ideal type model' he presents four different identities of football spectators. For Giulianotti (2002) there is a general trend moving from a more traditional and hot supporter to a more detached, cool and consumer-orientated flâneur. But who would these traditional supporters be, and who would these detached and cool flâneurs, or the *other* be? Giulianotti (2002), following his general argument line in respect of a critical sociology on the nature of football's commodification trend in Britain and abroad (Giulianotti, 1999, 2005b; Walsh & Giulianotti, 2001), argues that this process in the extreme would squeeze out the traditional custodian of football culture, which for him is the supporter. It is interesting to highlight that Giulianotti (2002) sees just the supporter and not the general spectator with their four different identities as the *real* custodian of the *real* football culture. For Giulianotti (2002, p. 30, emphasis added) "[...] the four spectator categories are underpinned by two basic *binary oppositions*: hot-cool and traditional-consumer". By this token, what is implicitly assumed by Giulianotti (2002) is that the cool-consumer, hot-consumer or cool-traditional spectators would be travesties and a danger to the hot-

[36] A similar argument is made by Free & Hughson (2003) in respect of gender blindness in football supporter subculture research

[37] On a postcolonial and cosmopolitan sociology approach the idea of understanding fans as an homogenous group seems inconceivable, to the extent that now books and articles have to focus on the other to give them voice. The book 'Sport and Its Female Fans' (Toffoletti & Mewett, 2012) is emblematic by having to focus on a silent voice to deconstruct the notion of women as not *authentic fans*.

traditional football culture custodian. This *real* custodian or the "classic supporter" (Giulianotti, 2002, p. 33) would "[...] have a longer, *more local* and popular identification with the club [...]" (Giulianotti, 2002, p. 31, emphasis added), where traditionally the club would represent the surrounding community. Again, it is interesting to highlight how Giulianotti (2002) understands this surrounding community as something local and tangible, in a similar fashion of what Urry (2008) criticises as the presumption of *'metaphysical of presence'* within the social sciences. For Giulianotti (2002) clubs and players can even perform a distinctive kind of football that reflects these *local values*, which are favoured and taken into custody by the classic traditional supporter. These supporters would show a kind of subcultural (local) capital that can only be passed to others through face-to-face interactions, and thus any market mediated forms, either by television, Internet or merchandising, would not allow new spectators to achieve the level of authenticity of the *classic supporter*.

On the other extreme of both binary oppositions is the flâneur, characterised by a cool attachment and a consumer orientation towards the club. For Giulianotti (2002, p. 38, emphasis added):

> "The flâneur acquires a postmodern spectator identity through a *despersonalized* set of *market-dominated virtual relationships*, particularly interactions with the *cool media of television and the Internet*".

Again, the metaphysical of presence (Urry, 2008) is clear in Giulianotti's (2002) conceptualisation of the flâneur, especially by emphasising that a *real* identification to the club as with the supporter category can not be achieved through means that are not face-to-face interactions. By this token, the *other* as a non-*real* fan by his/hers mediated interactions is created. The flâneur bears similarities to how the cosmopolitan was

conceptualised during the early nineteenth hundreds, by hers/his lack of *real* attachment to a place, and the idea that he/she is an idler or traveller (Hobsbawm, 1987). For Giulianotti (2002, p. 39, emphasis added) the:

> "[...] true football flâneur, the cool consumer belongs only to a *virtual community* of strollers who window-shop around clubs [...] Moreover, the football flâneur's natural habit is increasingly the virtual arena, seeking the sensations of football as represented through *television*, *Internet*, or perhaps in the future, the audiovisual bodysuit."

Giulianotti (2002, p. 40, emphasis added) goes even further and affirms that the:

> "Flâneurs may seek to *authenticate* their *cosmopolitan identity* through direct and unfavorable representation of spectators that possess traditional or hot characteristics."

This last quote is emblematic first as it explicitly supposes that the flâneur by his/hers mediated interactions is not an authentic supporter, as well as assumes that a cosmopolitan identity, which in Giulianotti's (2002) words does not require a local attachment, can not be regarded as worthy of bearing any *real* classic supporter identity. This idea of the flâneur as a threat to *traditional* football culture of hot rivalries and attachments is also seen in Armstrong & Giulianotti (2001a), Giulianotti & Armstrong (2001) and Giulianotti & Gerrard (2001). As Armstrong & Giulianotti (2001a, p. 2, emphasis added) argue:

> "In a more prosaic form, the non-violent expression of 'hot' rivalry and opposition enlivens the football spectacle for both the participants (fans, players and match officials) and the fascinated, external observer. Hence, we have witnessed in recent years the *rise of the sporting tourist*, or to borrow from Baudelaire, the

> *football flâneur, who combines a cosmopolitan stroll through European grounds and fixtures with a hint of the bohemian, in toying momentarily with the authenticity of local club cultures*."

From this quote, again, it is possible to see how this *cosmopolitan geographical other* in the figure of the football flâneur is treated as a threat to the *traditional supporter* culture, especially by the emphasis that Armstrong & Giulianotti (2001a) put on the idea of toying and playing with an authentic and real local culture. For these reasons, Giulianotti & Gerrard (2001) paint a dystopian vision of what football rivalries might become in the future, especially by the increasing importance of the cool medium of television for football culture.

Nonetheless the long distance *other* could also be characterised by a cool attachment and traditional orientation towards the club in what Giulianotti (2002) categorises as the follower. This form of spectator identity can bore a thick sense of solidarity which would create a sort of imagined community among them. Despite that, these followers still carry an hierarchically inferior position to the *real custodian* of football culture, by having cool attachments to clubs which would allow them to change alliances. This, for Giulianotti (2002), is an expression of the entanglement that the *real supporter* faces by the commodification and mediatisation of football. This notion of cool attachment and the possibility of changing alliances reflects an antithesis idea of the modern nation-state put forward by Hobsbawm (1987, 1992) as discussed previously in section 2.2.2, as well as faces challenges by the reflexive modernisation as discussed in Chapter 1.

What one should be bear in mind is that this ideal model could be theoretically regarded as an over exaggeration of inner characteristics within each quadrant, so

differences are clearer between each quadrant, nonetheless the taxonomy leads to an understanding that some set of differences exist between local fans and international fans. The former is to some extent regarded by Giulianotti (2002) as the *real* and *authentic* supporter, while the latter is inferiorly conceptualised as either a follower, a fan, or at the other extreme as a flâneur.

Anthony King (1997a) provides another influential work within the sociology of football, in which he conceptualises *'the football fan'* as 'the lads'. King's (1997a) work is an example of where the *other* is silenced by a strong emphasis in the analysis of local, male, white, and working class supporters as 'the fans'. At the same time, by regarding these fans as authentic, King (1997a) assumes that others would then have an inferior position. These others are anyone that does not fit in the category of being local, male, working class and white. As King (1997a, p. 329, emphasis added) argues:

> "These all-seater stadiums have altered the possibilities for the ritualistic expression of identity and solidarity and *have attracted new (more affluent and familial) audiences to football*. This article examines the responses of a *particular type of male supporter - 'the lads'* - to the transformation of the game in the 1990s. This analysis of the lads is sociologically relevant both empirically and theoretically *as the lads have constituted a very important part of football's support over the last thirty years* and the restriction and, indeed, partial exclusion of this group from the ground constitutes a profound social change."

King (1997a) then is interested in analysing how these supporters responded to the changes in the 1990s, as by the commercialisation and globalisation of football in England, and especially by the creation of the English Premier League and the move to all-seater stadia. It is of relevance to note that King (1997a) assumes that both the 1990s

commercialisation and globalisation are endogenous to League Football in England, by emphasising the role that the Taylor Report had on these changes. This position is to some extent opposite to the ones developed by Giulianotti (2002, 2005b) who understands the commercialisation and globalisation as just economical forces coming from outside, as by an Americanisation of League Football. By this token, King (1997a) comes closer to the cosmopolitanisation and reflexive modernisation idea developed by Beck and collaborators (Beck, 2000b, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck & Grande, 2008, 2010; Beck & Lau, 2005; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) which understands these processes as internal and multifaceted as discussed previously in Chapter 1. Nonetheless, as seen in the above quote King (1997a) understands that these male local supporters are the core of fan culture in Britain and thus assumes that *new more affluent* types of supporters are not only inferior but also at the fringes of an authentic partisanship. This is a similar argument to the one discussed previously by Giulianotti (2002) in respect to the supporter and flâneur identities.

Following on from his argumentation, King (1997a) posits that his position ultimately is an investigation of masculinity in respect of fandom, nonetheless it carries an assumed class analysis too. King (1997a) recognises that *the lads* possess a working class ethos by his observation of their behaviour as well as their occupation. Not only is the class analysis present through this, but also his theoretical choices in using the work developed by the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and their strong emphasis on subcultural studies and forms of resistance (see Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, & Roberts, 1975; Gelder & Thornton, 1997; M. M. Gordon, 1997; Hall & Jefferson, 1975; Hebdige, 1979; Muggleton & Weinzierl, 2003). Not only are *the lads* from working class backgrounds, but they have a strong and hot solidarity through what King (1997a) calls

'the crack'. This argument is similar to the idea developed by Giulianotti (2002) in respect of the hot solidarity of supporters, and to Bromberger's (2001, 2004) fans' analysis as it will be seen later on in this section. King (1997a), as the other scholars discussed in this part, holds a position that relies strongly on the metaphysical of presence (Urry, 2008) as seen in the following quote:

> "More significantly, this love which the lads feel for their team is simultaneously also a love for the *feeling of solidarity* which they experience *every time they attend the game and participate in the communal practice of drinking and singing*." (A. King, 1997a, p. 333, emphasis added)

By this token, even by that not overtly assuming that *the lads* are locally bound to the clubs' geographical place, King (1997a) endorses a position that to have a hot solidarity they need to be in constant presence and sharing emotions through a regular attendance of matches. As so, it is possible to argue that King (1997a) understands these core supporters as being from a working class background, sharing the same locality of the club, and being ultimately male, '*lads*'. These characteristics are the same ones encountered amongst the discourse of other scholars in respect of the 'traditional authentic fan' is analysed. It should be stressed nevertheless that King (1997a) understands this type of fan as being an invented tradition, which in turn does not invalidate the idea of 'them' being regarded as the core fans in Britain by reification of being described as so. Nonetheless, King (1997a) again points to a direction congruent to Beck & Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) arguments in respect of individualisation, as seen in Chapter 1, on a reflexive modern society by emphasising that:

> "Away from their *atomising seats*, in the congested space of the *ground's bar area or the pubs outside the ground*, the lads can *recreate* their ecstatic solidarity." (A. King, 1997a, p. 336, emphasis added)

King's (1997a) position reinforces the idea that individualisation does not lead to individualism, but to other forms and places of and for solidarity. In this token, not only the home ground can be a place for enacting these *hot solidarities*, but also the bar and the pubs outside the stadia, in consonance with the idea that even mediated forms of solidarity that do not rely on a metaphysical of presence can foster *hot solidarities* (Urry, 2008).

Both conceptualisations provided by Giulianotti (2002) and King (1997a) are in debt to the early analysis made by Taylor (1971, 1984), especially his 1971 paper. Taylor (1971) sought to sociologically understand the phenomenon that for him was being reified by the official criminal statistics and the media analysis of football related violence during the 1960s and 1970s, namely hooliganism. For Taylor (1971) the modifications in football fandom in Britain during the 1960s, especially by the introduction of attempts of game changes' techniques by supporters such as through chanting songs derived from mass culture with the intent of distracting other teams' players, started to be regarded by club officials and journalists alike as the beginning of the social problem of hooliganism. By this token, the image of a good supporter in opposition to the hooligan was created and perpetuated since then. Taylor (1971, p. 354, emphasis added) argues that:

> "[...] it is clear that it is precisely at the point of attempted intervention by supporters in the focal concern of the club - the match and its result - that the cultural manifestation of support is rejected. Statements from clubs are currently *differentiating between the "hooligan"* - the supporter who attempts to intervene - *and the "real" or "genuine"* supporter who doesn't."

It is particularly interesting that both hooligan and the 'genuine' supporter in Taylor's (1971) view are derived from a local male working class culture. While the former was the embodiment of this ethos, the latter was to some extent attracted by the bourgeoisification of the game that legitimised a working class activity to the growing middle class, nonetheless it assumed some of this ethos in their practices. In his analysis, Taylor (1971) credits the fragmentation of the working class during the recession period as one of the major possible causes for the appearance of hooliganism. The loss of control of their clubs by this working class, as by a stronger professionalisation of the game in respect to players and managers, a social upward mobility of these players and managers, and the inner-fragmentation of the local working class basically in employed and unemployed lines led to reactions to reaffirm the authority and ownership of the game (I. Taylor, 1971). Moreover, clubs and officials alike favoured a contrasting middle class ethos in detriment to the supportive working class tradition as seen in the following quote:

> "In the professionalised and bourgeoisified football of the 1960s, however, *power has been alienated from the subculture and* - it shall be argued - *is exercised in terms of the values of the 'genuine' supporter*." (I. Taylor, 1971, p. 362)

These arguments made by Taylor (1971) are exactly replicated by Giulianotti (2002, 2005b) and King (1997a) as seen previously in respect to a more recent commercialisation and globalisation of British league football. Taylor (1971, p. 364, emphasis added) further affirms that:

> "[...] the process involved a transformation of the stereotype of the football supporter. *Where once the stereotypical supporter was a working class man*, living for Saturday and inextricably involved - in his own perceptions - with the fortunes of the club, *now he was of undefined class membership*, enjoying an

> escape from responsibilities, the provision of a spectacle from time to time, and expecting fulfilment of these needs from a team of professional entertainers [...] *From the participatory and masculine values of the working-class supporter*, and from an exclusive concern with victory, *football turned its attention* to the provision of spectacle, skill and efficient performance - values understood to be important *to the stereotypical 'genuine', i.e. middle-class supporter*."

By this token, it is possible to see how the 'new' supporter was conceptualised since the early works of Taylor (1971, 1984) as not sharing the same set of characteristics of the traditional working class local men, and were thus imagined as the other. Not only were the middle class men understood as being the other in Taylor's (1971) view, but also women were regarded as a new phenomenon in the social composition of the football ground population. Both were alienated from the working class ethos, and thus can be considered as inferior to the custodian of the game. Nonetheless, Taylor (1984) points to interesting facts in respect of the heterogeneity of the social composition in the football ground by showing that both local working class men and local commercial and industrial bourgeois men were present ever since in stadia, sharing the same passion for their local side. It is important to highlight that Taylor (1971, 1984) emphasises the notion of locality for both clubs and supporters, and the way that these supporters understood their clubs as embodying their local values. In this line, the idea of othernisation presented by Taylor (1971, 1984) lays down the lines of a new and desired-by-the-club middle class supporter, and a traditional and rough-custodian working class supporter. To this point locality is regarded as a normal condition, emphasising the idea that a geographical other did not have his/her voice heard, and thus was understood as not possibly being a supporter. As such, even though Taylor (1971, 1984) assumes a heterogeneity position within the

supporters social composition, there is still an idea of geographical homogeneity, neglecting any possible movement of this fan base.

Dunning and collaborators (Dunning, 1994; Dunning et al., 1991; Dunning et al., 1984) sought through their analyses to provide a different viewpoint to the reasons of the 'appearance' of hooliganism in Britain to the ones presented by Taylor (1971). Dunning et al (1984) for instance looked at this phenomenon historically by analysing police and newspaper reports of football related violence before World War I in Britain, chiefly in England. They argue that this phenomenon was ever present in the context of League Football, but was not yet still reified as hooliganism and thus could have been one of the reasons for being absent in the subsequent analysis of contemporary scholars (see Finn & Giulianotti, 1998; Giulianotti, 1995; A. King, 1997c; Melnick, 1986; I. Taylor, 1971). By this token, it can be argued that the 'appearance' of hooliganism in more recent scholarly debate, reflected by an increasing amount of media coverage as asserted by Taylor (1971) and Dunning (1994), is analogous to an inverted idea of 'globalisation's shock of the old' (Robertson, 2010) in the way that the phenomenon was being treated as more recent than it really was. While there is no description of who this hooligan was in pre-World War I in Britain (Dunning et al., 1984), the general trend of conceptualising them as local, working class and male is found in both Dunning (1994) and Dunning et al (1991). What can be argued here in respect of this conceptualisation is that while hooliganism became a central focus for scholarly and media debate, the idea of football fans being hooligans started to be reified. An example of this can be found in the work of Robson (2001) where he interchangeably uses the concepts of fan and hooligan to describe Millwall fandom. For Robson (2001), Millwall fans as per their hooligan activity came to be considered the archetypical fans in general for the media, and as argued here in this section to the

scholarly debate around fandom. As such, by equating football fans in general to hooligans, the association was reified around the idea that fans were characteristically similar in respect of being male, working class[38] and local. By the same token, while the sociological scholarly debate in Britain evolved around hooliganism, any other aspect of fandom was neglected to the fringe of academia, and thus *othernised*. Back et al (2001, p. 75, emphasis added) call Millwall as "[...] the last vestiges of unfettered white working-class male culture" and that "the spectacular male rituals of football violence and disorder *have often eclipsed* the presence of women [...]" in a clear example of what Spivak (1988) mentioned about shadowing the other. Even acknowledging the differences, as in relation to women fans or to black players, Back et al (2001) assume homogenous identities that 'need' to 'accept' or 'acculturate into' a homogenous normalised white, working-class, male culture of "[...] sociability, camaraderie, conspicuous consumption of alcohol and self depreciation" (Back et al., 2001, p. 141). By this token, this naturalised fan culture comes to be understood as the 'authentic' version of fandom, and thus the 'others' should either conform to these practices or be neglected by academia and by 'the fans'. The shortcoming of Back et al's (2001) analysis resides in the fact that the invention of this naturalised fan practice is not discussed and it is assumed as being solely guarded and spawned by a homogenous working-class, white and local custodian of football. In other words, the historical heterogeneity seems to fade away from their analysis.

In a rather different context[39], Bromberger (2001, 2004) in both of his books looks to a particular set of fans, mainly locals, that are regarded by him as the real supporters of

[38] Although Armstrong & Harris (1991) argued that this homogeneity around the idea of hooligans being solely from a working class background was not accurate, their position was heavily criticised by Dunning (1994) who pointed to a larger amount of data to back his argumentation

[39] Bromberger (2001) analyses three different cases of partisanship in football, focusing on Olympique de Marseille (France), Juventus FC (Italy) and SSC Napoli (Italy)

the community. In his views, these fans bear the ethos of the local community (city, province) in where the club situates itself. For Bromberger (2001) football games offer the possibility for individuals to support some of the characteristics that symbolise their identities, especially their locality being it the city, *province* or nation-state. Nonetheless Bromberger (2001) posits that the decision to support the *home* side is not something mechanically pre-chosen and thus should have more a nuanced understanding, but it is still part of the social identity of these supporters as are political views, class affiliations, and religions. Even that Bromberger (2001) emphasises a nuanced approach in respect of supporters' geographical affiliation, he follows a concentric idea that these supporters would hierarchically choose clubs from their neighbourhoods, small villages and regions, and would in the end still support a national side that represents their close region. For instance, Bromberger (2001) gives the example of Italian supporters who would pick local sides playing in lower leagues as their closest geographical affiliation, but would still support a *national* side as Juventus or Napoli which nevertheless represents their extended locality.

Bromberger (2001), as with Giulianotti (2002) and King (1997a), expresses a topophilic conceptualisation of the clubs and their stadia, emphasising the notion of locality in an *imagined* or *real* identity construction by the fans. For Bromberger (2001), certain parts of the stadia start to embody and reflect the identity of sections of the city, creating what he calls the *espirit du lieu*. These sections of the city and their counterparts inside the stadia follow to some extent the class division in these places, highlighting a heterogenous idea of the social composition of the fans. As Bromberger (2001, p. 213, emphasis added) argues:

> "In respect of the Ultras and other die hard fans of the terraces, they are normally presented as young unemployed people, drifting out of society. *These conventional images mask a more complex reality, not only in Marseille, Naples and Turin, but also where we would not expect so, in the British stadia* [...] The Ultras form an heterogenous universe, irreducible to a simple and typical representation; they are normally sociologically ordinary young people.[40]"

Even that Bromberger (2001) emphasises the heterogeneity of supporters in both his Italian and French cases, there is still an assumption around that the 'real' fan is male and local. In respect to these assumptions, it is possible to see in the following quote how Bromberger (2001, p. 229) defines them:

> "The 'real supporter' is first of all loyal and *he* gives everything: *he* is still *there* when everything goes wrong and when others abandon *him*, *he* accepts to face weather adversities and even the mediocrity of the game.[41]"

As with the previously discussed scholars, Bromberger (2001) also relies strongly on a metaphysical of presence (Urry, 2008) to define who is the 'real' supporter. For Bromberger (2001), as seen in the last quote, there exists a necessity for the supporter to attend the games and enact the rituals regularly. Supporters who are mobile are regarded as non-authentic not only by their lack of regular attendance, but also by their lack of understanding of the game, club history and values, which for Bromberger (2001) is reflected by where they attend the game inside the stadia. The 'real' supporters congregate in particular places, again emphasising the idea of topophilia, but this also relates to a necessity of physical presence.

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[40] Original in French

[41] Original in French. Even that the word supporteur it is a masculine word in French, it is possible to assume that Bromberger (2001) is still focusing his analyses and conceptualisation of the 'real' supporter based on a male figure

In respect of the late mediatisation of football, and especially European and English football, Redhead (1997, 2007, 1993) is clear in showing how it impacted on fandom, and created what he described as the post-fan. When describing this new post-fan, Redhead (1997) affirms that:

> "The 'post-fan', like the 'post-tourist', does not have to leave the home or bar to see the object of the gaze because television and video provide endless opportunity for the 'grazing' and 'channel surfing'" (Redhead, 1997, p. 29)

By this sense, the 'traditional' football culture inside the stadia starts to shift to other places with similar topological feelings such as pubs, re-creating and re-territorialising these different places with the embodied meanings associated to the 'traditional' football culture (Redhead, 1997). Redhead (2007) goes further by quoting Paul Virilio by saying that the 'ones absent of the stadium are always right' in the sense that the contemporary spectacle of football is being directed and staged for the ones in absence of the stadia, to the ones watching it through their mobile phones and television, and communicating between each other through social media. For Redhead (1997, 2007) this late mediatisation of football created this new post-fan that passively and sedentarily consume an accelerated game, as could be seen in the following passages:

> "Moreover, the way the spectator at the game watching live at the stadium actually sees the speeding spectacle is conditioned by decades of watching such matches live on television, sofa surfing in the sedentary comfort of his or her armchair, an example of Virilio's 'pathological fixedness' or polar inertia" (Redhead, 2007, p. 234)

> "A more 'passive', as opposed to 'participatory', audience for soccer is one possible outcome as sport is globally consumed more and more through the mediation of television" (Redhead, 1997, p. 44)

Redhead (1997) goes even further in arguing that this mediatisation is being pushed forward in a way to bring more passive spectators rather participatory supporters, but he cautions that this push could at the end harm the spectacle that is football. Nonetheless, even assuming this cautious position that describes the apparent effects of mediatisation on football fandom, Redhead (1997, 2007, 1993) accepts a position where the 'traditional' and 'authentic' supporter is the one who participates in constructing the spectacle, while this 'new' form of post-fandom, exemplified by the 'passive spectator', can be regarded as 'unauthentic' for his/her lack of physical engagement and participation.

As seen through this section, the idea of a real football supporter was constructed and reified in academia around the archetypical figure of a working class, white and local man, that through a constant presence in the ground around his peers reinforced their local identity and ethos. Individuals that deviated from the norm with regards to any of above characteristics were conceptualised and understood as unauthentic fans, and thus relegated to an inferior position by both social actors and social theorists' discourses. Another phenomena associated with the unauthentic fans are their use of media and commercialised products such as football replica kits and any other sort of memorabilia to buy into the 'real' local ethos of the 'authentic' fan. In this sense, the academic discourse as seen in this section that reinforces the idea of a local 'authentic' fan untouched by any sort of commercialisation and mediatisation can be regarded as nostalgic to an imagined past[42]

[42] Evidences of strong links between football in Britain and commercial and media endeavours since the late 1800s and early 1900s are abundant in the literature (see Collins & Vamplew, 2000, 2002; A. Harvey, 2004; Holt, 1989; T. Mason, 1980; M. Taylor, 2005; Vamplew, 1988a, 1988b). In this token, the idea of football untouched by commercialisation and mediatisation can be conceptualised as a nostalgic imagined construction of the past

and dystopian to the future in the way that it supposes that football in Britain was closed to any outside influences until the late commercialisation of the 1990s. This position also when confronted to the previously discussed literature on cosmopolitanism and globalisation only assumes a one-way avenue where football before the 1990s was just globalised and hybridised abroad but still maintained a somehow inexplicable nostalgic purity within the British Isles[43].

3.3.4 The Stamp Collector Sociologist

As Beck (2010) argues, the *stamp collector sociologist* assumes that socialisation coincides with the nation-state political borders and thus the boundaries for research, and particularly for comparative research, "[...] *must* also be fixed by the borders of the state" (Beck, 2010, p. 28, emphasis added). Nevertheless, comparative studies are already a further step in order to avoid methodological nationalism and thus should be praised as an endeavour that seeks to contemplate both *here* and *there*. On the other hand, through a postcolonial framework, these comparative studies nonetheless assume the European, and mostly British, model as the ideal and superior example, using this model as the yardstick for measurement and comparison. In a similar fashion to the modernisation theory as explained by Bhambra (2007), comparative studies regarding fandom and football at large assume the traditional British example as the authentic one, and thus sought to highlight

[43] Early works dealing with football and globalisation emphasise the role of the British Empire in spreading the game to its former colonies and protocolonies (especially South America) and how the game was hybridised in these different places, but failed to recognise the influence of these places in reshaping the game back in Britain since the early encounters. In this token, these approaches can be deemed as accepting that globalisation is a phenomena from inside to outside Europe (between 1500s-1800s), and now from outside to inside Europe (between 1900s-2000s) as by an Americanisation or McDonaldisation. These approaches in both globalisation and football theorisations fail to regard globalisation as an encounter process that creates changes in both sides as a cosmopolitan sociology would presuppose

the deviance of their examples from that model. In respect to modernisation theory, Bhambra (2007, pp. 58-59) argues:

> "[...] part of the problem with both modernization theory and theories of multiple modernities is their reliance on ideal types as the means of conducting comparative analysis. Ideal types, I shall argue, reify particular interactions and interconnections, abstracting them from the wider interconnections in which they are also embedded [...] In common with most other theorists at the time, he [talking about Talcott Parsons] believed that modern society had emerged in the West, and that this provided the base from which the *system* of modern societies then developed (Parsons 1971). Modernization scholars as Rostow (1960) and Lerner (1958) also believed that Western modernization should be used as a model of global applicability and other societies classified in terms of their relative modernization in comparison with this model."

Substituting modernisation for fandom, football or even the globalisation of football, it is possible to start envisioning how the *stamp collector* theorisations assumed that the ideal type of fandom/football/globalisation emerged in the West, and particularly in England, and thus the peculiarities encountered elsewhere[44] are emphasised and regarded as opposite, or just as a travesty of this ideal model. As argued by Hall (1992), the discourse between the West and the Rest is commonly found and not only it is reified in the academic discourse, but it ends up by shaping public perception. The simplistic discourse of difference between the 'other' and 'we', based initially on ideas and concepts of

[44] As methodological nationalists, the *stamp collector* approach still sought to use the state boundaries as the defining social boundaries, and thus the comparison normally occurs between examples in two different nation-states. Assuming a methodological cosmopolitanism standpoint, comparative studies can take place within the boundaries of the nation-state, and thus similarities and differences can be found within these boundaries. Both Beck (2010) with his heterogenous conceptualisation and Bhambra (2007) with her connected histories point to that direction.

geographical place, as with the stamp collector sociologist leads to an over-simplified conception of difference (Hall, 1992)[45]. Hall (1992, p. 313) goes further by arguing that "in Enlightenment discourse, the West was the model, the prototype and the measure for social progress", in the sense that the West became the yardstick that was used to check how other places related to it. To that matter, the Western yardstick became normalised within the academic discourse, where all the other places were to some extent deviant examples to the West.

As argued by Giulianotti & Armstrong (2004) the cosmopolitan football-related literature which saw a boom in the 1990s and can be understood as being informed by the increasing interest by mainstream academia on questions of globalisation, mostly derived by the late commercialisation and mediatisation of football in Britain as argued previously, led to numerous research to be devoted to questions of football outside the British Isles. The books edited by Armstrong & Giulianotti (2001b, 2004) and Brown (1998) are emblematic in that respect as they sought to map football cultures around the world in a similar fashion that orientalists and earlier ethnographers/anthropologists/ethnologists (see Chapter 4 for a methodological discussion on that matter) sought to map different cultures that came to be in contact with the early European explorers. A similar approach can be seen in the numerous editions of Soccer & Society that focus solely on football cultures in different places[46]. These aforementioned editions as other researchers widely available in mainstream sport sociology journals (see Armstrong, 2007; Bairner, 1999; A. Ben-Porat, 2000; G. Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004; Hognestad, 2006; Lee, 2005; Nash, 2000) operate

[45] This over-simplification of difference will also be seen in the next session when 'hyphenated' forms of fandom are discussed and conceptualised in academia

[46] See Vol 14 Issue 5 2013 for Football in Asia, Vol 13 Issue 5-6 2012 for Football in the Middle East, Vol 13 Issue 2 2012 for Football in Africa, Vol 12 Issue 3 2011 for Football in the UK, Vol 10 Issue 3-4 2009 for Football in Scandinavia, between many other editions

through a methodological nationalism prism by equating society and socialisation to the political borders of the modern nation-state as seen by the emphasis put on these works' titles to particular nation-states. Nonetheless, these works when read with attention already point to some forms of transcending and avoiding methodological nationalism by specifically discussing the interwoven history of football in these different places which will be highlighted in this section.

By this token, this section will follow by looking at works through the initial idea of British, and sometimes English, football culture being the yardstick for comparison as discussed previously, and how these other places' football historiographies were fitted within the broader academic discourse on football fandom. The aim is that by following this argument it will be possible to see how a *stamp collector sociology* existed within the academic discourse on football fandom, and how this discourse sought to highlight the differences between the British model of the 'authentic' fan to the others encountered abroad[47].

In their introduction to Football in Africa book, Giulianotti & Armstrong (2004), in what they called as a postcolonial view of African football culture, sought to highlight the Africanisation of football and how different cultural practices hybridised during the past century after the introduction of football by Europeans. Nonetheless, when Giulianotti & Armstrong (2004) highlight this differentiation they end by emphasising an intrinsic exoticness and mysteriousness to these practices, in a similar fashion as early

[47] The othernisation *stamp collector* discourse can also be found within the borders of any nation-state, as well within the particular case of British football. This is seen as through discourses about others that still use the yardstick of the 'authentic' fan as being male, working class, white and local and thus regard the subject of analysis as a travesty or a deviance of that model. Nonetheless, this *within borders stamp collector sociology* fits better in the first section of this chapter, where the other is understood primarily as inferior and not as incommensurably different

ethnographers did as seen in section Chapter 4. This emphasis on exoticness can be seen in the following quotes:

> "African football crowds highlight the strong creolization of the European game by local peoples. Generally, African crowds have long departed from the restrained behavioural codes that their colonial masters favoured within sport. African football fans are strongly partisan, highly vocal, and advocate unambiguous views regarding events on the field of play." (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2004, p. 14)
>
> "Other aspects of football's Africanization include the pre-match ritual entertainment that can feature performances by local artists. Before kick-off and during half-time, football crowds can enjoy delicacies of local African cuisine, such as skewered mice (sugar cane rats) in Malawi, peanut-flavoured kebabs in Ghana, and heated nuts in most northern nations [...] Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of Africa football culture concerns the role of traditional belief-systems, notably those surrounding witchcraft or 'juju' as performed by 'multi-men'." (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2004, p. 15)

Not only the emphasis on exoticness can be seen in relation to the available food in and around the stadia, and the 'traditional belief-system practices', but also the idea that the British model is to some extent the 'authentic' one and the yardstick for pointing out these differences. The discourse by Giulianotti & Armstrong (2004) ends by othernising these different football practices, mostly by focusing on particularities in these specific localities, to the extent that a somehow homogeny football culture emerges that coincides with the political borders of the nation-state. These particularities that are encountered and made salient by the discourse reinforces an idea of otherness that carries a normative

position where the other is perceived as deviant or not authentic to the British model. Other examples of this deviant othernisation can be seen when Giulianotti & Armstrong (2004, p. 12, emphasis added) mention that "[...] somewhat *more negatively*, the most prominent sponsors of African club football are often beer and cigarette corporations" in a clear normative discourse where the normal would be a non-association between health damaging corporations and sport[48]. Nonetheless, Giulianotti & Armstrong (2004) when assuming this moralising standpoint in respect of the African 'deviant behaviour' do not acknowledge the long historical links between the beer trade and football in the British Isles (Collins & Vamplew, 2000, 2002; Vamplew, 1988a), which seems to be accepted and taken for granted. Another example of this normative othernising discourse appears when Giulianotti & Armstrong (2004) reflects on the links between local 'big men' and their patronage to local teams in a way of not only reflecting their personal glory, but most importantly linking back to questions of corruption and the 'politics of the belly' (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2004, p. 6). This point can be seen throughout the different chapters of the book, where the different authors seek to point out the way sport, and particularly football, was used by politicians and entrepreneurs to boost their popularity or economical and political powers. Examples of 'African' patronage can be seen in the case of Nigeria (Boer, 2004, p. 65), Liberia (Armstrong, 2004, p. 195), Kenya (Hognestad & Tollisen, 2004, p. 211), as well the 'endemic corruption' in the cases of Morocco (Stanton, 2004, p. 153), Kenya (Hognestad & Tollisen, 2004, p. 218), Liberia (Armstrong, 2004, p. 196) and Nigeria (Boer, 2004, p. 71). In respect of the first part of Giulianotti & Armstrong's (2004) othernising discourse, these 'big men' seem to be a particular example of patronage that takes place only in Africa, relating to an idea of a

[48] It is worth noting that out of 20 clubs in the English Premier League 2013/2014 season, eight clubs have either financing, betting or alcohol related kit sponsors. The list can grow if official partners are also included

charismatic chief, but on the other hand the historical patronage by pub lords or industrialists in Britain (Collins & Vamplew, 2002; T. Mason, 1980) is accepted as normal and not brought into consideration[49]. The corruption aspect is more emblematic of this othernisation process, even that Giulianotti & Armstrong (2004) see it as a symptom and not a cause of 'underdevelopment', as in a normatively tone it is argued that this is a particular problem relating to football in Africa and it does not happen elsewhere, especially not in Britain[50].

Another example of the *stamp collector sociology* in respect of football fandom relates to an internal homogenising discourse in contrast to an external heterogenising discourse that bases the dividing line on the political borders of the modern nation-state. The examples found especially about football in Africa are emblematic, as the historiography encompassing 'pre-colonial', 'colonial' and 'post-colonial' periods[51] of football and cultural practices coincide exactly with the 'post-colonial' nation-state political borders. As argued by Beck (2000b, 2004, 2007b, 2010), Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2008) and Beck et al (2003; 2005; 2006) one of the shortcomings of methodological nationalism is to see socialisations on an either/or perspective and thus to assume that internal homogeneity exists. In respect to the academic discourse on football fandom, some examples are found when Boer (2004) discusses football's historiography in

[49] In the last few years the 'patronage' by 'foreigners' of English Premier League clubs have become a central focus for both political and academic agenda, especially by the growing movement of 'fan ownership'. Nonetheless it should be asked what 'fan ownership' means, or to be more precisely: what kind of fan are they implying when mentioning 'fan ownership'? Following the argument put forward in this literature review in respect of 'authentic' and 'un-authentic' fan theorisations, it seems that 'fan ownership' refers to the ownership of clubs by an homogenous group of local, working class, white men.

[50] Andrew Jennings' books (Jennings, 2006; Jennings & Sambrook, 2000) even not being an academic work show how corruption is a phenomenon that does not happen only in Africa, but also in the 'centre' of the World.

[51] This periodisation is also problematic as it assumes an Eurocentric vision of history, where the history is based on the period before European modern colonialism, during and after it. It is to some extent the Europeanisation of these localities' histories, or in Said's (1994, 2003) words the Easternisation of the East. This shortcoming is also seen in globalisation theorisations (Robertson, 1990, 1995, 1998) that see globalisation as happening from inside Europe to outside Europe

Nigeria and speaks about the 'native Nigerians' in contrast to the 'Europeans'. By doing so, Boer (2004) normalises both 'us' and 'them' in two opposite identities that assume internal homogeny and external heterogeneity, but above all naturalises what is to be a 'native Nigerian' or a 'European'. On another level, Boer (2004) when discussing the apparent 'disconnection' between professional Nigerian footballers playing abroad and the life back in Nigeria operates on an assumption that socialisation or even political participation[52] cease when the borders of the nation-state are crossed, incorporating a metaphysicality of presence (Urry, 2008) into the analysis. Last's (2004) analysis like Boer's (2004) also operates on this either/or assumption where both a homogenous Italian and a homogenous Eritrean come into contact just when Italy becomes a 'colonial master' during the 1800s. His analysis has come to be seen as a special kind of methodological nationalism (Beck, 2007b; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Chernilo, 2007; Wimmer & Schiller, 2002) that reflects the 'modern' concept of nation-state and nationalism, as presented by Hobsbawm (1987, 1992), that assumes an historiography that goes back just to the period when these nation-states were invented. Nonetheless, Last (2004) points to interesting facts about football development in the region by showing how a multitude of 'nations' came to be in contact and inter-share their practices as with the presence of British, Italians, Ethiopians and Eritreans during that period. But as pointed out previously, there is an overarching assumption that these different 'nationalities' reflect different and homogenous cultural practices. This same point can be seen in Fates (2004) work about football in Algeria, as not only the historiography goes back to the early 1800s when France became the 'colonial masters', but also operates in this homogenising duality between 'French' and 'Algerians'.

[52] For cross-border political participation, especially by expatriates (see Bernal, 2006; Panagakos & Horst, 2006; Parham, 2004; Van den Bos & Nell, 2006)

Other examples that operate in those clear cut dichotomisations between us and them, and use the modern nation-state boundaries to define these separations are found in Hognestad (2000, 2006, 2009). While Hognestad (2000, 2006, 2009) can be 'accused' of falling in the methodological nationalism traps corresponding to the stamp collector sociologist by mostly assuming distinctions based on geographical borders and homogenising 'us' (Scandinavians or Norwegians) and 'them' (British or English) (Hognestad, 2000, 2006), he also normatively supposes a hierarchisation between the 'locals' and the 'satellite' as seen in the following quotation:

> "Within the context of support, Norwegians' relationships to English football teams bring in a disparity in that respect [talking about communities and sociocultural universes]. A person supporting a team which is located in his town can relate the club to his own autobiographical universe as an authentically experienced reality. A Norwegian supporter of an English team is necessarily a 'long distance supporter'." (Hognestad, 2000, p. 113)

This quote operates on two levels, where in the first instance it can be related to the previous section where the supporter is preconceived as being homogeneously male. But in relation to the focus of this section, the idea that a 'local' supporter can connect through an authentic and real experience to the club while normatively the 'long distance' supporter is relegated to some sort of unauthentic and virtual experience that does not allow for any autobiographical narrative seems to reinforce a clear cut distinction between 'us' and 'them'. Moreover, when Hognestad (2000, pp. 117-118) discusses the example of a father relating to his son the differences between football at Arsenal to the one at Bislet, what is emphasised by the author is the fact that those two teams are based in two different countries, assuming that the national boundaries are 'real' borders that can ultimately

define in a hypothetical situation what would be an authentic or unauthentic form of fandom. Nonetheless, even that to some extent Hognestad (2009) operates through two a priori homogenous dichotomical entities such as Norwegians versus locals, what he encounters are experiences of sameness instead of otherness, which reinforces the general argument in this section that the political borders of the modern nation-state do not serve as parameters for distinctiveness.

Even though Hallinan, Hughson & Burke (2007) are not primarily concerned in describing fandom in respect of its authentic or unauthentic aspect, they nonetheless still operate on this sort of stamp collector sociology described in this section that assumes some models as yardsticks for comparison. For instance, when discussing the Australian Conservative party approach to multiculturalism and sport, Hallinan et al (2007) use as an example the British Conservative party position, as to give a stronger argument that would show that Conservatives around the world would push for an erasure of migrants' background and a need of assimilation to the adopted country culture. This dichotomisation between homogenous migrant culture and adopted country culture, and thus heterogenous between them, could also be seen when Hallinan et al (2007) look at clubs in Australia from a Serbian background as embodying some sort of Serbian-ness that would differentiate it from a sort of homogenous Australian-ness. This is best represented when Hallinan et (2007) describe the experience of attending a game where they mention that:

> "Attendance of the club - for an outsider - *provides a unique sense of stepping into a Serbian domain in the Australian suburbs*. The most obvious aspects of the *sensual experience* are the *smells and tastes of Serbian cuisine*, cevapi rolls being the centrepiece of the menu." (Hallinan et al., 2007, p. 291, emphasis added)

As seen in the previous quotes in this section, this description is similar in style to the early ethnologists and anthropologists that when 'entering' the 'unknown' their attention was drawn to the 'unfamiliar', the 'strange', which for them was not only exotic but in many occasions also normatively primitive, which in the end meant being inferior.

Nonetheless, Hallinan et al (2007) point to some interesting facts when quoting one of their informants in respect to what it meant to be Serbian. These shades of Serbian-ness highlight what is being discussed in this thesis in respect to the heterogeneity of assumed homogenous cultures, and above all, they reinforce the idea of an assumed methodological nationalism where homogenisation takes place around the political borders of nation-states. This can also be seen when G. Ben-Porat & A. Ben-Porat (2004) are discussing the globalisation and localisation of Israeli football in respect to the different clubs' political affiliations and how this homogenous idea of relating a club to a particular political party is being challenged by the movement of players. Thus as in Hallinan et al. (2007), G. Ben-Porat & A. Ben-Porat (2004) reinforce that the idealisation of any homogeneity in respect of cultural and political affiliations that coincide to pre-assumed borders as the nation-state seems to loose contact to the observed reality. Nevertheless, G. Ben-Porat & A. Ben-Porat (2004) ultimately fall into the methodological nationalism trap by solely having an inner vision of the processes that are occurring in Israeli football, as if it were an autonomous entity that mimics the methodological nationalist vision of nations' histories. The political, economical and cultural encounters, especially the ones taking place across the political borders of the nation-state, seem to be relegated to a second level of importance when explaining the changes in Israeli football, while the ones occurring within the borders assume a higher importance that can ultimately explain all the recent changes. This approach, as said previously, mimics the methodological nationalist vision of nations'

histories by the utter importance that is given to facts that take place within the political borders as if they would suffice to explain the history, ultimately disregarding the impact of worldwide changes. As Beck et al. (2003) and Latour (1993) argued in respect to the blurring of the boundaries between social, economical and political spheres, it could be said that to assume that both internal and external politics can exist separately is to still believe that an immaculate (football) national history without any 'external' influences could be found.

While G. Ben-Porat & A. Ben-Porat (2004) focus more on macro changes on Israeli football, A. Ben-Porat (2000) provides a compelling vision of football fandom in that country. As with the previous papers mentioned in this section, A. Ben-Porat (2000) assumes a methodological nationalism stance by first homogenising the fans around the political borders of the nation-state, secondly by employing the British (and especially the English) model as yardstick for comparison and third by assuming that the association to 'distant' clubs is to some extent normatively inferior to any association that takes place within the same political borders. For the first methodological nationalism trap that A. Ben-Porat (2000) falls into, the original emphasis given to a study that focuses solely on Israeli fans of English football clubs reinforces the idea that some sort of distinction would be found when crossing that border. As presented previously, this idea that distinction should and would be found by crossing the political borders was shared by the early ethnologists and anthropologists that catalogued the different cultures around the world, in a quest to build an encyclopaedic knowledge of these distant places. Following this line, A. Ben-Porat (2000) presents his results around the demographics and habits of these Israeli fans as if he was showcasing them to an audience that was used to a different model, especially to the British yardstick as discussed in the previous section. The use of this

yardstick for comparison is the second trap that A. Ben-Porat (2000) falls into, and that comes when he relates his results to previous research that dealt with football and class association. For A. Ben-Porat (2000, p. 346):

> "It is almost trivial to suggest that, in the main, football is the game of the lower classes almost everywhere in the world [...] It is clearly possible to treat class origin as an important factor in the explananas - the enthusiasm for football is correlated to the class origin of the fan"

This quote can operate on two levels when analysing it in relation to the stamp collector methodological nationalism trap that A. Ben-Porat (2000) fell into. First, as has been discussed previously, he uses the English yardstick that assumed[53] that the 'normal' fan would be male, local and coming from a working class background, to confront his findings and show that Israeli fans that follow English clubs are from a different class and thus worthy of their distinctiveness. When asserting that the Israeli fans of English clubs come in their majority from a middle-class background, A. Ben-Porat (2000) is not only comparing to the yardstick to show the distinctive aspect of these fans, but also results in arguing in a normatively tone that puts these fans in an inferior position on the yardstick. This argument, which is his third fall into the methodological nationalism trap, comes when A. Ben-Porat (2000) relates these middle-class distant supporters to a sort of rootless and disloyal cosmopolitanism that is also found in Giulianotti's (2002) flâneur type. This can be seen when A. Ben-Porat (2000, p. 346) relates fandom to mediatisation and asserts that:

> "The beneficiary is the interested fan; now he can behave like a customer in a big fast-food supermarket. He can choose his favorite team again and again or replace

[53] Wrongly, as discussed in the previous section

it with another team. The television promises an ongoing supply of one's favorite commodity."

As the Israeli fans are connected to their English teams mainly through mediated interactions they end by differing from their English counterparts that are normally physically present in the stadia. This sort of distinctiveness that assumes that distant fans are homogeneously mediated-connected, while local fans are homogeneously physically present is a sort of stamp collector sociology that relies on the metaphysicality of presence (Urry, 2008) to create and recreate borders that coincide with the political borders of the modern nation-state. Another example of the stamp collector sociologists' assumption of an a priori distinctiveness in relation to a 'local' fan is Kerr & Emery's (2011) conceptualisation of 'distant' fans as satellite supporters, and above all, their methodological dismissing of respondents that had any 'connections' to the club's home country. The ontological departure of assuming that 'satellite supporters' might and must have distinctive reasons to support a club in contrast to physically connected fans supposes a clear cut epistemological categorisation that operates through dualisms, as either being local and locally connected or distant and satellite mediated. Above all, the idea that those fans are satellite supporters not only highlights the mediated aspect of their fandom, but implies that they are on the club's fringes, orbiting and having none or few interactions that could impact on the club. In this regard, the notion of satellite supporters developed by Kerr & Emery (2011) not only assumes distinctiveness as with other stamp collector sociologists, but also carries a normative position that relegates those 'satellite supporters' to an inferior position compared to the 'local central supporter'.

In conclusion, what could be seen through these numerous works that started to map the 'different' football cultures around the world is an emphasis on the political

borders of the modern nation-state for defining, and mostly pre-assuming, distinctiveness not only for their historiographies, but above all in respect to cultural practices. This sort of sociological imagination, as defined by Beck (2010) as *stamp collector*, not only reifies cultural myths, clichés and stereotypes (Beck-Gernsheim, 2004), but results in normatively creating yardstick models for comparison that assumes an imagined internal homogeneity. Those *stamp collector* accounts of the different football historiographies and culture also emphasised a form of globalisation that sees it happening just from the 'centre' to the 'periphery' (either European globalisation - Europeanisation or American globalisation - Americanisation[54]), and that creolisation/hybridisation are processes that happen inherently just within the 'peripheral' culture. By this token, the next section will look at papers that avoided to some extent those methodological nationalism pitfalls, and started to regard both 'us' and 'them' as similar but different, and sought to discuss the apparent 'natural' hierarchisation between different fans.

3.3.5 The *Other* as *Different* but *Similar*

In the last stage of the archeology and genealogy of the academic discourse on the 'authentic' football fandom, especially in relation to the *geographical other*, works within the sociology of sport and football started to regard these *others* also as 'real' fans. Nonetheless, this position can be problematic by the contradictions of universalism (Beck

[54] Those terms are also problematic by the inherent assumption that it is possible to encounter an homogenous Europe or an homogenous America that could impact on other places in one singular way. As will be discussed further in this thesis, the concept of glocalisation (Robertson, 1995) is also problematic by assuming this process as a byproduct of European expansion that started during the 16th Century.

& Grande, 2008), especially by erasing the differences and assuming hegemonic perspectives as through universalist principles. As Beck & Grande (2008, p. 184) argue:

> "[speaking of the contradictions of universalism] On the one hand, the other's difference is overcome by viewing and treating him or her as an equal. On the other hand, however, the reality of otherness is at the same time denied. Those who are not willing to abandon the position of otherness are excluded."

In this token, when analysing the works here, special attention should be made to positions that try to override differences or play down these differences by seeking just commonalities. The position sought here is in line with the hybridisation (Canclini, 1995, 2004) and glocalisation (Robertson, 1995) thesis, where differences and commonalities are in a constant process of shaping and creation. It should be stressed that what is sought are approaches that do not expect to find pure forms before hybridisation processes to take place, or homogenous locals being glocalised by heterogenous globals. Thus, the approaches here to some extent follow the concepts of connected historiography (Bhambra, 2007) and cultural encounters (Delanty, 2011). The level of analysis and epistemological complexity sought here to some extent already avoid and transcend some of methodological nationalism pitfalls by also conceptualising the *other* as an 'authentic' fan. There is a shift not only on regarding the *other* as a possible 'authentic' fan, but especially these works start to question why the 'authentic' fan was once conceptualised as male, white, working class, and local. By this token, the yardstick mentioned in the previous section is altered and the hegemonic discourse comes to be challenged.

While analysing the impact of television and globalisation on football in the last 50 years, Sandvoss (2003) starts to challenge the idea of fans being composed of a homogenous group by seeking to explore how football clubs attract individuals from

different social, cultural and geographical backgrounds. Basing his arguments on the idea that the act of being a fan derives from acts of consumption, such as watching television, reading newspapers and magazines, and even attending games, Sandvoss (2003) argues that his approach differs from others works (i.e. Giulianotti, 2002; A. King, 1997a) as he does not see consumption to be in direct opposition to 'authentic' forms of fandom. The late mediatisation of football, especially with its wide availability on satellite television, led to forms of globalisation that meshed together both local, national and global (transnational) cultural forms of fandom, that resulted in bypassing the nation-state as a category that informed the development of fan alliances to clubs (Sandvoss, 2003). This argument of the dismissal of the nation-state as a category that forms political and cultural loyalties is also found when Beck (2001) argues that the nation-state could be understood as a zombie-category. Nonetheless, as pointed out in a previous section, special attention should be paid in respect of which concept of nation-state is used, as depending on how it is conceptualised, the absolute dismissal of it is found to be problematic (Chernilo, 2007). Sandvoss (2003) goes further by arguing, following a postmodern approach (see Smart, 1993), that football and per consequence football fandom is being deterritorialised and losing its place in time. In this sense, Sandvoss (2003) understands these 'new' forms of fandom as 'authentic', nonetheless he assumes that they are just becoming deterritorialised instead of assuming that these 'new' forms could re-territorialise in both different and similar forms of the 'traditional' modern territoriality (Beck et al., 2003).

As one of the most influential researchers within the field of football fan studies, Richard Giulianotti, co-authoring with Roland Robertson, provides five different works that can be characterised as conceptualising fans in different places as both different and similar. For instance, in Giulianotti & Robertson (2007b) the authors focus on how football

fan subcultures are organised and ritualistically performed in different geographical areas as South America, Western, Southern and Eastern Europe, emphasising notions of homogeneity and heterogeneity for these practices and organisations. Giulianotti & Robertson (2007b) show how in England fan subcultures are more associated to deviance and violence as through hooliganism, where in other parts of Europe the 'hegemonic' fan practices are associated to the *Ultras* with their more institutionalised existence and spectacular display in stadia. In a second moment aspect of their analysis, they shift their focus to the 'diasporic fan formations', which borrows much from their research of 'Scottish' fans in North America (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007a), where is argued that fans either self-invent or have biographical links to their loved distant club (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004, 2007b). Nonetheless, when Giulianotti & Robertson (2007b) divide their analysis on fan cultures into these two different supporter subcultures there is an implicit assumption that one could be regarded normatively as more natural than the other, undermining the idea of reconciling *we* and the *other* as both similar and different in equal terms. In this sense, Giulianotti & Robertson (2007b) assume a normalised position where individuals' biographical links that are related to nationalism and nation-state are to be understood as 'natural' instead as spawning from an already invented tradition (Hobsbawm, 1983, 1992). In this sense, the sort of 'diasporic fan formations' analysed in Giulianotti & Robertson (2007a) would preferably be conceptualised as 'self-invented' or 'collective-invented', in a way that highlights the idea that both are similar by sharing an invented tradition, while at the same time different by the way the invented tradition relates to their individual and collective identity. Another point of contention in Giulianotti & Robertson's (2007b) analysis of 'distant' fan cultures is their emphasis on the 'traditional yardstick fan culture', either by looking at hooliganism, *Ultras*, or *Barra-Bravas*, as a basis

for comparison, neglecting the heterogeneity within the different fan groups. In this sense, even that Giualinotti & Robertson (2007b) provide an important contribution for an initial 'acceptance' of the *other* as both similar and different, nonetheless they do that within the hegemonic discourse of the 'traditional fan' as the 'authentic' one, where especially the *other* within these different fan cultures is silenced, as explained previously. This can also be evidenced in Giulianotti & Robertson (2009) when the authors rely on the previously discussed taxonomy of fandom (Giulianotti, 2002) and follow the argument that these 'new' distant fans (the *flâneur*) bear a more unnatural and invented identity in contrast to a more natural and biographical identification that the *supporter* has. Nonetheless Giulianotti & Robertson (2009) provide an initial position for reconciliation between the different fan cultures in respect of authenticity by emphasising the global connectivity and dis-connectivity of the associated practices of these different fan cultures.

With an emphasis on analysing the effects of the late mediatisation of football, especially of English football, Weed (2006, 2007, 2008), Dixon (2014) and David & Millward (2012) shift their attentions to fans who are not physically directly connected to the topological feelings of being in the stadium as discussed by Giulianotti (1999) and Bromberger (2001, 2004). Weed (2006, 2007, 2008), for instance, explores the fans' experiences within a particular setting that has been historically associated with British football culture (see Collins & Vamplew, 2000; Collins & Vamplew, 2002), the public house, or the pub. Building from Eastman & Land (1997) and Eastman & Riggs (1994) that analysed American Football fans experiences of community building in bars, Weed (2006, 2007, 2008) sought to highlight the changing relationship that pubs have with British football culture, by moving from a place where men would meet before and after

games to discuss the game, to a place where men would gather to drink and watch 'home' and 'away' games. Weed (2006) goes further by arguing that:

> "Another factor, for which the evidence is perhaps less compelling, is that pubs and bars, in which alcohol can be consumed during the game, have become the 'new terraces' in an age of 'sanitised and allegedly atmosphere-free all-seater grounds'" (Weed, 2006, p. 90)

In this sense, the pub for the British football culture becomes a place where the 'traditional' 'non-sanitised' experiences of drinking, watching football, chanting, and community building are re-enacted. This last factor seems to be central in Weed's (2006, 2007, 2008) argument in respect of why individuals would gather in pubs to watch football, especially by the possibility of creating a third space that is not either their living room or the 'sanitised' stadium. In this sense, those individuals are able to build communal feelings that reflect the ones once associated with the 'traditional' working class football culture. For Weed (2007, 2008) the physical proximity that is offered by this space to individuals allows them to transform the pub into a sporting venue, making it one of the central aspects of this 'new' football culture away from the stadia. Nonetheless, Weed (2008) argues that:

> "[...] watching football in the pub is a secondary experience to that of watching live at the event. Consequently, people only go to the pub to watch football when travel to the event itself (for whatever reason) is not possible [...]" (Weed, 2008, p. 192)

In this sense, Weed (2006, 2007, 2008) sees this 'new' fan experience as to some extent similar in providing individuals with the opportunity for community building feelings as in stadia, he still conceptualises it inferiorly to the one enacted in stadia. As so,

he still regards the pub experience as both similar and different to the one in stadia, Weed (2006, 2007, 2008) falls short in equating both experiences in a normative fashion, especially by characterising it as 'virtual spectatorship' (Weed, 2008). It could be said that Weed's (2006, 2007, 2008) approach relies on metaphysical of presence (Urry, 2008) in the sense that for him physical proximity is the primal aspect in community building, and one of, if not the central feature of how individuals enact their fan experiences.

For instance, David & Millward (2012) while analysing Wigan fans' experiences of watching games in pubs, and the reterritorialisation of their experiences from the stadia to this new place, argued that these fans saw the pub as the place to be instead of the stadium. For those fans the pub was the place where solidarities were fostered and created, and in a similar fashion to the stadium previously attracted individuals from different regions that commuted to these pubs to watch both 'home' and 'away' games. For David & Millward (2012) the fact that the pub started to be regarded as holding the same status in being a place where fan solidarities were fostered calls for a new conceptualisation within the sociology of football in respect to territorialisation and communal feelings. In spite of that, the reterritorialisation that is discussed by David & Millward (2012) is still solely physically based, neglecting the fact that fans can also concomitantly create a sense of belonging through mediated forms (see Millward, 2008). Nonetheless, in David & Millward (2012) fans experiences in pubs are already regarded as 'authentic' as the ones happening in stadia, thus those others who watch games in pubs are conciliated as both similar and different to those who attend games in stadia. In this sense, not only territorialisation and communal feelings should be re-conceptualised as David & Millward (2012) did, but also what it means to have a mediated experience either by watching the

game in pubs (mediated game but physical experience) or at home ‘alone’ (mediated game and experience).

Building from Weed (2006, 2007, 2008) and David & Millward (2012), Dixon (2014) argues that watching football in the pub started not only to be equated to attending the game in stadia as an authentic experience, but has even overcome it, where some fans express that ‘real’ fans go to the pub. For Dixon (2014) fans started to perceive the pub experience as more authentic than in stadia because they can enact their rituals together with friends, where in stadia they would be surrounded by strangers. In this sense, Dixon (2014) argues that the idea of ‘being there’ should be conceptualised differently from previous notions that approached it as solely by taking place inside the stadia. As so, when fans recount their experiences of watching games ‘there’, they are not only talking about going to stadia, but also rating at the same level their experiences of watching it in pubs (Dixon, 2014). Nonetheless, as with Weed’s (2006, 2007, 2008) approach, Dixon (2014) sees the physical existence as something necessary for the socialisation between fans, falling into what Urry (2008) themed as sociology’s reliance on the metaphysical of presence, and on another level still regards these experiences as being some sort of ‘virtual fandom’.

In a slightly different context from the previously discussed studies, Lestrelin (2010) analysed what he conceptualised as the ‘other public of football’, namely supporters from Olympique de Marseille (OM hereafter) that are based in different regions of France. As with David & Millward’s (2012) work, Lestrelin (2010) was interested in discussing how notions of territoriality in respect of fandom are reshaped by the increasing association of supporters that do not come from the club’s region, and how those fans ‘incorporated’ and ‘assimilated’ the ‘local’ (from Marseille) culture into their own cultural

practices. Lestrelin (2010) shows how fans that do not have any biographical attachment to the city of Marseille come to support OM, especially by creating a sort of community of feelings that surpasses transiently the regional boundaries of France. This seems to be of particular interest as even those distant supporters 'assimilate' themselves to the OM practices they nonetheless do not emotionally care about what is going on in the city or the region. This transient attachment takes place when those fans physically attend games in Marseille, or in their discourse when they equate Marseille's confronting position to Paris, both politically and economically, to their own biography. In this sense, even that Lestrelin (2010) argues that these 'other fans' have no biographical attachment to Marseille, it could be said that to some extent an invented shared biography exists between fans and OM and the city. This 'other public of football' in Lestrelin's (2010) account is both similar and different, in a way that their group organisation, social composition and cultural practices are similarly constructed in comparison to 'local' fans, and different by their necessity to constantly prove some sort of 'authenticity' to their decision of supporting a distant club. It should be noticed that the fans analysed by Lestrelin (2010) have constant corporeal mobility (Urry, 2008) to Marseille and away games, normally by travelling together, and to pubs in their locality, making these spaces places for maintaining their community of feelings. This adds another point to how similar those cultural practices are in comparison to the 'traditional' ones discussed in a previous section, by the emphasises on a necessity for corporeal presence and bounding for community building.

To sum up the papers in this phase of the genealogy of the hegemonic discourse on fan geographical otherness, it could be said that they provide an initial step for conceptualising those others as both similar and different at the same time. One point in common between the aforementioned papers is that they provide a voice in a Spivakean

(Maggio, 2007; Spivak, 1988) sense, to the geographical other, especially the ones absent from the stadia, to be heard and to be analysed. Nonetheless as pointed out in this section, by emphasising a metaphysical of presence (Urry, 2008) as an essential and central characteristic of these fan socialisations, in the way that their fan cultural practices are enacted solely through face-to-face interactions, the authors not only reinforce the initial 'traditional' idea of what fandom stood for, but ended by missing socialisations that take place in different forms. In short, these authors, by giving voice to these geographical others ended by muting fans that do not socialise through constant ritualised physical encounters, especially in pubs but also in distant travels to games. On another level, as posited by Balibar (1991) classifications as the ones seen in the aforementioned works as 'away from the stadium', 'distant fan', 'local fan', 'pub fan', 'new fan', 'transnational fan', 'virtual fan' can ultimately lead to hierarchisation, and thus those terms for defining fans in general can be considered as an inherent epistemological problem if what is sought is some sort of universalism that does not erase singularities.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

The proposed conceptualised genealogy of football fandom otherness discourse showed, in a similar fashion as argued in Laclau (1977) in respect of capitalism, fascism and populism, how popular understanding of authenticity, in respect of fans practice, came to be reified in academia (first phase of the genealogy). Furthermore how it came to be challenged in the subsequent phases, especially by the increasing interest to questions of globalisation, mediatisation and commercialisation, but also by an increasing feminist and

post-feminist tradition (see Pope, 2011, 2012; Toffoletti & Mewett, 2012) in fan studies. In this sense, as argued throughout this chapter, some sort of methodological cosmopolitanism is needed within the sociology of sport, and particularly within the sociology of football fandom with the aim in challenging and reconceptualising the 'traditional' discourse. This methodological cosmopolitanism would challenge the nation-state paradigm assumption and the metaphysical of presence ideal. In respect of the former, by challenging the nation-state paradigm any totalising and homogenising conceptualisation of fan that assumes an either/or distinction, by creating and reifying especially an idea of a local and authentic fan in opposition to a distant and unauthentic fan, would be historically and sociologically put to the test. In respect of the latter, this methodological cosmopolitanism would allow for the appraisal of different forms of socialisations that are not corporeally based and constantly enacted through face-to-face interactions. Moreover, this sort of methodological cosmopolitanism would allow for understanding not in an either/or fashion the concomitant movement in 'opposition' to cosmopolitanisation as discussed in the works of Millward (2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2012) and Ranc (2012).

To illustrate the sort of methodological cosmopolitanism and the theoretical challenges to both nation-state paradigm and the metaphysical of presence an empirical research of a distant fan group of Liverpool FC through participant observation, netnography or virtual ethnography and in-depth interviews will be employed. The thesis continues in the next chapter by looking at the epistemological and methodological aspects of this empirical research, as well as providing the indicators of cosmopolitanisation in respect to football.

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

"If you want to understand what science is, [...] you should look at what practitioners of it do. [...] Doing ethnography is establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on. But it is not these things, techniques and received procedures, that define the enterprise. What defines it is the kind of intellectual effort *it is: an elaborate venture in, to borrow a notion from Gilbert Ryle,* "think description". *(Geertz, 2000, pp. 5-6, emphasis added)*

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, both methodological and epistemological approaches will be discussed in light of introducing the practical method employed by this thesis to collect and analyse the data. To this end, firstly a theoretical discussion about the main research method will be conducted, focusing on how ethnography changed from its early phase in the late 1800s and its common association to Orientalism and Western hegemonic discourse formulation, to its more contemporaneous phase of studying both mediated and direct socialisations, and the influences of different epistemologies. This initial discussion will open avenues for examining both data collection methods associated to ethnography (interview and participant observation) and how those methods changed in their form to accommodate for mediated relationships. As posited by Geertz (2000), practicing ethnography is not only about collecting the data, but it is especially related to the forms researchers use to convey their message to their audience. As so, after discussing how to collect the data in an ethnographic-inspired research the focus of the chapter will shift to

understanding how researchers can *speak for others* while writing their research. The first part of the chapter will finish by an epistemological and ethical discussion that addresses in particular this aspect of an ethnographic research: *speaking for others*.

The second section of this chapter will focus more on the practicality of the research done in this thesis, where sampling will be discussed first, followed by an *entering the field* section where the initial steps of joining the Facebook supporters' group will be presented. The section will finish by presenting and discussing Ulrich Beck's (2010) indicators of cosmopolitanisation and how those were adapted to the particularities of this research. In this line, it will be briefly discussed how the literature review informed the development of indicators of cosmopolitanisation for and to football fandom, which became the basis for creating the interview script (see appendices) and would become the observable details for the participant observation. The section and chapter will finish with a discussion about the ethical dilemmas faced during the research, and how those dilemmas could have impacted on the written account of the research if not taken into consideration.

4.2 Research Methods

4.2.1 Ethnography

In a similar fashion to the opening quotation of this chapter by Clifford Geertz, Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) when defining what ethnography is, I seek to show it by demonstrating what ethnographers do in the first place. Nonetheless, in their introductory chapter there is an historical account of how ethnography evolved within the social sciences and humanities which, in respect of this thesis is relevant to the extent that it

focuses on aspects inherent to Orientalism (Marcus, 2001). Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) understand that the term originated in the nineteenth-century Western anthropology, where early ethnographers went to closed communities outside the Western world to describe their culture or community rituals. Examples of these early forms of ethnography can be found in both Mauss (1989) and Geertz (2000), but it is best exemplified by the extensive work of Malinowski (1922), Mead (1928) and Mead's (1937) edited book. Van der Veer (2002) understood that these early ethnographies and ethnologies were part of an European colonising modernity that bore resemblance to cosmopolitanism, nonetheless a cosmopolitanism with a moral civilisatorial mission. As Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) note, ethnography and ethnology were considered complimentary forms of researching the *other*, where ethnologies were conducted by anthropologists without having to do their own fieldwork, relying on ethnographies done by other researchers or missionaries and travellers. This fieldwork, or what became known as *modern* ethnography, involved spending a certain amount of time with the *native* (participant observation), keeping a diary (field notes), talking to the *native* (interviews) and producing images, maps, figures that represent the *native form of living* (visual data) (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, & Lofland, 2001; Clifford, 1986; Geertz, 2000; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Malinowski, 1922; Mauss, 1989). As Geertz (2000) was eager to recognise, all of these techniques for gathering data about the *other* were not what ethnography was all about, but just the initial step taken by the ethnographer. For Geertz (1988, 2000), as well as in Clifford & Marcus' edited book (1986) and Van Maanen (1988), the emphasis of the ethnographic imagination lies in the representation and the discourse that ethnographers create about the *other*. By this token, this section will follow by looking at how these discourses were imagined during the last century and will end by pointing to more

contemporaneous questions of reflexivity and representation (see sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.4 respectively), while the techniques for gathering data will be discussed in following sections.

The end of the nineteenth-century and beginning of the twentieth-century is regarded by Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) as the first moment of *scientific* ethnography. For them, at this period ethnography was indebted to early travellers and missionaries as well to *professional* Western anthropologists accounts of their travels to distant worlds and meetings with different people. For Pratt (1986), since Malinowski (1922) the discourses and representations of *others* by ethnographers and travellers became further separated, especially by the former's emphasis on description over narratives. Not only did ethnographers start to emphasise a descriptive scientific narrative about the *other*, the distinction between subject (the ethnographer) and object (the *other*) became even more apparent and was sought as part of the scientific endeavour (Pratt, 1986). A principle of invisibility of the ethnographer, of no influences between subject and object, and especially an assumed disinterest (non-hierarchical or political) towards the constructed discourse on the *other* were part of the scientific rhetoric used by ethnographers (Crapanzano, 1986). Said (2003) was adamant in recognising that these early ethnographies and ethnologies that assumed neutrality and objectivity were the basis for creating and sustaining the hegemonic discourse of domination by the West over the *other*. That is a similar point made by Van der Veer (2002) vis-à-vis cosmopolitanism indebtedness to modern colonialism. Taking both Mead's (1928, 1937) works as an example of this hegemonic discourse over the *other*, it is possible just by looking at their titles to see this assumed hierarchical superiority of the West, or as a sort of translation (Van der Veer, 2002) of the *simple native tribal world* to a *complex modern society*.

Nonetheless, Hammersley & Atkinson (2007, p. 1) understand that "[...] during the twentieth century, anthropological ethnography came to be one of the models for some strands of research within Western sociology". This development is normally credited to the University of Chicago (Clifford, 1986; Deegan, 2001; G. A. Fine, 1995) which sought to utilise some of the methodology of the early anthropological ethnography to research urban environments within the West. An example that links this movement of ethnographically researching within the western culture, sport, and the orientalisation of others can be found in Wacquant's (2004) study of *becoming a boxer* in a Chicago ghetto. Wacquant (2004) sought to understand through his boxing practice at a ghetto boxing club how the power relations that characterise the ghetto as a disorganised place as per lack, want and absence were used as instruments of economic exploitation and social ostracisation. Wacquant's (2004) work in respect to his epistemological approach of understanding through practice is of relevance to this thesis by the fact that following supporters in their fan practices both 'online' and 'offline' was an integral part of data gathering process. The embodiment of the boxing practice in Wacquant (2004) or of becoming and sustaining a *cosmopolitan* fan identity to Liverpool FC in this thesis to some extent blend the assumed distinction between subject and object, which is central to the critique of a possible value-free social sciences (Gouldner, 1962; Gray, 1968). Thus, not only do the ethnographic experiences, but also the texts produced by social researchers carry an ambivalent position of being neither only subjective nor only objective, but of embodying a fragile *im*balanced relation of *experiencing otherness* and *speaking for the other*.

Thus, the movement of studying within the *same* culture, alongside the influences received by a myriad of theoretical and epistemological approaches as Marxism, feminism,

constructionism, post-structuralism and post-modernism during the last century, led to changes in how these ethnographies were performed, ultimately changing the way the scientific discourse was constructed within each ethnography. Denzin (1997, 2001, 2003) for instance argues for a kind of ethnographic imagination that seeks to produce performative texts. For him, the ethnographic text not only describes what is experienced by the researcher, but especially constructs and re-constructs his/her experience as well as the experience of the *other*. By this token, questions of reflexivity and of representation (authorship) came to be asked by researchers, vis-à-vis how the researcher impacted the ethnographic fieldwork, not only by his/her presence there, but also by how s/he portrayed the other in the final document. As previously mentioned at the beginning of this section, these two aspects are going to be discussed in length in section 4.2.4. In this aspect, Latour's (1993) analogy to the Republic reflects and summarises this *paradox* of *speaking for the other while refraining to give authors voice or pretending that s/he is not there*. If sovereignty is removed for author/researcher, and the people understood as informants, questions of representation and empowerment of the researcher becomes apparent, while the discussion of reflexivity becomes latent:

> "*Does the Sovereign speak in his own name, or in the name of those who empower him*? This an insoluble question with which modern political philosophy will grapple endlessly. *It is indeed the Sovereign who speaks, but it is the citizens who are speaking through him*. He becomes their spokesperson, their persona, their personification. *He translates them; therefore he may betray them*. They empower him: therefore they may impeach him." (Latour, 1993, p. 28, emphasis added)

Nonetheless, when speaking about ethnography in a contemporaneous media-saturated world some authors create a clear distinction between 'real' ethnography, or the

one that assumes face-to-face relations bearing inherently superior characteristics in respect of socialisation - sociology's metaphysical of presence (Urry, 2008) - and 'virtual' ethnography, the one that takes place solely in 'virtual' worlds. To this extent, researchers in humanities and the social sciences acknowledging the increasing mediated socialisation, developed new forms of performing ethnography in those settings, what they conceptualised as virtual ethnography (Hine, 2000), netnography (Kozinets, 2006) or online ethnography (Kendall, 2002)[55]. Nevertheless, those previous approaches assume a clear-cut distinction between 'real' and 'traditional' ethnography, and thus socialisation, taking place in the 'real' world with the one taking place in the 'virtual' world, and 'virtual' and 'new' ethnography ultimately creating some sort of hierarchy between the socialisations that take place and the related method to understand them. By this token, this research follows what Markham (1998, 2008, 2011, 2013) and Markham & Baym (2009) termed as internet inquiry, or the adaptation of qualitative methods, especially interview and participant observation (the core of performing an ethnography), to contemporaneous mediated socialisations. In this sense, it avoids creating a hierarchy between the methods and the related socialisations, by assuming that what is taking place is a real phenomenon (Markham, 1998) and thus ask for an 'upgrade' to the method, in a similar fashion that early ethnologies became ethnographies as discussed previously. This position departs from what Baym & Markham (2009) termed as the singular experience of the 21st century, the Internet, that produces at least four major transformations in our way of life, especially important to this thesis are the ideas of mediated identities, the transcendence of geographical boundaries and the redefinition of social boundaries. As argued by Hine (2009), the lived experiences of individuals that are central to most of ethnographic

[55] For a review on mediated ethnographic approaches see Garcia, Satandlee, Bechkoff & Cui (2009). Millward (2009, 2011a), Palmer & Thompson (2007), Cleland (2014) and Norman (2014) are examples of studies in sport using ethnographic-inspired research methods in internet mediated socialisations

research in our time become media(ted)-saturated and thus demands some sort of methodology that accounts for the understanding of both ‘online’ and ‘offline’ worlds in a non-hierarchical fashion (Boyd, 2009; Orgad, 2009).

On that matter, Markham (2013) rhetorically asks what Malinowski would do in this sort of media(ted)-saturated social world to uncover the meanings of those translocal socialisations that reshaped the early conceptualisation of place (or bounded space), a concept that was cherished by early anthropologists and ethnographers (Hine, 2009; Markham, 2013). How to perform an ethnography on a transcendence space that is both physical and imaginary seems to be the central question that informs how ethnography, and its associated methods of data collection (participant observation and interviews), should be reformulated on a both/and cosmopolitan epistemology. To this extent, in the following sections the aforementioned methods of data gathering (interviews and participant observation) and of performing ethnography (representing the process of making sense of the social world) will be discussed in the light of this singular experience of the 21st century - the mediated socialisations that transcend borders and bounded spaces.

4.2.2 Data Gathering

As pointed out by different authors (Atkinson et al., 2001; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Heyl, 2001; Van Maanen, 1988) the practice of doing ethnography comprises the data collection process - collecting stories - and the writing phase - telling a story. Within the many different data that researchers rely on ethnographic inspired research, one of the most commonly used alongside participant

observation is the long interview. As discussed previously, participant and non-participant observation and a reliance of long-term engagement with the studied group is paramount for any ethnographic inspired research. As it will be analysed further in this section, interviews within an interpretive epistemology asks researchers to have pre-knowledge of the subject mater, in the sense that they have also experienced either professionally or personally the culture under study. The inherent aspect of participant and non-participant observation for any interpretive research makes the discussion of these techniques tautological. If interpretation is sought, a certain degree of cultural participation is necessary. In this section the interview within an interpretive epistemology (see section 4.2.6) will be discussed in the first place, and secondly the adaptation of this method to mediated socialisations, essentially Internet-mediated, will be presented. The approach discussed within this section informed the way the interview process in this thesis was formulated, which can be seen in the available interview script (see appendices).

Heyl (2001) argues that ethnographic interviewing is a method widely used across the humanities and social sciences to gather rich and detailed life stories accounts directly from participants. For Heyl (2001, p. 369) ethnographic interviewing can be defined as:

> "...those projects in which researchers have established respectful on-going relationships with their interviewers, including enough rapport for there to be a genuine exchange of views and enough time and openness in the interviews for the interviewees to explore purposively with the researcher the meanings they place on events in their world" (Heyl, 2001, p. 369)

This quote is important in informing the distinctiveness aspect of an ethnographic interview from other forms of interview that are commonly associated with positivistic or post-positivistic epistemologies. The first aspect of an ethnographic interviewing is that it

demands that the researcher to have a previous on-going relationship with the interviewees. This does not necessarily mean that interviewers know the interviewees separate from the research process, as this previous knowledge could be detrimental to the conversation as argued by McCracken (1988). The on-going relationship that Heyl (2001) refers to relates to the fact that both interviewer and interviewees have shared the same life experiences that the researcher is trying to understand. By having these previous experiences interviewers not only enter in a 'true' exchange of experiences (life stories) as posited by Heyl (2001), but also allows her or him to generate a better interpretation of the interviewees' interpretations (Geertz, 2000). For Heyl (2001) a technique commonly used on ethnographic interviewing is of the life-story approach, which for her allows interviewers to better comprehend from where the interviewees' interpretation of their lived experiences are coming from. To this matter, as seen in the appendices, the interview script of the empirical research started by asking questions that created a sense of life-story in relation to how they became Liverpool FC supporters in the first place (their constructed interpretation). Central to this is the idea that what is being said by interviewees is not the 'actual' history, but are how they re-interpreted and made sense of what happened to them at that moment in time - their life stories (Geertz, 2000; Heyl, 2001).

This leads to a second point of distinctiveness of an ethnographic interview, 'The Narrative Turn' (Denzin, 1997, 2001, 2003), where the process of interviewing is seen more as a conversation between peers than an inquisition between interviewer and interviewee. The turn that Denzin (1997, 2001, 2003) refers to is linked to a postmodern, post-colonialist, feminist and post-feminist debates in the humanities and social sciences, that brought to light questions about authenticity and voice. To this matter, while before 'the turn' researchers were focused with notions of validity and generalisations (positivistic

and post-positivistic epistemologies), in the present moment researchers started to understand that the result of the interview process is a product of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee, and thus how to give voice authentically (represent the interviewees' interpretation) becomes paramount to interpretive inspired ethnographies. As so, the ethnographic interview by having a previous on-going relationship between researcher and informant becomes an act of exchanges of ideas, world views, basically of the interpretation of lived experiences.

From her part, Heyl (2001) divides the ethnographic interviewing process in seven different stages, them being: thematising; designing; interviewing; transcribing; analysing; verifying; and reporting. McCracken (1988), for instance, divides the process in five different stages, bearing resemblance to Heyl's (2001) approach. Summarising both (Heyl, 2001; McCracken, 1988) approaches it could be said that ethnographic interviews are comprised of three distinct stages, the pre-interview, the interview and the post-interview. In this conceptualisation, the first stage would be where researchers plan the interview script by developing themes to be discussed with interviewees. Those themes, for Heyl (2001) would emerge mostly through the literature review, that should provide ideas of gaps in the literature that researchers could engage in. For McCracken (1988), following the idea that the ethnographic researcher would already be emerged in the context under study through participant observation, s/he can thematise based on his/her previous experiences in the field. This 'preknowledge' is also emphasised by Heyl (2001), in the sense that the process of creating themes is an on-going practice between coming and going from the preliminary observations in the field and the literature review. To this matter, it could be said that ethnographic interviewing is not detached from the field, neither is it detached from the theories that are going to be discussed throughout the

research. The second stage is of the interview per se, is where interviewers should try to engage interviewees in a dialogical conversation as explained previously. This dialogical approach could give interviewees a sense of proximity to the interviewer and thus allows them to be more comfortable in sharing their lived experiences. At the same time, by applying some sort of active interview (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) the process moves from being uni-directional to bi-directional, where both interviewer and interviewees share their experiences about the topic and co-produce a narrative to be analysed posteriorly. As argued by Holstein & Gubrium (1995) the active interviewing is suitable not only to co-cretate narratives to be analysed based on what was said, but especially can be analysed through how it was said, or how the meaning was created. To that sense, an active ethnographic interviewing process (Heyl, 2001; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) is suitable to be analysed through discourse analysis. The third stage in the interview process refers to analysis and verification, and reporting.

With the basis of an ethnographic interview discussed and the process of interviewing presented, it is possible to start considering how this method can be applied within mediated contexts (Markham, 2013). Different from other forms of mediated interviews such as phone or postal interview, the method being advocated here seeks to apply the one-to-one dialogical ethnographic interview in mediated contexts, particularly through online communications (Markham, 1998). While Skype can be regarded as a mediated form of interviewing by the absence of physical presence, it should not be regarded as so, as it allows both interviewers and interviewees to see each other and to speak to each other in a similar manner as more traditional interviewing processes. In this thesis, what was sought was a conversation between interviewees and researcher through online communications, such as Facebook chat. Markham (1998) recognises that online

chat interviews can expediate the process by the fact that there is no need for transcription and the researcher can engage in more than one activity at the same time, such as contacting other interviewees, while interviewing. Nonetheless, as pointed by Markham (1998, p. 70):

> "First, online I only see the text - not the nonverbals, the paralanguage, the general mannerism or demeanor of the participant. Second, because writing takes much longer than talking, being a good interviewer means being patient" (Markham, 1998, p. 70)

To this matter, online interviewing differs compared to more traditional face-to-face interviews by the lack of other cues that can express and show the intention of the speaker while formulating their sentences. Nevertheless, those facial expressions or cues in general can be expressed through winks and smiles for example using emoticons[56]. In this sense, an adapted form of communication is created online that mimics the traditional face-to-face communication. As so, while performing an ethnographic interviewing online, researchers need to be aware of those particularities and not only understand them as receivers, but most importantly utilise them to express acknowledgment of what was said, giving similar cues such as nods in traditional face-to-face interviews. As Markham (1998) notes, online interviewing can allow interviewers to have more time between questions and answers, going back to their original interview protocol, but as in a face-to-face interview when the process becomes intercalated with those 'times' to think and check protocol, the discourse that emerges from the encounter is shallower. Markham (1998) recommends that the focus should be shifted to the emerging conversation, and the protocol should be flexible to the extent that the rhythm of the conversation is not altered.

[56] Emoticons are metacommunicative pictorial representations of facial expressions, which in the absence of body language serve to draw the receiver attention to the tenor or temper of what was said

Summarising, the idea behind an active ethnographic interview is of co-creating with interviewers a story that is shared culturally by both parties, in the way that the researcher, by being inserted in the context, can understand the nuances of those lived experiences. To achieve this objective, ethnographic interviewing is more concerned with quality over quantity, in the sense that less is more (McCracken, 1988), which ultimately would generate deeper stories that are suited for discourse analysis.

4.2.3 Multi-Method Approach

As argued in the previous section, ethnographic inspired research approaches the subject of inquiry through different methods to gather the data. In the early days of ethnographic research, as argued previously, some methods were favoured such as participant observation through a long time journey within the subjects of inquiry, informal and semi-structured interviews, keeping a diary (field notes) and producing images, maps and figures that represent the *native form of living* (visual data). In this sense, ethnographic research can be said to be inherently multi-method (J. Mason, 2006) as it seeks to produce a narrative based on those different data that provide distinct perspectives of the same subject. In this thesis, I approach this complimentary 'stories' not only through different forms of collecting data (interviews and participant observations), but also in diverse settings that highlight the interconnectedness of the participants socialisations praxis across boundaries. As so, I sought to follow Markham's (2013) rhetorical question, by looking through different settings (online and offline) and how those distinct forms of socialisations complement each other. In this sense, I have approached ontologically and

epistemologically those settings (online and offline) not as distinct forms but as part of the same discourse construction of being and becoming a geographical distant supporter. I contend that this approach that took socialisations in both online and offline as part of the same discourse construction to provide advantages over discrete forms of inquiry that understands those settings as a priori distinct. In this sense, ontologically individuals become and are in both online and offline, and thus this demands an approach that takes these two settings as existing and complimentary.

On another level, the use of two different localities (Switzerland and Brazil) without assuming a priori distinctions can highlight possible unintended interconnectedness as argued by Beck (2010). Thus, my epistemological position of looking at supporters' socialisations in those two interconnected places was of producing complimentary life stories in the same manner ethnographers used different methods to gather the data. What physically located supporters in Brazil experience could highlight or compliment what physically based supporters in Switzerland do. In this sense, what I sought epistemologically was not only a comparative sociology (see Sasaki, 2009) but above all a complimentary sociological imagination.

4.2.4 Writing the Interpretive Research - Questions of Representation

"In finished anthropological writings, including those collected here, this fact - that what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions *of what they and their compatriots are up to [...]" (Geertz, 2000, p. 9, emphasis added)*

As advocated throughout Clifford & Marcus (1986), Geertz (1988, 2000), Van Maanen (1988) and Denzin's (1997, 2001, 2003) works, the ethnographic imaginative process is not just bound to the field and the field notes, nor to the methods of collecting and cataloguing data, but it is interested in how to portray these experiences and interpretations of researchers. The quotation above provides two topics that will be addressed in this section, on one hand the idea that the end work of an ethnography is in fact an interpretation of an interpretation, and on the other hand whether a supposed value-free ethnography is ever possible. These two topics will converge into the discussion of questions of representation, on how to give voice and authorship to an ethnographic account, and on forms and ways of transcending the binary dualism of emic/etic tensions. It will conclude by pointing to the next section, especially to the reflexive ethical considerations of engaging in a fieldwork that is also personally shared by the researcher.

Already embedded in an incipient postmodern epistemological debate within the humanities and social sciences during the 1970s, Crapanzano (1977) asked himself rhetorically how a field that was known for being so aware of the construction of discourses done by individuals (informants) has not asked itself about the impact of its own discursive practices while representing the other in the findings. With this line of reasoning, Crapanzano (1977) opens at least two embryonal avenues for methodological and epistemological discussions within the field, one dealing with notions of reflexivity and the other of representation. Crapanzano (1977) germinates this initial debate by highlighting the implication of the authors' discourse about the other (representation), while criticising the current (in the 1970s) approach to writing, which he sees as being disassociated to the rest of the ethnographic process. For him, authors at that time sought to while writing 'exorcise' the initial confrontation that the ethnography produced

(Crapanzano, 1977). In this sense, while at the beginning of the ethnography, researchers were confronted by an unfamiliar world, with different cultural practices, languages, customs, the writing process, conducted especially back in the safeness of their offices, was a practice of ending this confrontation and of creating something familiar to the eyes of the general audience (Crapanzano, 1977). It is interesting to note how Crapanzano (1977), while drawing from Jean-Paul Sartre, argues that this confrontation must have left 'scratches' on researchers' selves, to the extend that these would have to come back (reflexively) and be visible in their texts.

For his part, Rabinow (1985) seeks to discuss the apparent contradiction in social sciences and humanities in respect of the role researchers have while writing their texts. For him, modern anthropology sought to differentiate the writer from the author, in the sense that researchers became disengaged politically from the field they were once inserted. To this point, modern anthropology and also modern sociology, were heavily influenced by an idea that researchers should be writers and not authors, by focusing less on an authorial discourse and more on a scientific 'plain narrative'. Departing from this trend, Rabinow (1985) argues that humanities and social sciences should re-incorporate the authorial aspect to writing, differentiating the armchair researcher to the field researcher by giving him/her the opportunity to recount her/his first hand experiences. This for Rabinow (1985) would generate four interconnected discussions within the field, being them: aesthetic; epistemological; ethical; and political. For the first one, Rabinow (1985) is interested in how researchers can incorporate different forms and styles of writing that would made their experiences more vivid to the readers, while not missing the initial scientific endeavour. Related to this, the introduction of different voices to the text, generating what Bakhtin (1981) would refer to as heteroglossia, becomes not only a

question of style but above all a quest for an epistemological shift that re-introduces reflexivity to the text and gives others the status of co-authors instead of just being considered informants. To this point, as it will be discussed further on in the epistemological section, highlights that authors are just re-interpreting others' interpretations of their lived experiences, and thus their voices together with author's voice should be made reflexively clear in the text. This leads to the third point in Rabinow's (1985) discussion where authors are faced by ethical dilemmas in how to incorporate those different voices to the text, and how do they engage in a dialogical and dialectical conversation with others. As argued in the next sections, being ethically conscious in an interpretive and constructionist paradigm means giving others the opportunity to speak, and being reflexively aware of the position as researcher in both data gathering and most importantly in the reporting phase. The last point for Rabinow (1985) is the political dimension that writing differently generates, especially by the fact that researchers become writers and are self-consciously aware that they are part of the field, the data they gathered, and thus are also part of the text. Writing in this perspective is not just reporting, but also incorporating politically the researcher to the text. A similar point is made by Ulin (1994) when he conceptualises the anthropologist as a storyteller in the sense that not only s/he reports his/her findings through logical argumentation (*logos*), but also incorporates stories to her/his texts (*mythos*). The epistemological change that both Crapanzano (1977) and Rabinow (1985) refer to is explicit in Ulin's (1994) argument in re-shifting the balance between *logos* and *mythos* in authors' texts, where the former was privileged over the latter in modern social sciences and humanities. For Ulin (1994, p. 392):

> "To claim that power, ideology and culture are an ever present part of historiography and ethnography is not to surrender to subjectivism. Rather, is to

> recognize that the writing of history and ethnography is not merely an exercise that reproduces the inherent interconnection between facts in the world but one that is constitutive." (Ulin, 1994, p. 392)

This quote by Ulin (1994) is relevant as it raises questions about reflexivity and authorship and how the incorporation of others' voices have the impact of (re-)creating the very own world under study. In this sense, while 'reporting' his/her findings the author is also (re-)creating the field by incorporating her/his own cultural and historical background on the interpretations. As such, the act of 'reporting' is an act of narrating someone else's experiences through the researchers' lenses. The use of rhetoric and *mythos* is not just a question of style, but especially a quest for authorship that makes the reader aware of the author's and informants' positions in the text.

If researchers are storytellers and others' voices are to be incorporated into the text as co-authors, this leads to the problematisation of speaking for, or with others (Adams, 2005; Alcoff, 1991; Maggio, 2007). Alcoff (1991) in her work discuss the controversies about who has the 'right' to speak for others, or if as researchers we are only allowed to speak for ourselves. Drawing from a 1980s feminist critique tradition, she rhetorically questions if researchers, by speaking for others, and especially oppressed others, are not only reinforcing their positions as underprivileged by giving sole authorship or voice to the researcher, or if it is a moral duty for the researcher to speak out for the underprivileged. For her the problem might derive from the idea that it is somehow possible to disassociate the notions of speaking for others and speaking about others, in the sense that the latter would 'normally' be expected from a researcher. Her position is that while researchers might be speaking about others, they are also speaking for others, and constituting those others (Alcoff, 1991). To this point, Alcoff (1991) strongly emphasises that an erasure of

the ‘I’ and ‘We’ from the text through the use of passive voice might result in avoiding responsibility and accountability for what was said and theorised, a position she adamantly condemns. Taking the researchers’ political position out of the text by the use of a passive voice, or the idea that researchers can not speak for others, can result only in avoiding to fully acknowledge the responsibilities for speaking for others, but would never cease the impact of the (political) consequences of speaking about others. It is interesting how Alcoff (1991) brings to the fore an ontological discussion concerning the Western ideology that ‘We’ and ‘I’ can be completely dissociated, and thus researchers succeed only in either speaking for or about others discursive types. For her, both ‘I’ and ‘We’ are constitutive of the same entity, so while researchers might believe that they are speaking only for themselves, they are also speaking for and about others in the sense that the effects of one over the other can not be ceased (Alcoff, 1991). Alcoff’s (1991) final position is that a dialogue must be created between researchers and researched individuals, where the practice of speaking for/about others becomes an act of speaking with others, where their voices are incorporated in an heteroglossia of discourses. In a similar ontological discussion, departing from Heidegger and Husserl, Adams (2005) argues that while researchers might believe that they only speak for themselves they end up by being ‘labelled’ in different categories by others, intentionally (by the researcher him/herself) and unintentionally (by the audience), leading to the fact that they are always speaking for others. In this sense, the ‘I researcher’ is always constituted of different ‘We others’, thus the act of speaking for others must be a reflexive one (Adams, 2005).

To conclude, it will be argued throughout this thesis that within a cosmopolitan imagination turn in the social sciences the lines that differentiate the *other* and the *researcher* should be understood as porous and transcendable, where the *researcher* is also

the *other*, and both positions are blended and mashed together without losing their own particular characteristics. As the following quotation stresses, both voices and representations should be present:

> "Ethnographers' voices cannot, strictly speaking, be their own. By the same token, the voices in ethnographic prose or films cannot be strictly those of whom we represent." (Stoller, 1994, p. 359)

By this token, the universalising effect of writing about the other through a coherent piece, such as this thesis, should not make the distinction between the other and the researcher disappear completely, but should employ a dialectical reflexive approach between the other and the researcher that seeks claims of universality (Chernilo, 2012; Wallerstein, 2006). This position is reinforced in the following quote, where:

> "[...] a notion of translating the subaltern recognizes that the Western translator is always a *self-aware contingent mediator* through which the other - the 'other' - is understood [...] *The Western critic is constituted by the other*, or the subaltern, and the subaltern is also constructed vis-à-vis its relation to the dominant group." (Maggio, 2007, p. 436, emphasis added)

Thus, the question of representation becomes a question for translation, where by understanding the other or the subaltern, a notion of respect is created, which mitigates the idea of any normative value superiority between the parts (Maggio, 2007). In this respect, what is sought in this thesis is to provide a self-reflexive translation from the particularities encountered during the field research in light of claims of universality and non-normative superior positions. Moreover, the idea of translating culture advocated by Maggio (2007) is some sort of practice that seeks to help to understand the political logic of the other. In this sense, this research ends by trying to translate to an academic discourse the cultural

practices of supporters in respect of their 'political' individual and collective praxis in defining themselves as 'real' supporters.

4.2.5 Ethical Considerations

"I want to suggest that we ought to view ethical issues as difficulties that are always likely to be faced in one form or another, and to recognize that they vary considerably in severity across different contexts" (Hammersley, 2014, p. 536)

In a similar fashion to the methodological and epistemological decisions that researchers are faced with while designing their research, as by choosing one approach over another and arguing the reasons for those decisions, some ethical considerations are inherently associated with that process and appear alongside those decisions. To this matter, researchers are faced, as argued by Hammersley (2014), with some ethical dilemmas that should be faced reflexively, on methodological, theoretical and epistemological levels, in a way that the researcher not only understands his/her position as such but above all can demonstrate that her/his decisions are sustained on an ethical basis. Hammersley (2014), in an article that focuses precisely on both the epistemological (interpretive with a constructivist approach) and methodological (critical discourse analysis) levels that this research utilises and advocates, criticises the apparently ethical neutrality of those approaches by highlighting the fact that researchers to some extent deceive interviewees by hiding the 'real' purpose of the interview. For Hammersley (2014), discourse analysis in a constructivist epistemology normally seeks to uncover discursive practices through the narratives of interviewees that document their life stories, which for

him leads to some ethical dilemmas by the fact that researchers omit to interviewees that the stories are not central to the research, but are peripheral in the sense that they would be used only to expose discursive practices. Nonetheless, as argued by S. Taylor (S. Taylor & Smith, 2014) in her part of the response to Hammersley's (2014) paper, this apparently deceitful act by researchers when omitting the 'real' purpose of the research comes from the fact that he "[...] conflates several different levels of the research process" (S. Taylor & Smith, 2014, p. 542). The problem of analysing all the research as one simple process as in Hammersley's (2014) argument is that it misses the fact that researchers do tell interviewees their general research questions (see appendices for my initial approach in the interviews) but just avoid mentioning their whole epistemological, methodological and even theoretical backgrounds. To this matter, S. Taylor (S. Taylor & Smith, 2014) does not see this as a deceitful act by interviewers, but just a gap that is wider from what the researcher tells what the research is about, to what s/he is really trying to uncover and discuss. In this research this can be seen in the fact that while the interviews were about the interviewees' life stories as Liverpool FC supporters, and that was explained absolutely frankly at the beginning of each interview (see appendices), the research questions, as to explore the cosmopolitanisation theory from Ulrich Beck and his collaborators (Beck, 2000b, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2011; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck & Grande, 2008, 2010; Beck & Levy, 2013; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) and how this relates to forms of cosmopolitan and national discursive practices by interviewees in understanding and making sense of their lived experiences, were not mentioned directly in any part of the interview processes.

Nevertheless, the ethical dilemmas that researchers are faced in the process are not over just in the interview part. As pointed out by S. Taylor (S. Taylor & Smith, 2014):

> "This brings to the fore a further premise of discourse analysis, that the researcher is part of the social context she or he is studying, and also located within the research process." (S. Taylor & Smith, 2014, p. 544)

Being part of the social context, as argued by S. Taylor (S. Taylor & Smith, 2014) creates a new set of ethical dilemmas to researchers, and in particularly to this research as it applied some sort of ethnographic method in a context to which the researcher was deeply attached. As argued by Schimmel, Harrington & Bielby (2007) sport scholars, in contrast to cultural scholars, tend not to disclose or discuss their affinities to the researched sport, in the sense that they are not fully reflexive on their personal position within the studied context, negating the fact for example that they are also football fans. Going native, as by making friendship ties with interviewees and members of the studied communities, or by myself becoming a Liverpool FC supporter through the process of this research are two of possible ethical dilemmas that are mostly not fully acknowledged by sport scholars in general. Moreover another point that is relevant to this discussion is what Lumsden (2013) calls the 'sociology of the underdog', meaning that researchers can get attached to the studied group (or even being already attached biographically as a football supporter in the case of this thesis) to the point s/he unintentionally favours those 'underdogs'. As seen throughout the literature review the hegemonic discourse of the 'real' fan can create this already preconceived idea that the communities and groups studied in this thesis are the underdogs, as they are not seen as part of the hegemony. To this extent, a higher degree of reflexivity on the part of the researcher is imperative during the data analysis and theoretical discussion, not in a way that it would remove completely any 'bias' by taking sides. If that was achieved to the extent that it erases any possibility of being politically engaged, the sociological imagination arising from this 'neutral' analysis would result in a

position criticised within academia and conceputalised as ‘value-free sociology’ (Gouldner, 1962, 1968; Gray, 1968; Silverman & Gubrium, 1989).

As so, being ethical within the sociological imagination followed in this research demands not only that ethical procedures, as the ones widely available within different sociological associations are followed but above all the researcher is aware and reflects his/her position within the context and how s/he gives voice through the discourse analysis to interviewees.

4.2.6 Epistemological Approach

The research carried out in this thesis follows an interpretive epistemological tradition (Benton & Craib, 2011; Denzin, 1997) that seeks to understand and make sense of the lived experiences of individuals. As argued by Geertz (2000) in his seminal piece on ‘Thick Description’, the work of the interpretive ethnographer is to construct his/hers own understanding based on other people’s constructions and meanings of life. In this sense, what is seen in the ethnographer’s written account is a second level interpretation of lived experiences, an interpretation that in the first place seeks to make sense of different individuals’ experiences (the data analysis part) and secondly constructs new theoretical standpoints by confronting this analysis to a set of theories (the discussion part). For Geertz (1988, 2000), ‘thick description’ is central to an interpretive epistemological approach, where there is not only a descriptive part that tries to situate the reader and give her/him the ability to follow the writer’s construction of the wider picture (the web of

meanings), but it is also a re-interpretation of this web of meanings through the use of available theories that informed the author's theoretical background.

It should be highlighted that this research is not interpretive because of its methodological approach, meaning that the use of qualitative data such as interviews and participant observation, does not render it interpretive by nature. This is not an uncommon mistake to be found in academia of equating the methodological to the epistemological level. One example of this mistake can be found in Ranc's (2012) book, where I have argued that even using interviews and content analysis (the methodological level) his epistemological approach was positivistic in the sense that he sought to generalise, find correlations, test and prove or disprove hypotheses (Petersen-Wagner, 2015). To this matter, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative data should be kept to the methodological level, and thus relates to forms of collecting data (interviews, surveys, experiments, focus group, etc), whereas the epistemological level is informed by the way the researchers see the world, roughly divided between objectivism (culture is already out there and can be objectively measured and tested without researchers' influence) and constructivism (culture is a subjectively constructed during researchers and participants' interactions) (Benton & Craib, 2011).

4.3 Research Design

4.3.1 Introduction

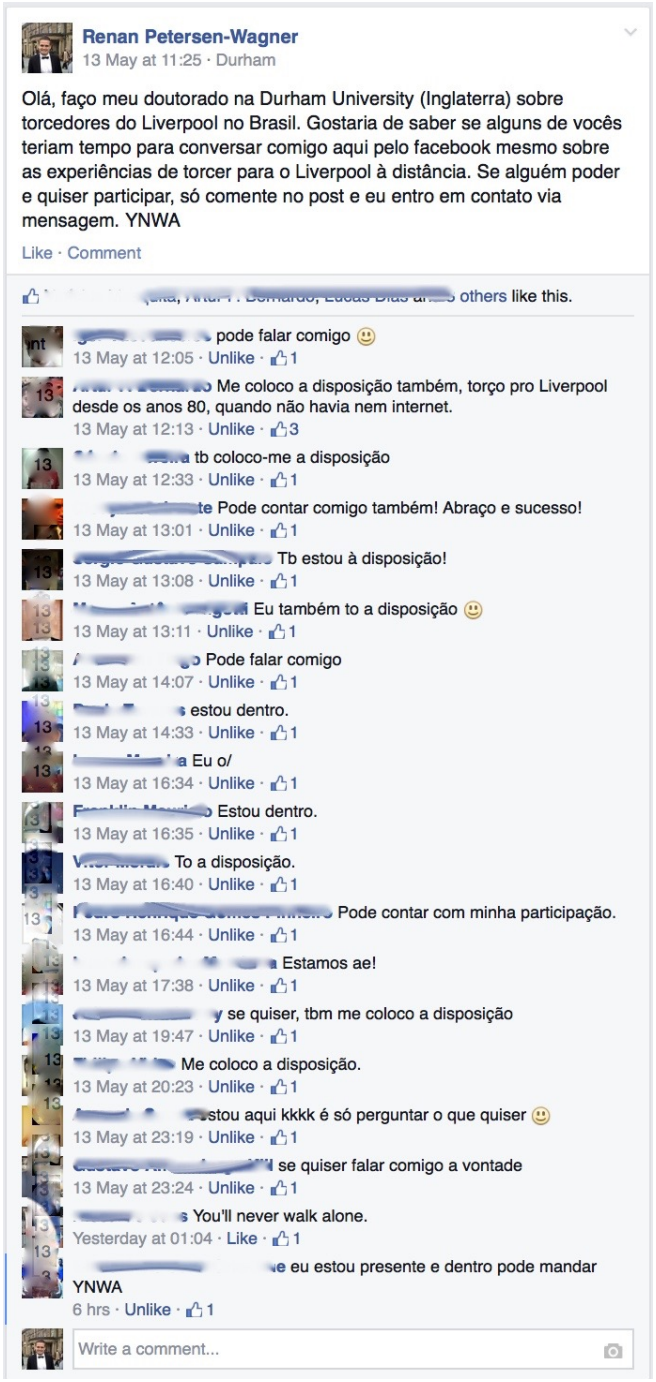
After discussing the theoretical background of the chosen methodologies for collecting and analysing the data, as well as the epistemological approach this research employs, in this section the practicality of the empirical research will be discussed. First, the sampling techniques utilised to contact and select the participants will be explained, second the ethnographic-inspired research will be presented alongside the football fandom indicators of cosmopolitanisation that was developed based on the literature review, and last some ethical issues related to the empirical research will be discussed.

4.3.2 Sampling

In this thesis a non-probabilistic sampling (Bryman, 2012; Seale, 2012b) was employed, first through theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Seale, 2012a) followed by a snowballing technique. Theoretical sampling for Glaser & Strauss (1967) refers to the process of collecting data with the intention of theoretical formulations, where the researcher decides his/her next steps in approaching different groups depending on what her/his early codings and findings show. In this instance, a first step in theoretical sampling is finding a group that is theoretically relevant to the initial pre-assumptions that the researcher carries to the field. As in this thesis where notions of nationalism and cosmopolitanism would be more evident, and from the initial contact with the field

deciding where to go next. As will be explained in the next chapter in more depth, club level football fandom was chosen as a field for its inherent theoretical characteristics, and also sport's historical connections to nationalism and modernisation. The process of initially deciding Liverpool FC supporters based in Switzerland was not only due to theoretical sampling based on my prior experiences of watching an English Premier League game in a pub there (see introductory anecdote in Chapter 1), but also of being convenient (Bryman, 2012; Seale, 2012b). After participant observations in both 'online' and 'offline' situations and interviews were conducted with supporters based in Switzerland, initial theorisations and categories started to emerge that led to me approaching Liverpool FC supporters in Brazil through Facebook (see figure below) for conducting further interviews tackling particular categories that I believed to be more salient in this context.

Figure 1 - Contacting Supporters in Brazil



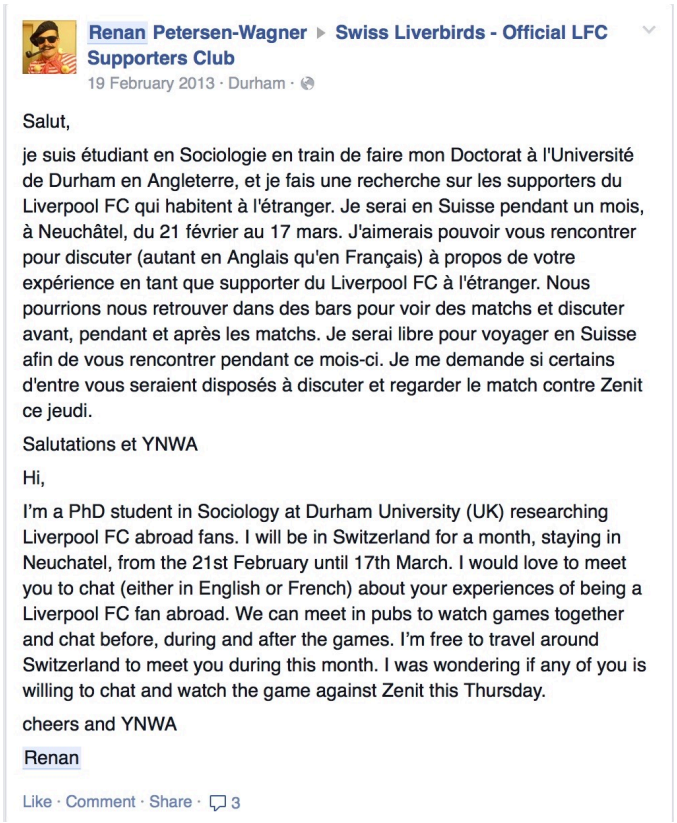
In this instance, the process of theoretical sampling espoused by Glaser & Strauss (1967) was fully followed, first by deciding on a particular group that I understood based on my prior assumptions to have theoretical relevance to my research topic, and second by approaching another distinct group that had possible differences to this first group and thus could generate deeper theorisations through theoretical comparisons. As mentioned previously, individuals in this second group were approached directly through a Facebook post in one of the Liverpool FC fans groups directed at Brazilians (see figure above), and once the interviews were conducted, the last question was asking if they could indicate other Liverpool supporters in Brazil to take part in the research (snowballing technique) (Bryman, 2012; Seale, 2012b). As with other research conducted online, in particular surveys, even with a good response to my initial post, not all individuals ended up taking part in the research, highlighting the non-probabilistic aspect of the research.

4.3.3 Ethnographic-inspired Study

As argued previously in the methodological section, this thesis followed an ethnographic-inspired approach (Atkinson et al., 2001; Denzin, 1997; Garcia, Satandlee, Bechkoff, & Cui, 2009; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Heyl, 2001; Hine, 2000; Markham, 1998, 2008, 2011, 2013; Markham & Baym, 2009), where Liverpool FC supporters were followed in both 'online' and 'offline' situations for a long period of time. In the case of the supporters in Switzerland, I joined their Facebook group during February 2013 some weeks before my trip to Switzerland to meet them. As seen in the below figure,

I posted a message in both English and French trying to arrange meetings with any of the members during the time I was going to be there (21st February 2013 to 17th March 2013). The idea of posting in both languages was that during my first days in their group I perceived that they used to post and comment in both languages, not only sharing links to English media outlets such as Sky Sport and BBC Sport, but also discussing between them in both English and French. What I imagined from this sort of interaction was that some of the members in the community probably were British expats or native-English speakers that would feel more comfortable interacting with me in English. As it will be discussed further in the text, language and language barriers were an important aspect of how those supporters in both Switzerland and Brazil enacted their fandom.

Figure 2 - Contacting Supporters in Switzerland



Renan Petersen-Wagner ▸ Swiss Liverbirds - Official LFC Supporters Club

19 February 2013 · Durham ·

Salut,

je suis étudiant en Sociologie en train de faire mon Doctorat à l'Université de Durham en Angleterre, et je fais une recherche sur les supporters du Liverpool FC qui habitent à l'étranger. Je serai en Suisse pendant un mois, à Neuchâtel, du 21 février au 17 mars. J'aimerais pouvoir vous rencontrer pour discuter (autant en Anglais qu'en Français) à propos de votre expérience en tant que supporter du Liverpool FC à l'étranger. Nous pourrions nous retrouver dans des bars pour voir des matchs et discuter avant, pendant et après les matchs. Je serai libre pour voyager en Suisse afin de vous rencontrer pendant ce mois-ci. Je me demande si certains d'entre vous seraient disposés à discuter et regarder le match contre Zenit ce jeudi.

Salutations et YNWA

Hi,

I'm a PhD student in Sociology at Durham University (UK) researching Liverpool FC abroad fans. I will be in Switzerland for a month, staying in Neuchatel, from the 21st February until 17th March. I would love to meet you to chat (either in English or French) about your experiences of being a Liverpool FC fan abroad. We can meet in pubs to watch games together and chat before, during and after the games. I'm free to travel around Switzerland to meet you during this month. I was wondering if any of you is willing to chat and watch the game against Zenit this Thursday.

cheers and YNWA

Renan

Like · Comment · Share · 3

From this first interaction with the Liverpool FC supporters in Switzerland I managed to arrange to meet them three times during the period I was there to watch games and talk and experience how was to be a supporter from a distance. This contact with them grew during that month, leading to two different events that highlight my acceptance to their group. Firstly, in our third meeting I was made host on the Facebook event page (see figure 3) and had the opportunity to invite all of them to come to Neuchatel, the city where I was staying and had previous knowledge, to watch the Southampton game.

Figure 3 - Event in Neuchatel

From talking with the members in my first contact with them in Geneva was that they usually tried to promote events to watch the games, Christmas dinner, AGMs and trips

to different places within Switzerland. In their view, as the members were geographically spread around the country it was not fair that all those events happened just in one place, especially in the bigger cities. Their goal was to decentralise and make it possible to all members to come whenever they were available. Nonetheless, what soon became clearer, was the fact that those supporters came mainly from the French-speaking part of Switzerland, and thus most of their activities were concentrated in cities within that region (mostly in Geneva, Lausanne, but also to a lesser extent in Biel/Bienne). In this sense, arranging a meeting in Neuchatel to watch the Southampton game was in line with their tradition, and myself as a host had the chance to pick which pub we should go to watch the game. This was their first time in Neuchatel to watch a game, and after I left Switzerland they organised another meeting to watch a game there as seen in the figure below.

Figure 4 - Their Event in Neuchatel

Second, this ‘offline’ contact during that month led them to invite me to attend matches as a Swiss Liverbirds member at Anfield in the games against West Ham and QPR, which was the last game of the season and Jamie Carragher’s last game for Liverpool (see table 4 below). For theses games I arranged my trip from Durham to Liverpool by myself, as well as arranging the place where I was going to stay. As their Facebook interaction indicated, they normally arranged their trip and stay on an individual basis, arriving and leaving on different days and staying in different hotels. Soon I understood that they usually arranged to meet before the game outside Anfield, or at their designated space (the tickets varied game by game in which stands they would sit, but they were all close to each other), watched the game together and then had an evening meal in one of the restaurants in town. From what I perceived, this evening meal was the only activity in which they all interacted and planned as a group, while for the pre, during and post game they were usually dispersed in small cliques that were basically arranged around with whom they travelled. As most of them were couples, or families with kids, their travel, stay and activities were centred around family ties and this evening meal was then an opportunity for all of them to meet and interact as members of a Liverpool FC supporters group. Attending those meals, in a restaurant that they usually went to (because on different occasions they had met Liverpool FC players there), was of important significance because it was, as explained previously, the only activity where all of them were together. In contrast to what might be expected of research into football fandom, it can be said that the prime location for this ethnographic-inspired research was either the pub in Switzerland, the Internet when there were no games on, or this restaurant in Liverpool instead of the stadium and its surroundings. In this regard, the ethnographic

approach through the Internet taken in this thesis follows what Markham (1998, 2008, 2011, 2013), Hine (2000) and Kozinets (2006) deemed appropriated as it was the primary medium used by the supporters to socialise and enact their fan rituals.

Table 4 - Schedule of the 'offline' meetings with members of the LFC Swiss Branch

	Fixtures watched in Switzerland	**Fixtures watched in Liverpool**
2nd March 2013	v Wigan (at The Clubhouse pub in Geneva)	
10th March 2013	v Tottenham (at Great Escape pub in Lausanne)	
16th March 2013	v Southampton (at Café du Cerf in Neuchatel)	
5th April 2013		v West Ham
19th May 2013		v QPR

In relation to the ethnographic-inspired research with the Liverpool FC supporters based in Brazil, in October 2013 I joined three different Facebook groups simultaneously (Brasil - Red4us - Official Supporters Branch; Liverpool Brasil; and Reunião Reds "Liverpool Brasil"). Those three groups were chosen because of them being the ones with the most members, and the first one in particular being associated with the official Liverpool FC supporters branch (the group was later discontinued after my data collecting was over). It should be noted that Red4us is the first and only official branch in South America and for this reason my interactions with the supporters and the participant observation were conducted within this group. Nonetheless, as it will be seen throughout the data analysis discussion, most of the interviews that I conducted were not with official

members of the branch, but with individuals that were just part of the Facebook group. An initial approach was made with the president of the branch in December 2013 through Facebook message asking for official members' contacts which proved unsuccessful, as by the rules of the branch he could not pass their names or emails. The next step I took then was to individually contact members of the group, targeting the ones I believed were the most active based on their number of posts. Out of twenty initial contacts I managed to interview three supporters that indicated friends or acquaintances in the group that they believed I would be successful in interviewing. This again did not proved successful, as just one of these contacts agreed to be interviewed. As seen in Figure 1 (see page 172) in May 2014 I posted in the Facebook group a message briefly explaining my research and asking for participants to be interviewed. This approach proved to be more successful as I got over seventeen agreeing to take part of the research in less than twelve hours of my original post. From this initial post, and their willingness to participate in the research, I contacted them individually through Facebook message to arrange a time I could speak with them. I ended up not interviewing all of them, as it proved hard to find a suitable time or some did not even reply to my private message. Nonetheless, I was able to interview another sixteen members of this Facebook group, totalling twenty in-depth interviews.

The previous experiences I had of interviewing the first four members through Skype (just voice without video), where some of them seemed to be shy and not comfortable in talking with me, and my initial contact with the next sixteen individuals asking if the interviews could be conducted through the Facebook chat (just text messages) led me to change the way the interviews were conducted. As argued by Markham (2013), a fieldwork conducted in an 'online' environment should be adapted to it, in the same way as different cultural and subcultural contexts ask for different approaches. Thus, from the

experiences of the first interviews and my preliminary observations of their socialisation on Facebook it became clearer that their interactions were solely text based, and few of them had 'physically' met, ultimately asking for changes in the way the data were collected. For this reason it made sense that the interviews and my contacts with them should follow their own particular cultural practice - text-chat conversations. The interviews followed a script (see Annex) based on a set of particular qualitative indicators of cosmopolitanistion in the football fandom context that was developed using Beck's (2010) own generic indicators of cosmopolitanisation. Those indicators will be discussed in depth in the following two sections.

The interviews were conducted between March and May 2014, and lasted between one and two hours, generating over 100,000 words of chat data, that included not only words but also emoticons[57]. In line with Markham's (2013) approach, those emoticons served as cues and clues for interviewees to continue talking in the same way as nodding and verbal feedback in traditional interviews. Also, by the interactiveness of the chats, pictures were shared by interviewees to express their points, as by showing moments of their lives that were relevant to a particular question. In this sense, in some moments the interviews followed a photoelicitation technique (Heisley & Levy, 1991), where interviewees were encouraged to auto-drive the conversation based on the pictures they shared with me, and their need to explain those events and situations. After completing the interviews I continued to follow the groups and collect data until the end of July 2014 where I reached saturation in the categories that emerged during the research. To this matter, this ethnographic-inspired research lasted for over 18 months counting my initial interaction both online and offline with supporters based in Switzerland and in Brazil,

[57] Emoticons are the use of pictorial representations as a metalanguage to express feelings or emotions

generating over 100,000 words of interview material, over 300 screen shots of Facebook discussion that had around 10 different posts in each screen shot, and over 5,000 words of field notes from my offline participant observations in Switzerland and in England. In the table below there is a description of my informants from both Switzerland and Brazil. I decided to just add their location (the Canton in Switzerland or the State in Brazil) as additional information as the research is concerned with locality, mobility, and cross-border socialisations. In relation to my informants in Switzerland, I decided to add to the table the ones I had more contact with, and thus could be considered my main informants. Nonetheless, I met over twenty different supporters, but could not create a deep relationship during the time I was with them.

Table 5 - Informants Description

	Name	Gender	Location
1	Edgard	Male	Vaud Canton - CH
2	Adele	Female	Vaud Canton - CH
3	Nora	Female	Vaud Canton - CH
4	Quincy	Male	Vaud Canton - CH
5	Oscar	Male	Vaud Canton - CH
6	Fabienne	Female	Valais Canton CH
7	Jerome	Male	Vaud Canton - CH
8	André	Male	Ceará - BR
9	Antônio	Male	Rio de Janeiro - BR
10	Brenda	Female	São Paulo - BR
11	Beto	Male	Piauí - BR
12	Bernardo	Male	Rio Grande do Sul - BR

	Name	Gender	Location
13	Christian	Male	Goiás - BR
14	Carla	Female	Minas Gerais - BR
15	Fernando	Male	Minas Gerais - BR
16	Flávio	Male	Pernambuco - BR
17	Guilherme	Male	Minas Gerais - BR
18	Ingrid	Female	São Paulo - BR
19	Luís	Male	São Paulo - BR
20	Marília	Female	São Paulo - BR
21	Maria	Female	São Paulo - BR
22	Percival	Male	Ceará - BR
23	Paulo	Male	Bahia - BR
24	Ronaldo	Male	Goiás - BR
25	Ricardo	Male	Minas Gerais - BR
26	Tales	Male	Paraná - BR
27	Vicente	Male	Goiás - BR

4.3.4 Qualitative Indicators of Cosmopolitanisation

In his 'Cosmopolitan Vision' book, Ulrich Beck (2010) rhetorically asks how to research the processes of cosmopolitanisation without embarking on an all-encompassing research that takes globality literally by studying it solely on a global fashion. For Beck (2010) as cosmopolitanisation is understood as a globalisation from within, and not acted upon the places as with globalism (see Chapter 1), it is plausible to research and understand those processes locally, in the sense that globalisation is "[...] also a matter of

situating and localizing" (Beck, 2010, p. 88). For this reason, Beck (2010) proposes a set of indicators for exploring and checking the everyday cosmopolitanisation, based on categories as the movement of goods and individuals, flows of communication, multiplicity of identities and biographies, forms of transnational life. The table below summarises Beck's (2010) qualitative and quantitative indicators of cosmopolitanisation.

Table 6 - Indicators of Cosmopolitanisation

Indicator	Characteristics
cultural goods, in particular, the import and export of cultural goods	the transnationalisation of publishing developments in the import and export of periodicals, in the number and proportion of domestic vs. foreign films in cinema, in the proportion of domestic vs. foreign productions on television, on the radio, etc.
dual citizenship	the legal basis and official practice in dealing with migrants and asylum seekers; how 'foreigners' are defined statistically, in public and in everyday life (by bureaucracies)
political intensities	to what extent are different ethnic groups represented directly and indirectly in national centres of power (political parties, assemblies, administrations, labour unions)?
language	who speaks what languages and how many?
mobility	permanent immigration, developments in immigration, in labour immigration; temporary immigration, developments in the numbers of refugees and of foreign students
flows of communication	by this is meant developments in national and international post and telecommunications, in the corresponding exchange of information over the internet, etc.
travel	developments in international air travel, in international tourism, in the number and proportion of foreign journeys
levels of activity of transnational organisations and initiatives	temporary or constant participation in actions of Greenpeace, Amnesty International, etc., participation in international signature collection campaigns, consumer boycotts, etc.

Indicator	Characteristics
criminality	developments in international (organised) crime, in politically motivated attacks and acts of violence of foreigners or groups of foreigners
transnational forms of life	diaspora communities and their border-transcending public and private networks and decision-making mechanisms, the number and character of transnational marriages, children with multiple nationalities, etc.
transnational reporting	for example, of wars on television; to what extent this leads to a change in perspectives
national identities	what relations pertain between the number and character of national identities and citizen identity? Or is there such a thing as 'cosmopolitan nation' and what does it mean?

Source: Beck (2010, pp. 92-93, adapted)

Nonetheless, as argued by Beck (2010, p. 85) the domain of entertainment, and in the case of this thesis of football fan culture, can be regarded as an emblematic field where this banal cosmopolitanisation really exists. In this sense, the above table provided by Beck (2010) does not fully reflect the entertainment industry in its examples, and even more the specificities of football fan culture are not acknowledged. In this matter, the below table was developed based on the literature review of football fandom informed by Ulrich Beck's cosmopolitan theory. In this table, some categories were grouped around common themes, generating three distinct objectives that this thesis sought to illuminate in respect of the concrete banal cosmopolitanisation within football fan cultures. The first category and objective was developed around the notions of identity, incorporating the notions of the individualisation theory (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) applied specifically through a cosmopolitan lens to football fan cultures, looking at how those supporters construct their own invented biographies in respect of their fandom. The second category and objective

revolve around John Urry's theorisations on mobility (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002; Urry, 2000b), and is concerned with the ideas of how football, and in particular Liverpool FC, flows over space and time and is incorporated in distant supporters' daily lives. The third category and objective relate to the ritualistic aspects of enacting a 'cosmopolitan fandom', and how mobility (Urry, 2000b) and individualisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) impact on becoming and being a Liverpool FC supporter from a distance. The table below provides those objectives, their associated original indicators in Beck's (2010) conceptualisation, and some specific characteristics associated to these indicators within the field of football fandom.

Table 7 - Qualitative Indicators of Football Fandom Cosmopolitanisation

Themes	Indicators	Characteristics
I	national identities	political cosmopolitanisation of being a football fan; what means to be a Swiss and a Liverpool fan? what means to be an *official* member of a branch? necessity to be a member? how to deal with multiple loyalties? choosing to be a Liverpool fan? being a *LFC citizen* with its rights and duties? what means to be a geographical distant citizen? supporting Switzerland or/and England in international level? political engagement with LFC? levels of engagement in transnational activities, as Spirit of Shankly, Justice for the 96, Don't Buy The Sun, transnational campaigns? engaging with other LFC fans and branches? how are they represented within the LFC supporters committee? how are they defined by LFC as fans? Swiss branch member or/and LFC member? being a Swiss fan of Liverpool or *just* a *normal* fan of Liverpool?
	levels of activity of transnational organisations	
	political intensities	
	dual citizenship	
II	import and export of cultural goods	football as a product and its cosmopolitanisation; the availability of Liverpool abroad? meanings of Liverpool playing/training in Switzerland? meanings of Swiss nationals playing for Liverpool? consuming Liverpool merchandising? which league to watch, Swiss or/and English? how to get involved with Liverpool from distance? watching Liverpool on a Swiss or international channel? exchange of information with other distant fans? where to seek for information regarding Liverpool? which media they rely on?
	flows of communication	
	transnational reporting	

Themes	Indicators	Characteristics
III	language mobility flows of communication transnational forms of life travel	the cosmopolitanisation of football fan rituals; what means to be a geographical distant fan? how they became a Liverpool fan? are there different rituals? what means to be a fan both in Switzerland and in Liverpool? rituals both in Liverpool and in Switzerland? *learning to be* a Liverpool fan (history, disasters' meanings, codes, etc)? singing and chanting (in which language, how to learn in a foreign language)? the meanings of going to Liverpool to watch a live fixture? are they regarded as 'other' by Swiss based club fans, and by Liverpool based LFC fans? how to negotiate this fan transnationality? how to keep informed about the loved club? which media should rely on? which is the 'local' media, the Swiss or English? what are the meanings and rituals of travelling to watch games? which language to communicate with other fans? what are the meanings of socialising with other fans, both in Switzerland and abroad? 'Swiss' fans, who are they?

Source: Author (unpublished)

Both online and offline participant observations and the interview script were conducted based on this table and the described characteristics. To this matter, posts in the Facebook groups where the discussions were permeated by notions of individualisation, mobility of both goods, images and individuals, and the ritualisation of their fan experiences were collected. The offline participant observation followed those characteristics, and the conversations that spawned from those interactions were also

interested in these points. Also, a semi-structured interview script (see Annex) was developed based on the objectives and characteristics in the above table, with questions that dealt with the individuals' own biographies as Liverpool FC supporters, their ritualisations, and the way they used the flow of communication to keep in touch and learn about the club. In this regard, different from Beck's (2010) approach that sought to create, through these categories quantitative indicators for checking actual banal cosmopolitanisation, the categories and characteristics developed here were of a qualitative intent where not only the number of times it happened was of interest, but especially how they were enacted by those individuals. In this sense, the academic interest beneath those categories and characteristics was of understanding how individuals individually invented their biographies, how they used different media flows to support this 'invention', how language could have acted as a barrier or support for individualisation, and how they legitimised their fandom.

4.4 Ethical Issues

As mentioned in the Ethical Considerations section, the research conducted in this thesis was in a field that I had prior pre-assumed knowledge, as well as being a football supporter myself since my early days, or in the words of Henry Jenkins an aca-fan (Jenkins, 2006). Being used to the different discourses within the football fan culture, in particular what I will theorise later in this thesis as the nationalist and cosmopolitan discourses, posed further ethical and epistemological issues as I had to be fully aware of my pre-conceptions to not going native. Also, it should be noted that throughout the time I

researched Liverpool FC supporters' culture I became emotionally attached to the club, to the point that I started cheering for it in my spare time. Understanding my role as a researcher and also as a newly converted supporter of Liverpool FC, and differentiating them during the research process was of extreme importance. At the same time, I not only started supporting Liverpool FC, but continued following the other two clubs which I historically supported (SC Internacional in Brazil and 1.FC Kaiserslautern in Germany). The fact that I supported throughout my life different teams with different intensity levels might have had an impact on how I pre-conceived the field and the categories, and to what degree I was more sympathetic to notions of multiple loyalties for example. As it will be discussed in the next chapter, the interactions that emerged in both 'online' and 'offline' participant observations with supporters in Switzerland and in Brazil could now, after the research was conducted be described as 'friendship', where I do care about them and I believe the reciprocity is also true.

4.5 Method of Analysis

As with the literature review section, the method of data analysis followed in this thesis was based on Fairclough (1989, 2010) and Chouliaraki & Fairclough's (1999) critical discourse analysis[58] where I sought to understand how the perceived hegemonic academic discourse in relation to authenticity created and re-created the social and political circumstances in which my informants experience their lives. By applying the critical discourse analysis to their interviews I was able to understand how they experienced their

[58] See Section 3.2.2 for a discussion about the method in length

positions as distant supporters (see Chapter 5 - On Being a Cosmopolitan Fan) and how they constructed these experiences historically (see Chapter 6 - On Becoming a Cosmopolitan Fan). In this sense, the three different themes presented in Table 7 that were developed based on Beck's (2010) indicators of cosmopolitanisation could be found within my informants' discourses in both how they experience and how they historically constructed their experiences as distant supporters. As much as the three themes presented on Table 7 might lead to the pre-assumption that they would later become the categories in my data analysis, the critical discourse analysis revealed that the interviewees would arrange their discourses around their actual experiences and how those experiences historically came into being. To that matter, it could be argued that the employed analysis was not only within the critical discourse tradition, but also followed the hermeneutic circle as described by Gadamer (2004). If the interviews were read without considering the whole text, the three themes would be apparently separated, nonetheless when read taking into account the interview as a whole, those two thematics ('on being' and 'on becoming') become evident and are the main threads in the interviewees' discourses. To this effect, the interviews were analysed counterpointing the parts (the three different themes) to the whole ('on being' and 'on becoming') and vice-versa, seeking to understand how those parts were used rhetorically to reinforce the whole.

4.6 Contextualisation - Football in Switzerland and Brazil

Different scholars argue that the codification and sportification of football in what is today known as Association Football took place in the late 1800s in the United Kingdom

(Dietschy, 2010; Giulianotti, 1999; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009; Lanfranchi, 1998; T. Mason, 1980; Wahl, 1990). Those times can be considered as the highs of English world colonialism, imperialism and cultural hegemony, and football being a cultural phenomena 'profited' from these conditions. In this sense, as with other phenomena as economic liberalism or other sports as cricket, football became a worldwide 'sensation' that embodied the notion of Britishness. Football's globalisation occurred in uneven and sometimes not planned forms across different localities (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009), and thus the historiographies even sharing multiple similarities have some distinct characteristics. In this section I will provide a short historiography of football's development in both Switzerland and Brazil that would serve as background knowledge for the thick description in respect of being and becoming a supporter I will discuss in Chapters 5 and 6.

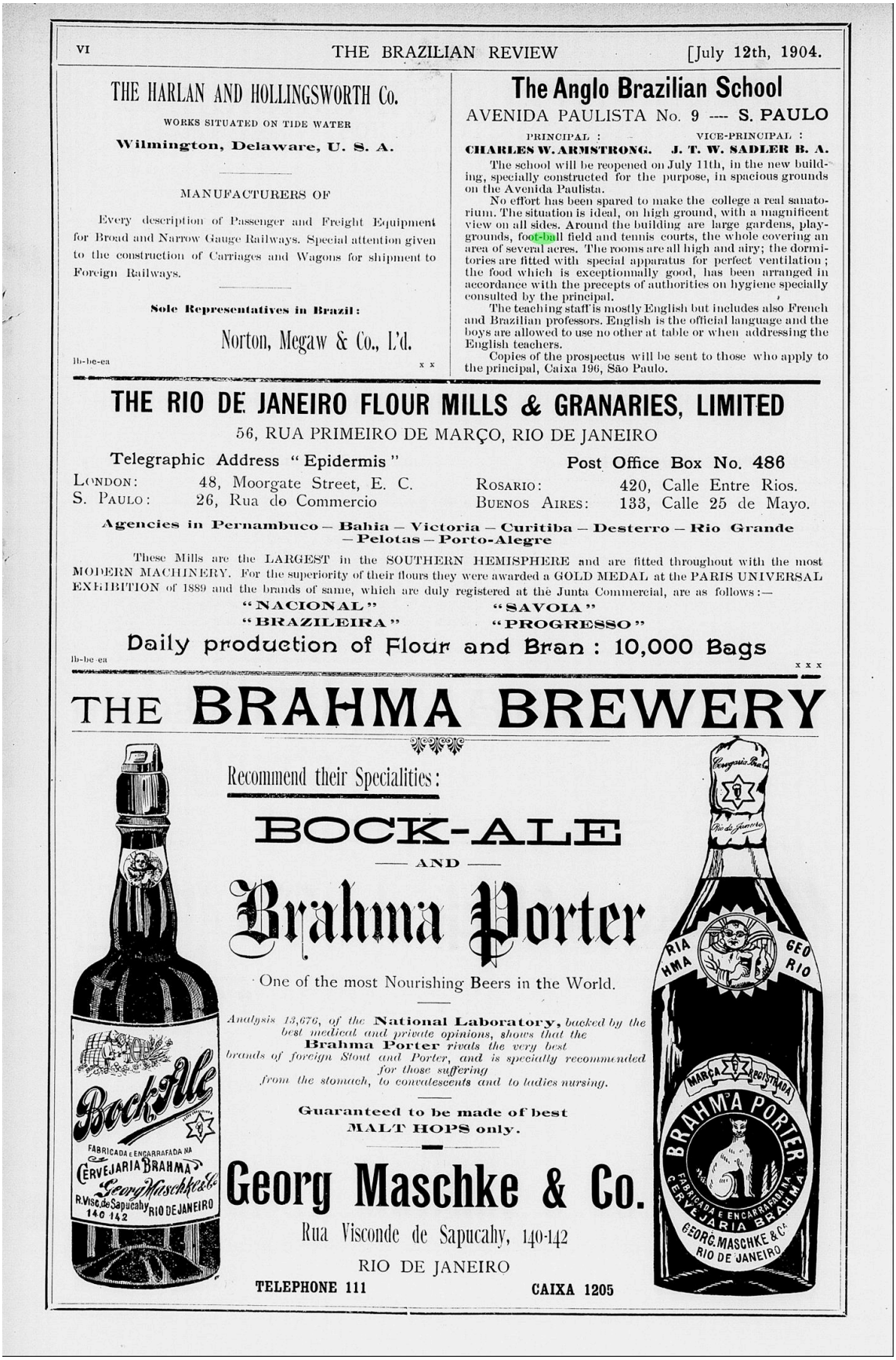
As argued by Lanfranchi (1998), Dietschy (2010) and Koller (2010) Switzerland can be regarded as one of the precursors of football's development and globalisation in European continent. Those authors link this development to the close ties both economically and socially Switzerland had with the English Empire during the 1800s. Switzerland, as argued by the aforementioned authors, was regarded as one of the tourist destinations for English and British high society, which could be also found in the discussions provided by Veblen (1994 [1899]) in respect of the development of a leisure class. To this token, Swiss Alps were visited by English tourists in both winter and summer in search for leisure activities. Also, by the links between the formation of the Helvetic Confederation (the formal name of Switzerland) and economic liberalism (Koller, 2010; Lanfranchi, 1998) developed within the British Empire, and more precisely during the Scottish Enlightenment, the country became a particular place where liberals could

develop their ideas in practice. In this sense, Britishness and some sort of Anglophilia was a widespread phenomena within Swiss society. Football, as part of this process, was regarded as the embodiment of being and becoming more English and thus was favourited by the Swiss upper and middle classes as a pastime. Another point that helped the development of football in Switzerland was the existence of numerous English boarding schools on the shores of Lake Leman (between Geneva and Lausanne) that catered not only for British expats but also for the local high society. The first football clubs in Switzerland were developed within those private schools, through its alumni associations, and within professional associations as for example Engineers groups. Swiss entrepreneurs, as Joan Gamper, were keen footballers in their youth and by their professional activities helped to spread the sport around the continent, as with the formation of FC Barcelona in Spain (Dietschy, 2010; Koller, 2010; Lanfranchi, 1998; Wahl, 1990). In this sense, it is argued by the aforementioned authors that Switzerland is regarded as the spearhead of football's continental development and can be credited with the expansion of football in the Southern part of the continent (south Spain and France, Italy, and Austro-Hungarian Empire).

The Brazilian case is not completely distinct from the Swiss one. Brazil as Switzerland was not a direct colony of the British Empire, but both can be considered as proto-colonies where Britishness and British cultural, political and economical hegemony played a big role. It is argued by T. Mason (1995) that football arrived in Brazil firstly by the presence of the British Navy who was particularly 'active' in the port of Rio de Janeiro in mid-1800s. Nonetheless, the development of football in Brazil follows a similar historiography as with Switzerland where education in both Brazil and abroad played a big role. Schools that followed the English system, and were catered for both English expats

and Brazilian high society usually highlighted the availability of sports in their curricula (see figure 5 below), normally emphasising football as the sport pupils would play. Also, the English University system is credited by introducing young Brazilians to football (i.e. Charles Miller), and upon their return to Brazil after completing their studies they continued playing and forming football associations (T. Mason, 1995). Those football associations, as with the Swiss historiography, were formed around British expats societies, and Banks and Rail companies workers' associations (mostly comprised by British expats too). It is interesting to note that Oscar Cox (an Anglo-Brazilian) was educated in a private school in Lausanne and upon his return to Brazil helped to found one of the most known clubs in Rio de Janeiro, Fluminense FC (T. Mason, 1995). In this sense, it is already possible to see how the football historiographies of Switzerland and Brazil are interconnected by a third sense of locality (Britishness), thus highlighting the rationale for studying both places at the same time not only comparatively but above all on a complimentary way.

Figure 5 - Football in Schools in Brazil



VI THE BRAZILIAN REVIEW [July 12th, 1904.

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4.7 Concluding Remarks

As discussed in the above sections, this research employed an interpretive epistemological approach informed by a critical discourse analysis method, utilising an ethnographic-inspired research methodology to collect the data. Because of the specificities of the research subject, the ethnography was performed in both online and offline settings, providing a richer understanding of the field and in particular of the socialisations that take place across borders and regions.

RESULTS ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FIVE

ON BEING A COSMOPOLITAN FOOTBALL FAN

CHAPTER FIVE: ON BEING A COSMOPOLITAN FOOTBALL FAN

5.1 Introduction

"Apart from the face-to-face encounters, there are the media [...] Again, the power of the media now makes just about everybody a little more cosmopolitan. And one may in the end ask whether it now may even be possible to become a cosmopolitan without going away at all" (Hannerz, 1992, p. 255)

In order to understand what it means to be a cosmopolitan football fan it is imperative in the first place to comprehend how those individuals define themselves as fans, which would allow in a second moment to reveal and uncover the 'naturalised' background knowledge (Fairclough, 2010) that is drawn by them to authenticate their discursive praxis. This 'naturalised' background knowledge as argued previously refers, in a similar fashion to Foucault's (2002) archeological analysis of science, to the three available academic discourses in respect of fan authenticity. After comprehending and discussing what it means to be a cosmopolitan fan, and how they enact this fandom, it becomes possible to uncover and trace their journey into becoming a Liverpool FC fan. In this sense, my approach here will first be to provide a vivid account of their rituals as fans, how they enact those rituals from afar and without the presence of other fans, how Internet and in particular Facebook allow them to foster a sense of belonging to something wider as a Liverpool fan culture that does not regard nation-state political borders, how socialisations through mediation becomes something normal, how metaphysically of presence is still regarded as essential for authenticating their love for the club or generating

some sort of cultural capital, and how they create boundaries and hierarchies to other fans within the Liverpool fan culture.

5.1.1 We are 'Authentic Fans' too

As discussed previously during the literature review sections, there is a long tradition within sociology of sport in discussing authenticity and what it means to be real fans. Nonetheless, fans from afar were normally regarded as unauthentic or missing some characteristics as by not being constantly present in the stadium (see Chapter 3), or of lacking historical biographical ties to the club's region. So my original intention when interviewing and observing Liverpool FC supporters in Brazil and Switzerland was to understand how they would define themselves as fans. Nevertheless, this objective was hidden in-between my questions and observations and was not openly discussed until the end of the interview.

On 5th April 2013 I attended my first game at Anfield with the supporters from Switzerland that I met previously during the month I spent there. While what I experienced watching games in pubs during my life was to some extent similar to what I experienced watching Liverpool games with them in Switzerland, the circumstances during this first game in the stadium were more relevant in discussing the notion of authenticity and border crossing. The game was a boring 0-0, with few actual chances from either side, but the dullness was not just confined to the actions on the pitch but also in the stands. I believe that at the end of the game, one of my principal informants from within the supporters from Switzerland, sensing that I have not quite enjoyed the game and the whole experience

of going to Anfield for the first time made an important remark in respect of authenticity of fandom and the 'creation of an authentic' atmosphere. Still in the stands, she turned to me and said:

> "Wasn't a good game at all, but the worst part was that no one was singing. We started and it [the singing] would fade straight away. No atmosphere at all. *Too many tourist fans*" (Nora, personal notes, emphasis added)

She was right about the atmosphere, and about the singing stopping straight away, especially where we were sitting (Main Stand, closer to the away end), but what caught my attention was the fact that she was blaming what she called 'tourist fans' for the lack of an authentic atmosphere. My initial reaction was to think that we were part of those tourist fans, so the ones to be blamed for the lack of an authentic atmosphere, especially by the fact that none of us were from Liverpool or had any ties to Merseyside or England. I started a conversation with her to try to understand what was a 'tourist fan' by her conceptualisation, and why would we not fit that category. For her, she could not be considered a 'tourist fan' because of her authentic supporter engagement, where she followed Liverpool for a long time. Whilst not even being able to attend all the games at Anfield, she knew the songs (she actually did sing them during the game), the players, and what was going on on the pitch. In this sense, the border crossing aspect of being a tourist is not, in her words and interpretation, confined to the geopolitical borders, but are especially related to an imaginary border between the ones that understand the culture and are authentic supporters, and the ones that do not and are tourists just 'visiting' the Liverpool supporter culture. This tourist condition that she was referring to surpassed the common knowledge notion that tourists are the ones that are primarily physically mobile, but instead focused on other aspects such as knowledge, passion, and true love, to create

this idea that some are from the place and others are mere visitors. This notion was also evident during the interviews with the supporters in Brazil, as it can be seen in the below quote:

> "There is no distinction. Supporter is a supporter. *Here [in Brazil], in Liverpool or in Thailand*. We are in the same category, that unites us in behalf of a *love* for the club" (Christian, emphasis added)

This quote from Christian is emblematic in respect of border crossing and authenticity, in the sense that for him the idea of categorising supporters by their country of origin has no relation to the notion of authenticity. As with Nora, for Christian a supporter can come from anywhere in the world, can cross nation-state political borders and still be considered an authentic supporter, where on the other hand someone that does not have love for the club is the main reason for creating barriers and borders. To be a tourist fan, or someone lacking authenticity is reflected by his or hers lack of attachment to the club's culture. This attachment, as it will be discussed further in the chapters, especially in the section dealing with 'On Becoming a Liverpool Supporter', can be read as either an individual invented historiography or a collective invented historiography that tries to find a reasoning for loving Liverpool FC. As Bernardo claims in the quote below, there are some rituals and activities that make him, and consequently others that share those same rituals, an authentic fan which are not warded off by political borders.

> "Just as a Liverpool supporter. I don't think the distance makes me lesser supporter or something like that. Despite the distance I follow the club daily, I discuss with other supporters, I watch the games, I wear the top, etc. *The only thing distance prevents me of doing is to go to Anfield, but that is a plan for the future...*" (Bernardo, emphasis added)

As with Nora and Christian, borders and original metaphysical distance are not the main characteristics to define who is an authentic fan and who is not. His daily activities and routine, such as following the team, reading and discussing with other supporters on the Facebook page are for him what a supporter should do irrespective of their geographical position. Nonetheless, he finishes his sentence by emphasising one activity (going to Anfield) that might be regarded by others as defining who is who within a supporters community. Authentic fans as discussed in the literature review, are normally understood as having a constant physical presence at the ground, and for him not being there every weekend or even more not ever being there could lead others to categorise him as not being a true supporter. Exploring that more in depth during the interview, he answered:

> "I won't say that is something that defines you as a supporter, as lots of supporters I met never been there, even Diogo who build everything by himself [Diogo is the 'owner' and president of the Brazilian Supporters Branch]. It is more like a dream, and objective. I don't consider as something important, but would be marvellous to do it." (Bernardo)

This quote is demonstrative of what is valued by them to define who is an authentic fan and who might be considered to be a tourist. Bernardo compares his fandom to Diogo, who is regarded by members of the Facebook group as a knowledgeable person and is sought by others when they have questions about Liverpool FC on many different topics. This can be evidenced in the below figure, where Diogo was asked about the financial aspects of the club in respect to the major debts Premier League clubs have.

Figure 6 - Diogo's Expertise

Above this idea of having knowledge about Liverpool FC, supporters commonly stress that what unites them around the notion of being authentic is their true shared passion or love for the club. Luis and Maria's accounts of what it means to be an authentic supporter are telling as they not only focus on notions of shared love that grew within them to define themselves, but chiefly emphasise that political borders or ethnicity cannot create those sorts of barriers between authentic and unauthentic. Thus, what defines authenticity is the idea of being behind the club, supporting it irrespective of the results or their physical location.

> "There is no supporter per region, we have lots of Liverpool supporters in Pakistan. What distinct us is just a geographical barrier, *but we are all one sole organism that flourished through love in different and distant places*. That is the magic of Liverpool, where one black, one latino, one anglo-saxon can feel the same thing. Practically a 'monogenism' in relation to Liverpool. We come from the same group, we are just in different places." (Luis, emphasis added)

> "I don't think there is a difference. I believe the feeling is the same and we are all 'a big family'. I consider myself just a Liverpool supporter who had the luck of going to the games, of meeting players, but that doesn't make me different from other supporters here [in Brazil]. *I think that who supports, and supports really, don't bother if you are far or closer, or if you go to the stadium or not, what matters is to love the club, and always support*." (Maria, emphasis added)

As being discussed in this section, Maria's quote summarises the idea that authenticity is not related to place or of being metaphysically constantly there, even though she was one of few from the Brazilian supporters group to actually attend a game at Anfield[59] she would not use that to differentiate her love for the club with others' authentic love for the club. In this sense, it can be argued that love for the club transcends those physical barriers that were once conceptualised in academia as generating and maintaining authentic feelings towards a club, nonetheless as it will be seen in the following sections, not all supporters notwithstanding their physical location can be regarded as authentic.

[59] Maria spent a semester at Liverpool during High School. She waited for over a year to find an exchange program agency that arranged trips to Liverpool as she did not want to do it anywhere else. While at Liverpool, living in a family home, she managed to buy from her "exchange program father" his season ticket. As so, Maria attended all the home games during her stay at Liverpool and had the opportunity to meet different players

5.1.2 Not All Can Be Authentic Fans

The opening description in the above section reveals not only the idea that they regard themselves as authentic fans, and this authenticity is not related physically to their presence in the stadium or their geographical origin, but also unfolds an incipient notion that other fans can be regarded as unauthentic. For instance, when Nora describes the lack of atmosphere at Anfield and relates it to the presence of 'tourist fans', which as explicated above is not related to a common knowledge notion of what means to be a tourist[60], she ends by giving those others certain characteristics that stand in opposition to what she regards as providers of authenticity. This process of creating the other in opposition to yourself is common within football culture, as it was described by Giulianotti & Armstrong (2001), nonetheless the reasons behind constructing those other in this particular context becomes unique in relation to what has been analysed in the literature review. The discourse that unfolds from the interviews and the participant observations in both online and offline settings sets its core in notions of temporality, suffering, true love, and not abandoning the team due to bad results or seasons. During interviews and also when I met those supporters from Switzerland I was normally 'tested' on the reasons of why I supported Liverpool, or when I truly became a Liverpool supporter, focusing specifically on notions of temporality. For instance, Pedro's discourse below explicitly creates a hierarchy between different types of supporters and particularly relates the reason for someone not being regarded as an authentic supporter to not caring enough for the club.

[60] For a discussion of what means to be a tourist, see Urry & Larsen (2012)

"[talking about media role] It was like that. From like 10 years ago to now, games became really different. *So if someone will become a supporter or a sympathiser that is another history*.

Interviewer: you mean video-games? and what is the difference between the two?

Sympathiser normally don't care much about it. They normally support more a player than the club [he had previously made an analogy between Lucas Leiva - a Brazilian central midfielder - and supporting Brazil and Steven Gerrard - Liverpool and England's skipper - and supporting England]. Yes, games like FIFA, WE [Pro Evolution Soccer], games that you manage [Football Manager]....Even music, in a small scale attracts people. I know some that are Liverpool or Everton supporters because of The Beatles. Or Manchester because of Oasis." (Pedro, emphasis added)

What we can see from Pedro's discourse is that the love for a club on a supporter's perspective is bigger than the love for a particular player. Different interviewees mentioned that they started caring about Liverpool because of a player, especially ones that were important in Liverpool's history, nonetheless their love for the club surpassed that of the player and continued after the player had left the club. In this instance, supporters tend to hierarchise others in relation to their love of the club or their love of a player. Andre's quote below is an example of this transition between loving a player and then creating a sentiment to the club that surpassed that of the player alone.

"A certain player name Michael Owen, he caused a frisson during the 98 World Cup. So myself, 10 years old, got really impressed with him. Always that I played video-game I ended choosing his team [which was Liverpool at that time]. *This ended by creating an identification without really knowing the club*, which lasted

until 2004 (I had other big idols because of video-game as [Djibril] Cissé lol)" (André, emphasis added)

As it is not the purpose of this section to discuss 'the becoming a Liverpool supporter', I will not focus on this part of Andre's discourse but will pay attention to this idea that supporters can get attached to players without even caring about the club. This is particularly relevant as, mentioned above, supporters use these forms of attachment to create hierarchies between authentic and unauthentic fans. As mentioned by André, he used to choose to play as Liverpool when playing video games because of a particular player that he used to love, but this love for a player did not made him a Liverpool supporter directly. It was a process of knowing Liverpool and caring for Liverpool that made him a supporter (this process will be discussed in length in following sections). Others that do not care, or do not know about the club, and just care and know about particular players are not regarded by them as authentic supporters. That was made clear by Vicente at the end of his interview when he asked me not to cite him as a fan, but as a supporter. Intrigued by his demand I asked him what would be the differences between supporters and fans. In his discourse, as it can be seen below, there is a strong idea of temporality and caring, which for him would lack on fans.

"I just remembered something. *I don't want to be cited in your study as 'fan'. Supporter, please* [Vicente wrote both fan and supporter please in English]. Do you got it?

Interviewer: but what are the differences between supporters and fans?

Fan for me sounds as someone who *likes* something a lot. *But only likes*, and one day can change. Like music" (Vicente, emphasis added)

Not only does Vicente define fans in terms of temporality, but he also emphasises the idea that fans just like and thus not love as supporters do. Pedro, André and Vicente's discourses can be understood as complimentary, while both André and Pedro show that liking a player can change, by him being important during a season or by being part of the Liverpool squad, this does not make anyone a supporter, Vicente's discourse on the other hand focuses explicitly on how the hierarchical lines are drawn between fans and supporters. André provides another interesting interpretation of how he constructs the idea behind the hierarchies between supporters and fans, or what he calls as 'likers'. Likers here not only reflect the distinction between like and love as discussed previously, where the first can be changed easily and does not involve effort, and the latter is its opposite, but relates to a Facebook jargon where pages can be 'Liked' in a way that tends to reflect your personal interests and self identity. As seen in the quote below, Facebook group owners or admins work as gatekeepers protecting the group from intruders that do not truly love the club.

> "about members' participation in the community I am really pedantic. *I hate 'likers' of European clubs*
>
> Interviewer: how so? what you mean by 'likers'?
>
> I don't even bother to what they say. Well, during bad periods we could count on our hands how many participated actively in the community, but now with the recent form, we had over 30 asking to join the group daily. *And then you see who the person is by looking their likes, and you see they like pages from Liverpool, Manshit [Manchester United], Chel$ea [Chelsea FC], Arsenal*
>
> Interviewer: are there lots like this?

In the community no, because we don't let them in. But they exist. I am even against who 'support' a team in each country" (André, emphasis added)

'Likers' in André's discourse involves ideas of trend, temporality and multiplicity. Unauthentic supporters, or 'likers' for André or 'fan' for Vicente, are the ones unable to maintain a long-term love relationship with the club, and in particular with just one club, and tend to stop liking the club due to its recent form or if players are traded at the end of the season. A long history of supporting the club is present in different discourses when those supporters claimed to be authentic ones, and will be discussed in length in following sections, nonetheless it is important to highlight how it is used by them to construct notions of inauthenticity. Luis is clear, as in the quote below, in defining that supporters that follow the club during for a long period of time are commonly associated with authenticity and normally tend to regard new ones as trend seekers that probably would change their alliances over their life.

"*Because supporters that support longer never believe that new ones can love the club, because that is something rare*. I met lots on Internet that said they were supporters, that they started in 2005, and then they just disappear. *Because for lots football is just moment*, they tell they are supporters when they are winning, but then disappear, think about their life, *it was just a phase*. *That is why is so difficult to be a supporter, because you need to commit yourself*. *Lots mistake between finding something nice and supporting for real*." (Luis, emphasis added)

This quote from Luis summarises the discourse between supporters in creating and maintaining hierarchies of authenticity. As highlighted in his quote, to be a supporter you need to really love the club and to keep this love over time demands a lot of commitment that not all can follow. In this sense, individuals that have supported the club, but due to

different reasons stopped following or enacting rituals and deeds are then perceived as unauthentic and are defined as hierarchically inferior. It is also interesting to note that as with the discourse that generated authenticity discussed in the section above, the discourse that defines inauthenticity offers no reference to place, origin, ethnicity or nationality. Supporters do not use those characteristics to differentiate themselves from fans, tourists or likers, but instead focus on temporality, true love, suffering. This last characteristic, of suffering while enacting deeds, will be discussed in length in a further section as it tended to be highlighted by all supporters in their narratives.

5.1.3 Normalised Mediated Socialities

As seen in the literature review (see Chapter 3), socialisation amongst supporters is one of the most important parts of being within a community with shared love for a particular club. Also, as discussed in the two previous sections, when supporters create hierarchies between them and assume that some can be regarded as authentic and others not, they start to create a sense of belonging to something wider as an imagined community (Anderson, 2006). Nonetheless, because of particularities of both groups that I studied, namely the supporters group in Switzerland and the Facebook group in Brazil, the majority of those socialisations that create this sense of belonging are mediated, especially through new social media outlets such as Twitter and Facebook. In this sense, it can be argued that contrary to what was previously theorised within the football studies field (see Chapter 3), mediated socialisations are not perceived as inauthentic but are normalised as acceptable by members of both groups. In this section I will discuss how those fans

normalise in their discourses these mediated socialisations and how they foster a sense of mediated belonging.

As it can be seen in the below quote from Beto, individuals feel that socialisations are indispensable for being a supporter, exemplified by a constant exchange of ideas and points of view. This point is particularly interesting as it will be discussed further in the next sections, the notion of being together is somehow changed metaphysically in their discourses, in that it does not just involve the act of being close to another supporter, but by talking and exchanging ideas over the Internet it does recreate a feeling of being part of a community.

> "*I see this way, as a necessity. The interaction with a group of supporters of your team is fundamental*. I wish I had more friends that supported Liverpool as I do, so I could *talk* to them all the time. I even became an evangelist here around my place, trying to convert others to join the red side of the force. My personal problem is that I have on one side: Nietzsche, Kant, MacIntyre and tons of other authors to read, and on the other hand I have Liverpool to support lol. *But it is awesome to talk to another one about [Jordan] Henderson's role to the team ...* You know when you discover an author like Nietzsche and you want to go everywhere talking about him, but no one would understand? *That feeling, to talk to someone that is really a Liverpool supporter, is the same when I meet someone to talk about Nietzsche*. It is euphoria, mate. I imagine that there is so much stuff to talk that I don't know even where to start." (Beto, emphasis added)

It is interesting how Beto frames the comparison in his discourse between Nietzsche and Liverpool FC, and how the ability to talk about both is essential and valuable in generating socialisations. Finding someone to talk with who truly understands

what it means to be a Liverpool supporter is as hard as finding someone that deeply understands an author who can be regarded as difficult to comprehend. This was a general feeling amongst the interviewees after I mentioned that I had covered all the questions and the interview was done, where they usually mentioned how good it was to talk to someone that understood them, and appreciated the idea that supporting a club from abroad was not regarded as deviant. It is also important to point out that while Beto is speaking of 'talking' in his discourse, and that interviewees were eager to emphasise how good it was to 'talk' to someone who fully understood them, neither of those interactions were generated by the use of voice, but involved as mentioned in the methodology chapter the chat feature on Facebook. In this sense, Beto and the others normalise their mediated interactions by calling 'online chatting' as 'talking'. Those mediated interactions unsurprisingly led supporters to know who is who in the community and to foster small cliques that share similar opinions about players, managers, and playing style. Bernardo's quote below shows how this process of knowing others through mediated socialisations can take place.

> "*lol, yes you can* [talking about if it was possible to know others even without meeting them face-to-face]. *Because it is a daily contact, and you start knowing other supporters and their manias*. Marilia, for instance, she defends [Jordan] Henderson all the time, Tomaz (from Orkut) defends with all his strength [Daniel] Agger, Felipe, also from Orkut, criticises everything and everyone during the transfer windows. *So, with time you can predict the reactions of each one* ... Marilia knows a lot about football. On another Facebook group, me, her, Igor, Beto and Arnon always defend [Jordan] Henderson. *We were know as 'a clique' by the others*" (Bernardo, emphasis added)

As with being an authentic supporter described above, the process of knowing others and their 'manias' involves the notion of temporality, where it becomes a necessity to spend a significant amount of time daily engaging in socialisation activities. As Bernardo mentions, even without meeting others face-to-face (as Marilia and Beto that I have also interviewed) by the constant exchange of messages and comments on Facebook posts, he can know and predict what the others would say. These socialisations do not take place just before or after games, but are enacted during games as if those supporters were physically present with each other and watching the game together. This challenges the common notion that to be present means to be metaphysically present, as with Flávio's quote below it is possible to see this differences between being 'by myself' and 'with others'.

> "*I watch the games by myself at home, but always connected to Facebook and Twitter so I can comment and debate with other colleagues*, and depending the time of the game I stay hours after the game talking with others
>
> Interviewer: are those conversations with other fans important?
>
> Yes, a lot. *You always learn something*, most of the time they are healthy discussions, but sometimes they get really harsh. But I see as something normal." (Flávio, emphasis added)

As mentioned previously, from Flávio's quote above it is possible to see how the idea of 'being-mediated-together' flourishes in the sense that he is never by himself even if he is watching the game 'alone'. I will explore this idea in depth on a further section, but in relation to mediated socialisations it does indicate the principal role that social media plays in creating opportunities and channels where supporters that are scattered geographically can meet and exchange ideas. Above all, it allowed supporters 'to learn' about Liverpool

FC, knowledge which is valued and used by them to create internal hierarchies. The figure below is an example of how supporters use those mediated socialisations to learn about Liverpool, and especially to ask for information from more experienced members.

Figure 7 - What Are the Chants?

In this post, which is recurrent in groups in both Brazil and Switzerland, a member asks what chants he needs to learn before going to Anfield for the first time. The post is

tagged, a common characteristic in the Brazil group, as a [Doubt] which means he is asking for support of others to understand something in particular. Sharing 'knowledge' such as where to go in Liverpool, what pubs and restaurants to visit, how much money to bring, or how to get match-day tickets is one of the main features that mediated socialisations on Facebook provides. Another important aspect of mediated socialisations is the creating of a space where people with similar interests can meet. However some concerns are expressed by interviewees in relation to the degree of love other members possess. Maria's quote below is an example of the former, while Luis' is an example of the latter.

> "That was funny lol *We met in the Orkut community [talking about Marília] and we used to speak with each other*, and we knew we were from São Paulo, but we never met until one night in one of my school friend's party. Marília was also there, and it was funny because we never realised that we lived so close to each other and *had so many friends in common outside Liverpool*, and after that we became really close friends" (Maria, emphasis added)

> "I never wanted to be part of official groups. *Because supporters abroad are used to be alone. We just need a few others to satisfy our necessity as a group of supporters*, and because it is really difficult to find real supporters, when there are many it just arouses a bad mood, not all that claim to be supporters really are" (Luis, emphasis added)

In this sense, a common occurrence between members of both groups in Switzerland and Brazil, as explicated in Maria's description of how she met Marília, is that what starts as mediated socialisations tend to become face-to-face encounters. Even though

Luis is sceptical about meeting others, he nevertheless embarked on some journeys to meet fellow Liverpool supporters in Brazil. This necessity as Luis puts it, to satisfy his needs of being a Liverpool supporter, especially by physically meeting others, will be discussed in length in the next session. Nevertheless, social media and its mediated socialisations become a starting point for individuals seeking to find other like-minded persons, and it is best captured by this post (see image below) of a Norwegian fan who was travelling in Brazil and was seeking to meet fellow Liverpool supporters to watch a game together.

Figure 8 - Supporter from Norway Going to Rio

5.1.4 'Meeting' Others is Still 'Essential'

While I was in Switzerland undertaking my 'offline' participant observation data collection, I had the opportunity to meet Liverpool supporters on three different occasions. Those meetings took place in three different locations in Switzerland, the first one was to watch Liverpool play Wigan was in a pub in Geneva, the second one was to watch the game against Tottenham. This meeting took place in a pub in Lausanne, and the final meeting was for a match against Southampton which took place in a pub in Neuchatel. From a geographical perspective, those cities are quite scattered around the Francophone region, where travelling from Neuchatel to Geneva involved an hour and a half journey by train (it can be argued that those are the furthest apart important cities within the Francophone region). While on those occasions I had the opportunity to meet different supporters, the core group comprised of the same people that I met in Liverpool. This core is constituted by two couples (Edgard and Adele, Quincy and Nora), who are also the individuals most active in their Facebook group. This is probably reflected by the political position that Edgard and Adele (respectively president and vice-president) occupy within the official supporters group branch. The below picture was taken just after the game against Southampton which was watched in Neuchatel, and it clearly depicts the idea of the existence of this core.

Figure 9 - Watching With Supporters in Switzerland

But if they are normally the same group watching the games together, why would they consider arranging meetings in different cities across the Francophone region of Switzerland? My initial impression was that this was caused by my presence there, where they tried to 'show the country' by organising those meetings in different cities but upon asking them where they would normally meet to watch games it was explained that they usually rotate between cities. This idea of rotation as explained by Adele and Nora was a way of providing different members and non-members the chance to attend those meetings, giving them the opportunity to meet supporters from other regions, and to get to know different places within Switzerland. This was particularly clear in the meetings in Switzerland, such as in Geneva where two different couples that were going for the first

time to watch a Liverpool game showed up. For the meeting in Lausanne a young man joined us for the first time because of the Facebook event, and in Neuchatel both couples (Edgard and Adele, Quincy and Nora) had the opportunity to visit especially to watch a game for the first time. It is interesting to highlight that there were not any supporters from Neuchatel in their group, and it was suggested we watch the game there because I was staying in the city. Also, following my return to England, they organised by themselves another meeting in Neuchatel during the next season which can be seen in the below image. Also it is possible to see this idea of rotation as Edgard explains their plans for the next matches, such as organising meetings and deciding where they would be watching the games.

Figure 10 - Next Meetings in Switzerland

Thus, it can be argued that meeting others face-to-face is still considered an essential and important part of supporters' socialisations even that it can be less frequent than weekly encounters on home and away games. These face-to-face socialisations are not encountered just with the supporters in Switzerland, but were also featured in the discourses of different supporters in Brazil. As André explains in the below quote, watching the games with others is an activity that he misses because in his city in Brazil there are not many Liverpool supporters or pubs/bars that commonly broadcast the games and serve as a focal point for meetings.

> "The *only time* was when Igor, he is from Recife [the capital of Pernambuco state], came here [André is from Fortaleza - the capital of Ceará state - distant 470mi from Recife]. *Fortaleza is not like São Paulo which has O'Malleys* [a famous pub between supporters in Brazil as normally they meet there to watch all the games] *that shows all the games and works out as a place to meet other fans*. He came for holidays and we went to watch a game together. It wasn't even a game from Liverpool, it was Ireland vs Germany and we supported [Steve] Finnan lol [an Irish player that used to play for Liverpool]" (André, emphasis added)

This quote from André not only shows how important meeting others face-to-face to watch games becomes for supporters that are dispersed geographically, but above all emphasises what was discussed in the previous section about their necessity to share knowledge and discuss with others. When André highlights in his discourse that the only time he watched a game together with a fellow Liverpool supporter was not even a Liverpool game, he is shifting the centrality of the meeting from the game to the socialisation part of it. This idea of sharing something together can be also seen in Beto's

quote below as he gives prominence to the fact that it was a normal day where he was going to watch a game with his girlfriend and then it became something magical by the fact he met a fellow Liverpool supporter.

> "Mate, it was all by chance. I went to the shopping mall with my fiancée to watch the game first and then go to the movies. The place is like a pub, well, it tries to resemble as an English pub, and I was there having some pints. And out of a sudden a guy shows up with all the kit lol with a 1970s top. My reaction was: 'ahh, that miserable, I hope he at least know what he is wearing.' My surprise came after he asked if Carragher was going to play. *Was like love at the first sight lol We watched the game together, and after suffering together, we celebrated together*. And you might imagine how were the faces of the lot in the pub. Disapproval everywhere. Even an old dude came and said: 'I can't believe that two piauienses [people from Piauí state], in Teresina [Piauí state's capital], celebrating the cup of an English team against a Welsh side.' We laughed lots of what he said, but it was fun." (Beto, emphasis added)

Not only was the fact he met someone that supported the same side an important event for him, but the idea behind Beto's discourse that made that day special laid on the sharedness of the occasion. Suffering, cheering and watching the game together with someone that shared the same passion for the club was so intense that it was love at first sight. The loneliness that most supporters I spoke to in Brazil feel can intensify the distinctiveness of those meetings, making them to be remembered and cherished as special events. The pictures below were shared by Luis during the interview to explain to me those hallmark events when he travelled all the way to Rio de Janeiro in 2007 and 2008 to watch

important Liverpool games with fellow supporters. His explanation can be seen in the below quote.

Figure 11 - Luis in Rio #1

Figure 12 - Luis in Rio #2

“These were in the Irish Pub, in Rio de Janeiro. Both meetings, one in 2007 in the Liverpool vs Milan final, that Liverpool lost. And the other one was Liverpool vs Manchester City. I was in both, against city was in 2008.

Interviewer: do you have regular meetings like these?

Those two were the largest. *People meet regularly, or lest say, they used to meet regularly*. Nationally, just those two that I can remember. Even people from the Northeast came. Those were the largest, at least at that time. *Myself, I am 400mi distant from Rio de Janeiro*. I live in Assis, São Paulo countryside, because I did my undergrad here and now I am doing my Masters. So I live here. *Both times I*

went by bus [to Rio de Janeiro], so 12 hours to go, and 12 hours to come back." (Luis, emphasis added)

As it can be seen from Luis' quote the fact he had to travel over 12 hours to watch the game with others shows the value those supporters give to those meetings. This idea of deeds that supporters need to do to prove their love for Liverpool is recurrent in different interviews, and thus will be discussed in length in another section, nonetheless this deed is particularly relevant as it relates to the fact that supporters cherish meeting and sharing emotions with others. This idea is best captured by Maria's quote below where she highlights the necessity of being together with others that not only share the same passion but understands her passion for Liverpool. As mentioned previously, Maria and Marilia usually watch all of the games together with other supporters at one particular pub in São Paulo (O'Malleys) and from their description it seems to be a regular activity within their weekly life.

"We [her and Marilia] started going to the pub last year because just over-18 can enter, and she [Marilia] just turned 18, *so we go there all the games to watch ... That is the thing I love most doing in my life, really, the feeling of being together with other supporters celebrating is amazing, feeling the same emotions. I love doing that*, really." (Maria, emphasis added)

Nonetheless, even that supporters in both Brazil and Switzerland do value sharing face-to-face emotions and moments those are not common activities. As with the supporters in Switzerland that had a core group that commonly met, the discourse of the supporters in Brazil enlighten a suspicion that most of their socialisations are indeed mediated. This can be better evidenced when this category is juxtaposed with the previous one, where those supporters tend to normalise their mediated socialisations based on what

they commonly would do if they were interacting face-to-face. In this sense, watching by yourself, as it will be discussed in the next section, is never truly alone as, even if they can not be together, with other supporters to socialise, they would mimic those relations in a mediated fashion. As so, this last quote from Bernardo summarises the notion that if face-to-face socialisations are not possible, supporters would find ways of satisfying them via mediated forms.

> "*I haven't met anyone personally yet*, unfortunately. Here in RS [Rio Grande do Sul state] we never had any meetings. *I believe that you can 'watch together over distance'*, and Orkut has always a lot of movement during games, on Twitter too there are lot of engagement between supporters. *Times comes and you started knowing other supporters, and a sense of camaraderie is created.*" (Bernardo, emphasis added)

5.1.5 Supporting on 'Your Own'

As discussed in the previous two sections, the pre-assumed distinctions between 'real' face-to-face encounters and 'virtual' mediated socialisations start to blur in different supporters' discourses. Notions of 'togetherness' and 'apartness' start to be challenged by supporters as soon as within their discourse, they begin to mesh simultaneously here and there, online and offline, by myself and with others. As seen in the below quote by André, he exalts the idea of being together with fellow Liverpool supporters, even though he had never personally met them.

> "It is important to gather *the group*. *I live far from everyone else, but I have great friends that I never seen*. Just because of Liverpool." (André, emphasis added)

It is interesting to highlight in André's discourse the idea that he belongs to a group of supporters, nonetheless this group is formed by geographically distant individuals that had never physically met before. In this sense, André is showing that even that he is physically apart from the others, he is nevertheless 'together' with them in supporting Liverpool. 'Being there' appears to be one of the recurrent themes amongst supporters' discourses, which not only highlights their constant love for the club, but above all reinforces their authentic claims of being a 'real' supporter. For André this means gathering the group together, which should be understood as gathering the group 'virtually' together. Bernardo, for instance, in his discourse enriches the understanding of what it means 'to be there' as he normalises the idea of 'being virtually there' in comparison with 'being physically there'. For him, by reading and not necessarily engaging in the conversations with other supporters he is being there, and thus reinforcing his authenticity as a supporter.

> "I took part more frequently in the past [talking about the online communities]. The Orkut community *I almost never go*, because I never login on Orkut anymore. On Facebook I follow the posts and the group. *I am always there*, even just as a camper [a jargon used on online multiplayer first person shooting games that means who just hides] lol ... *I was more present*, but university is taking lots of my time, so *it is hard to be there* debating all the time. But it is an excellent *place to be*." (Bernardo, emphasis added)

As seen in Bernardo's discourse, his idea of engaging in online discussions on different groups without any physical movement is understood as demanding him 'to go

there', meshing together notions of imagination and physicality[61]. Also, when Bernardo highlights that those groups are 'a place to be', he is giving a physical connotation to something that is constructed in his imagination, in the sense that he can be there in presence even without physical movement. Thus, Bernardo is never truly by himself in any moment, as he constantly makes 'imaginary' trips to those places where by his presence he can claim authenticity and re-enact rituals as a supporter. Similar to what was found by Markham (1998) in respect to online bars, these forums and groups in supporters' discourses transcend the idea of being just a medium where they can exchange knowledge and participate in discussions to become a place where they can be and meet other supporters. As with the constant physical presence discussed in the literature review regarding authenticity, supporters in their discourse utilise the same strategy of showing their constant 'online' presence to highlight how authentic they are. Not only in Bernardo's discourse was this encountered, as it can also be seen in the below quote from Carla on how social media for her becomes an important place to be, important to the point that she created both a Facebook and a Whatsapp[62] group.

> "We found each other on Facebook really ... I was reading about Liverpool and saw that there was going to be a meeting to watch the game here in BH [Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais state capital] ... it was just the second one. *Then I went and now we have a Whatsapp group and we stay the whole day talking about Liverpool* ... I created a page [on Facebook] so it becomes easier to find others that also support.
>
> Interviewer: so you talk everyday on Whatsapp?

[61] For different forms of mobility see Urry (2000b)

[62] A popular messaging application solely for mobile phones that allows individuals to exchange messages/ videos/pictures over internet connection without further network charges. Individuals have also the ability to create groups

> *Yes, everyday ... social media is fundamental for the ones supporting abroad*" (Carla, emphasis added)

It is important to highlight that in Carla's discourse she emphasises that Whatsapp allowed her to form a group with fellow supporters that are physically separate but that enables them to communicate constantly and instantly. As with traditional notions of community, that gives prominence to physical and geographical propinquity which allows a constant exchange of ideas and the creation of a public space. Those groups formed on social media as on Facebook and Whatsapp permit supporters that are physically distant to be imaginative together and create a public space for discussion. Even not being able to physically meet others to watch games together, it was common in their discourses to highlight that even watching the games by 'themselves' they were actively engaging with other friends in the groups. That can be seen particularly in Flávio's quote below.

> "*Of meeting others is quite difficult*, it just happens in the principal places in Brazil as RJ [Rio de Janeiro] and SP [São Paulo] ... here is difficult, *but I have a friendship* with a Red [meaning a girl that also supports Liverpool] from RJ, and we talk because she does Geography at Uni too ... *I watch the games by myself at home, but always connected to Facebook and Twitter so I can comment and debate with other colleagues*" (Flávio, emphasis added)

It is a common practice between the groups I studied in both Switzerland and Brazil to create a thread to every single game that is used by the members to exchange commentaries about the game. These threads usually start two days prior to the game, with information such as the recent form on top and the TV channel that will broadcast the game, and normally it starts with members exchanging opinions about what would be the starting eleven and an analysis of the past game. The discussions gain momentum when the

starting eleven is officially released by the club and continue throughout the game and afterwards, as can be seen in the below image. It is not uncommon for these threads, especially in the Brazilian ones, to have over 100 commentaries.

Figure 13 - Games' Threads

In this sense, supporters emulate a physical public forum on their pages where they can continuously exchange commentaries and messages, as with the Whatsapp group for

Carla. Nonetheless, as pointed by Ricardo (see quote below) those mediated interactions insofar they emulate 'real' encounters by allowing supporters to interact with others, they are not the same thing as the emotions they generate are not equal. This goes in hand with what Luis mentioned previously in regard to ways in which supporters who are physically apart find to satisfy their need for belonging to a group.

> "*Face-to-face never*. Because I live in the countryside of Minas Gerais, in a small town, it is kind of hard [to meet other Liverpool supporters], I just know one lad that supports Liverpool that is from here, but we never met to watch a game together. On Internet, when I'm on my notebook, *sometimes I stay in the groups commenting about the game*, as it was with the Arsenal game last Sunday
>
> Interviewer: is it similar to be in a bar? are there more [supporters] doing that?
>
> *It is not the same thing, not the same emotion lol but you can exchange some ideas. It is kind of cool*." (Ricardo, emphasis added)

Despite this 'shortcoming' associated by supporters with mediated interactions they continuously seek forms of being together and reviving their rituals. As argued by Carla, social media is essential for physically distant supporters as it can emulate to a some degree this being-togetherness as pointed out by Ricardo, which is valued by all of them as one of the crucial characteristics of being an authentic supporter. Supporting, in this sense, is an act that can just happen 'together', be it physical or imaginative, and while most supporters I spoke to in Brazil are geographically dispersed they find ways of emulating and fulfilling their need of belonging through social media. Luis' account below shows the imaginative strategies he uses to fulfil this sentiment of being together with other supporters, and expresses the importance supporters attach to being part of a community.

> "For the first time I was happy [talking about the time he went to one of the physical meetings]. *To support alone is so sad*. I want to tell you something. In 2006, in the FA Cup final, I had just put payTV and for some reason ESPN lost signal. I left home and started banging all my neighbours' doors asking to watch the game. But no one opened the door, so I had to go back home and watched with a really bad signal. When we won, I left home to celebrate on the streets. It was like noon, *I was by myself screaming on the streets as a complete idiot*. It didn't last more than 10min, *because you are by yourself. You can't share your happiness with others*. Got back home thinking about it, and celebrating. *So you create strategies to fulfil this necessity* [to be with others]. *But I am always following, in the Kop, I always imagine myself there with the others, from the time I leave the pub, to the stadium, and then back home. It is like a mental effort, I know they don't know me, but if they knew me I would be one of them. It's a question of belonging*. (Luis, emphasis added)

It is interesting to note on Luis' discourse the emphasis he puts on the fact that by being by himself celebrating on the streets, he felt he acted as a complete idiot whereas if this ritual was enacted with others it will not be perceived as so. Nonetheless, if not through social media as discussed previously, Luis finds way of being imaginative together with fellow supporters. If supporting involves a constant effort of making regular trips to the stadium and sharing that emotions with others, supporters that are geographically dispersed find ways of fulfilling those deeds by constantly meeting others on social media to discuss and share their opinions, and imaginatively making those trips. Considering that those are the characteristics of which supporters base their claims on authenticity it is not hard to envision, as will be discussed in the following section, that those who enact those

deeds in a more burdensome way would regard themselves as more authentic, thus creating the inner hierarchisation as explained previously.

5.1.6 'The Harder the Battle, The Sweeter the Victory'

Different supporters in their interviews mentioned how difficult it was to follow Liverpool while abroad, especially in Brazil, and normally they related those difficulties to their claims of authenticity. For those supporters, because of Liverpool being a distant love it demanded of them a lot more in terms of time and effort for them to be able to do a simple deed as to watch all the games. In their discourses it is possible to see how they frame this quest for authenticity in comparison to other fans who either do not pass through those probations or do not need to pass (as the ones that are physically closer to the club). As pointed out by André in his quote, the odysseys he had to go through to watch Liverpool makes him more attached to the club, in the sense that it shows the level of involvement he needs to display to be considered a supporter.

> "*It was like an odyssey*. I even skipped class and work just to watch games. Things that I never did for Palmeiras [a Brazilian topflight football club] ... *When things are difficult* [talking about the odysseys to watch the games] *we get more attached to them*. That's why I am so attached to Liverpool ... In 2004, RedeTV [a Brazilian TV channel] was broadcasting the Champions League, but the reception here in the Northeast is terrible, so I had to watch the quarters against Juventus and the semis against Chelsea in black and white, and even with some intermittent signal. *In the final against Milan was even worse*, as I was 'fighting' against the

> antenna's cable to find a position that I could at least see something. I even went to attach the cable to the TV with a peg, but it didn't work. *I had to watch almost the whole game standing and holding the cable*." (André, emphasis added)

While it can normally be assumed that supporters that are physically distant and watch games at home do it out of convenience, in André's discourse it can be seen that it can also be an odyssey that demands a certain amount of effort. It is also important to highlight that those demands are not only imaginative, as in the case of Luis that was discussed in the previous section, but they can be also physically burdensome as André had to watch the whole game standing by the television. Nonetheless those privations are rewarded by a stronger sentiment of attachment that helps those supporters to claim authentic feelings for the club. As one of the most important rituals for supporters that are geographically distant from the club, watching the games and its demands was a recurrent topic in different supporters' discourse. As it could be seen in the below quote from Beto, he always had to find ways of watching Liverpool, and this proved to be one of his deeds that demonstrates authenticity. Finding where to watch, or which channel would be broadcasting the game, or convincing his friends to go with him to the shopping mall were trials he often faced prior to being able to enjoy the moment of watching Liverpool.

> "*I always had to juggle to find ways to watch the games*, like run to the shopping mall, go to friends' houses who had payTV ... *Internet made everything easier*. *Around 2004, 2005, everything was harder here*. Here at home we didn't had payTV (here lies a big difficulty as without payTV you cannot watch games) and I had to join my friends who went to the shopping mall to skate and I would leave early to watch what they called as 'the European games that Beto likes'. At that time the only channel that broadcasted Liverpool games was ESPN and to have

> payTV was synonym of being rich, at least here. Nowadays we have online streaming, real time commentary, two TV channels broadcasting, and I think Internet helped a lot. *Now I don't need to run to the shopping mall to watch the games*." (Beto, emphasis added)

As explained previously in relation of their claims of authenticity, there is a strong presence of temporality in Beto's discourse as he emphasises that before it was really hard to find ways to watch the games, while nowadays Internet made everything easier. This nostalgic sentiment was also present in different supporters' discourse, and in particular in one of them that claimed he started supporting Liverpool from distance before Internet was invented. If for Beto and most of the other supporters one of the most important deeds was the act of finding ways to watch the games, different supporters also mentioned the difficulty in getting information, and particularly good information, about Liverpool. As it can be seen in Antônio's quote below, when he started supporting Liverpool in the 1980s he passed through probations especially regarding how to get informed of what was going on with the club, to the extent that he asked his Geography teacher about the city and its history.

> "At that time [1980s] *I just followed Liverpool through magazines and small news in newspapers or TV shows, which were pretty rare*. I ended up asking my geography teacher in school about Liverpool lol I read the newspaper, they always showed the results, but there was also Placar [a famous weekly sport - especially football - magazine in Brazil], and afterwards I discovered that World Soccer was sold in a stand next to my house. *After with the Internet it became easier to get info*, and I started researching more about Liverpool." (Antônio, emphasis added)

Again, as with the previous discussed discourses, there is a nostalgic interpretation of past probations, which were perceived to be more demanding than new ones. This nostalgic interpretation reflects a wish to authenticate this long relationship to the club by not only amplifying those past achievements, but above all undermining deeds performed by new supporters. This search for information as a trial that supporters need to pass in order to be able to consider themselves as authentic supporters is intensified by language barriers. Learning about the club and understanding its history can be considered an 'ordeal' as it involves a process of searching for information that is not only reliable but also 'authentic'. There is a strong emphasis by the supporters I spoke to in both Switzerland and Brazil that the most authentic information comes from the English press or English websites. Nonetheless, to be able to understand those websites, supporters need to have a good command of English, which is not always the case. The picture below was taken during one of my trips to Switzerland in 2011 and it highlights this language barrier notion.

Figure 14 - Learn English in 32 Weeks

To be able to understand English and read those ‘authentic’ reports and historical facts is, in the process of passing those trials, exalted by supporters. Trying to make sense of the content, translating, half understanding, and asking others for help can be comprehended as being a similar process to standing by the television and proving one’s love for the club. This mental and physical effort is always recompensed with the joy of better understanding the club, and bridging the geographical gap that they perceive to have. During one of the participant observation encounters in Liverpool, Nora explained to me her desire to better understand English and her continuous effort to learn by persinstently checking English websites and watching the BBC, especially Match of the Day. Similar discourse is also found in Paulo’s account of how he kept in touch with Liverpool.

"*For a while it was really difficult to keep in touch*, as the English championship wasn't that disseminated like it is today, Internet was really amateur, but after like 2000, 2001 and *after that it became easier*. Watched always when they showed the games, and I started going to English websites.

Interviewer: so you looked just in English sites, or could you find info also in Brazilian websites?

Always in English sites, because at that time was difficult to find anything worth in Brazil. So I looked and tried to translate, but after I learned English it became easier. What they had in Brazil was really superficial" (Paulo, emphasis added)

As seen throughout this section, the sense of passing by probations being them physical or mental, and the rewards associated with their passing is recurrent in the discourses of different supporters. As they have gone through those ordeals to follow Liverpool, by making something intelligible and harder to grasp to something natural, their discourse authenticates their true love for the club. This process of falling in love with Liverpool seems to be central to the way they authenticate their narratives, and to how they use this discourse to justify their perceived 'deviant' behaviour, consequently it will be discussed in length in the next sections.

5.2 Concluding Remarks on Being in Love

As discussed in the previous sections dealing with 'being a Liverpool supporter', the discourses that were found share a similar structure to the one found in the literature review. Nonetheless, the content used by the supporters I interviewed differs from the ones

explored in the literature review. Supporters, in this study, create and re-create forms to validate their authentic behaviour and at the same time construct hierarchical discourses that demote others by issuing them non-authentic characteristics. Authentication takes place through discourses that elevate notions of temporality, knowledge, and physical and mental probations passed, to a central position, while non-authentic supporters, or fans, likers and tourists, lack at least one of those characteristics. Also, supporters in their discourses tended to normalise their mediated socialisations, or mediated ritualisations as supporters, in the sense that if non-mediated forms were perceived by them as one of the central aspects of being a supporter, they had to find ways to fulfil those activities. Attending a game in the stadium or watching a game through television, or physically meeting with other supporters or 'attending' imaginative meetings, or talking to others or Facebook chatting, were equalised in their discourses to the point that if the contextualisation was to be removed from them, it would be impossible to know if they were physically there or not.

In sum, it is already possible to envision some of the theoretical contributions, which will be discussed in length in the next chapter, that the discourses on being a supporter enlighten. Notions of language, physical and imaginative mobility, flows of communication, transnational forms of life, nation-state political borders as barriers for socialisations or belonging, the drawing of boundaries between mediated and direct socialisations, and of authentic and inauthentic fandom were all addressed in the different discourses discussed in this section.

CHAPTER SIX

ON BECOMING A COSMOPOLITAN FOOTBALL FAN

6.1. On Becoming a Cosmopolitan Football Fan

6.1.1 Introduction

After discussing the discourses that supporters construct to explain their love for the club in the previous section, in this section I will outline through their discourses how this love developed. Initially I will focus on the discourses they use to justify the process of falling in love with Liverpool, their first encounter with English football and in particular with Liverpool FC. This process of understanding supporters' discourse construction in relation to how they fell in love resonates with what Bauman (2003) describes in his book about interpersonal love and the quest for finding meanings. It will be highlighted throughout the discourse analysis the emphasis supporters in both Brazil and Switzerland put on the fact that falling in love was something that happened by accident, as if destiny put them in contact with Liverpool. Also, as will be discussed in length during the next sections, I will explore how supporters frame their discourses about destiny by highlighting not only that they could have fallen in love with other clubs but did not, but moreover falling in love, even with an inanimate object is a mutual process that involves two parties. Within a second section of this chapter, I will examine how supporters construct their discourses in relation to learning to love Liverpool FC, and how this aspect of knowing about Liverpool, or the other party in a relationship, is regarded by supporters as a duty. For supporters as I will further explain, knowing to and how to love becomes to love. In a third section, I will further explore how supporters construct their discourses around having multiple and simultaneous love, focusing in particular on how they explain continuing to love their 'local' club and their national side in parallel with loving Liverpool

and England. In a fourth section I will discuss how supporters use those stories of falling in love and learning to love to 'invent' their individual historiographies. Finally, this chapter will end by providing a discussion on how supporters use their stories as authentic fans as discursive praxis to 'justify' their 'deviant'[63] love for Liverpool FC.

6.1.2 On Falling in Love with Liverpool FC

During my participant observations with Liverpool supporters from Switzerland, both there and in England, I normally started our conversations by trying to understand how they became supporters in the first place. This was also my first question (see appendices) given during the interviews I conducted with supporters in Brazil. It was a topic, that from my point of view, helped to break the ice of a first encounter and set up the rest of the conversations. At that time I was not conscious of the fact that supporters would use love as a metaphor to explain their relationship with Liverpool, retrospectively looking now to this approach this made sense as one common topic about love relationships is to talk about how the couple met (Bauman, 2003).

A recurrent theme in supporters' discourse when I asked them to explain and recount the stories of how they started supporting Liverpool was that it happened by accident, out of destiny. Not only did they fall in love with Liverpool by accident, but it was a reciprocal feeling, something inside them that sparkled that sentiment. Other clubs that they have met previously, as explained by supporters in both Brazil and Switzerland, have not aroused any feelings and thus they continued in their search for something more

[63] The notion of 'deviant' love is constructed by the academic discourse on authentic fans as demonstrated in the discourse analysis performed in the literature review

important. As explained to me by Nora in one of our many conversations during the participant observations, she used to be a supporter of her local side in Switzerland and attend every game with her father. Her passion for football in general drew her to look abroad for different leagues and different clubs to follow. As England is considered to be the birthplace of football, it was not by accident that she started following from a distance, both emotionally, mentally and physically, the English Premier League. She used to watch games on television and participate in online forums to discuss English football. Nonetheless her reasons for deciding to support Liverpool can be interpreted as being an accident as it was not the first club she had contact with. After a trip to London to watch a West Ham United game, where she had not enjoyed or empathised with the club, she had the opportunity to go to a Liverpool European away game, because of an invitation from Edgar who she knew only through the online forums. Edgar was going with Adele and Quincy, and thus had a spare place in the car and in the second hotel room (sharing with Quincy). Her decision to go on this trip, without even knowing any of the three personally proved to be fruitful as she not only enjoyed the game, she fell in love with Liverpool FC, and even fell in love with Quincy as well. This story from Nora highlights the idea that falling in love with the club is not a complete conscious decision that depends entirely on the individual, as it was the destiny for her to get invited to go to this away trip and fell in love with both Liverpool and Quincy. Edgar told me that he invited her as he commonly saw her lurking on the online forum and decided to make the move to get her more involved with the community. If it was not for Edgar's move, Nora would not have had the opportunity to fall in love with both. Ricardo, as he explains in the below quote, shares a similar story to Nora's as it was again by chance that he found Liverpool, and it was not his first time being in contact with English football.

> "Well, I was really young at that time, I was 12, and I just watched Brazilian football. *Then at that time I started watching Esporte Interativo* [a small TV channel in Brazil] on the satellite TV, the first English game I watched was Chelsea vs West Ham and *I didn't like any of the team, I couldn't identify myself with them*. *Then I watched the first Liverpool game*, was a Liverpool vs [Manchester] United, Liverpool lost 2-1, *and I saw the maestro* [Steven] *Gerrard and I liked the player*, then I started following more Liverpool and I saw in one of the games the supporters singing 'You'll Never Walk Alone' and I found it amazing. That is how everything started [...] I can't remember exactly the date/ year." (Ricardo, emphasis added)

In Ricardo's discourse it can be seen that it was not a completely conscious decision in the first place to start watching English football, as it was by chance that he had it available through this small broadcasting channel. The story he recounts of watching the first Liverpool game after watching Chelsea and West Ham, and empathising with a player straight away brings back the notion of love at first sight, in the sense that he reinforces the idea that it is not something mechanic but involves feelings that can not be fully explained. Other supporters in the interviews and in the participant observations also expressed that they could not fully explain why they started supporting Liverpool in the first place, and this can be seen more vividly in Vicente's quote below.

> "*Well, I can't remember when I became a Scouser* [...] *I can't remember when I really started following the club* [he explained previously that he used to watch English Premier League with his History teacher who supported usually Arsenal and Manchester United, and he always decided to be the other side], I just know that around 2007-2008 I joined the community on Orkut. I didn't became a kopite

> because of trend as it happens with [Manchester] United, Chelsea, [Manchester] City or Arsenal. *It was by chance*, even more because we haven't won anything in ages" (Vicente, emphasis added)

Vicente can not fully explain how he started supporting Liverpool as it was by chance that he started feeling it, however he does try in his discourse to consciously stress that it was not because of a trend. In this sense, by being by chance and not a fully conscious decision, which he argues would probably involve supporting a winning side, his process of falling in love with Liverpool can be read as having an authenticating tone to it. Vicente, while recounting his story, highlights that it was not by interest that he decided to follow Liverpool, giving more prominence to the pureness of his relationship. This idea of building an emotional relationship that starts by accident, as seen in the previous quotes, is a recurrent discourse used by different supporters to interpret their decision to follow Liverpool. This notion of it being a process where the supporters need to learn to truly love the club will be explored in detail in the next section, nonetheless it is important to highlight the associations they made between learning and loving. As explained by Luis in the below quote, he started following English football by accident, which progressed to only following Liverpool, and in the process of following the club he started to naturally fall in love with it. It was, as he explains, an inner feeling that grew over time to the point he realised that Liverpool was his only passion.

> "Thanks to globalisation. *I learned about English football* when Manshit [Manchester United] beat Palmeiras [a Brazilian side from São Paulo] in the World Club Cup in 1999. *From there I started following European football, but I just started following Liverpool at the end of [Michael] Owen's Era. I ended up adopting the club just as a regular fan. But time went on and I started to get more*

> *attached to it, following more, and I perceived that everything made me feel so good emotionally*. So around 2003, 2004, I was still young, was 15 at that time, it was just following even more [the club] because we didn't had big groups on Internet yet. *But things started to get more serious naturally to the point I realised that I only support Liverpool and no other club*. I started to get pissed when we lost, and really to celebrate when we won. Until we got in that final in 2005 and everything connected. *In the game against Olympiakos I cried for the first time*." (Luis, emphasis added)

Different from the other supporters' discourses discussed previously, Luis' passion for the club was not love at first sight, but was a feeling that grew slowly internally to a level when he realised Liverpool was his only love. A decisive moment for the expression of this love was when he cried for the first time. In this sense, it was an unconscious process that made him attracted to the club, but the turning point to this feeling was when he consciously perceived that love. As mentioned previously, this search for a reason or a moment is commonly found on interpersonal love discourses (Bauman, 2003). Nonetheless, as discussed earlier the process of falling in love with Liverpool was not solely unidirectional, different supporters highlight that it was not them choosing Liverpool, but it was Liverpool calling them. This was particularly clear within Maria's discourse when she emphasises that she could not explain why she became fascinated with the club to the point that she was crying. Again, as with Luis' account, it is possible to see the importance supporters put to inner feelings in respect of showing their authentic love for the club, in the sense that truly falling in love needs external demonstrations of love. Similar to what was discussed in the previous section about 'the harder the battle, the

sweeter the victory', in order for supporters to demonstrate their true love, they need to suffer as well.

> "I always tell everyone, when they ask me that, *is that I haven't chosen Liverpool, Liverpool chose me by destiny*. It was simple, I was watching the Champions League final in 2007, I liked football, but didn't follow much, well I was watching the game and Liverpool fascinated me so much that at the end of the game, *when we lost, I was crying my eyes out and didn't knew why*, after that I started following more and went to discover the club's history and really be part of the supporters." (Maria, emphasis added)

It is also possible to interpret, using Maria's discourse, the apparent process of falling in love with the club, where initially there is no emotional attachment and over time the feeling grow to a turning point where they become fascinated and want to know more about the club. In this sense, as previously argued, being in love with Liverpool it is not just a present act, but involves a continuous falling in love, which is reinforced by their rituals as demonstrated in the previous chapter. Above all, supporters understand that this continuous act of falling in love is particularly reinforced by learning to love, or learning about their loved one.

Nonetheless, as argued by Bauman (2003) understanding why someone fell in love with another one, or in this case with a football club, is just a rationalisation of unconscious decisions, and this notion can be seen throughout this section. Supporters tend to attribute importance and special meanings to particular occasions that, for them could explain why they came to fall in love with Liverpool. This, as will be discussed in greater depth in further sections can be read as invented individual historiographies, in the sense that supporters create and re-create interpretations to fulfil gaps in what I call the

traditional invented collective historiographies. Carla's quote below appropriately summarises this section.

> "[...] you will reach the conclusion, if you haven't reached yet, that *football we cannot explain why we support a team*, [...] *we [just] feel*.
>
> Interviewer : is it like love?
>
> Carla: Yes, *football and love are the same*. We get beaten but we continue to love it." (Carla, emphasis added)

6.1.3 On Learning to Love Liverpool FC...

Walking on the streets one day during my participant observation period in Switzerland I had the luck to find this billboard from Canal+ in one of the bus stops (see image below), one of the official broadcasters in Switzerland of the English Premier League, advertising English football and stating that you could learn English in thirty two weeks. As mentioned in a previous section, supporters in both Switzerland and Brazil highlighted in their discourses the idea of overcoming difficulties to love Liverpool, and between the many challenges they face, one in particular revolves around language barriers. In this instance, the meanings behind this image reinforce this notion that you need to learn, in this case language, to fully appreciate English football and this idea was present in different discourses I encountered during my participant observation and interviews. But if the advert is looked at with special attention, the headline emphasises the necessity to learn English, nonetheless in really small letters under the Barclays Premier League logo it can be read that Canal+ broadcasts all the games in French. In this sense,

even if the main message of the advert can be said to highlight some sort of cosmopolitanisation by claiming the possibility of learning a second language through watching English football it still emphasises some sort of nationalisation by asserting that the games would be made comprehensible through 'translation'. The 'translation' here should be understood broadly in terms of cultural translation and not only language, in the sense that French-speaking commentators would be culturally interpreting the game, and translating it into a more intelligible manifestation for Swiss viewers.

Figure 15 - Learn English in 32 Weeks #2

Nonetheless, as pointed out by the supporters in Switzerland during the participant observation, and through their strong reliance on British media for sharing information on Facebook, this cultural translation is not perceived by them as being authentic and thus is normally not sought after. For them, learning to love English football, and in particular Liverpool, demands them to search for information that they regard as coming from 'the original source', in a process which would allow them to fully comprehend culturally what is going on, on and off the field. This was particularly evident in different discourses in the interviews with supporters in Brazil, as it can be seen in Beto's quote below where he explains where he looked for information regarding Liverpool.

> "Mate, I always loved English. But I was never a good speaker. I am from a working class family, got my computer when I got my first job, and you can imagine how difficult is to live this europeanisation like this. *In the beginning I had to satisfy myself with websites with really poor info*, completely partial, modest ... even absurds sometimes lol *Had to satisfy myself with Brazilian media*. *But with time I started learning English and started reading the media from the club's land*. Even the club's official website was a taboo for me, but now, like 5 to 6 years, I read frequently them. *Nowadays I don't read anything else about the club in Portuguese*." (Beto, emphasis added)

Beto's account is particularly relevant as it shows this ongoing process of learning about the club alongside learning a new language. For Beto, websites and media in Brazil can not fully satisfy his desire to learn about the club as the information is always considered to be biased and filtered by someone else's eyes. To learn in this sense is to experience first hand the club, to learn from the original sources, from the media located geographically where the club is. This geographical metaphysically of media accounts is

an interesting phenomenon as it appears to show how authenticity was granted to some supporters as discussed in the academic discourse analysis. This point is transposed and reflected in the way supporters in Brazil and Switzerland assess the different media outlets. While they do not see geographical barriers as indicating authenticity regarding fandom, they do nonetheless transpose this to media accounts, where the local media - Liverpool Echo - becomes one of the most accessed and read webpages. Learning from the 'original and authentic source' becomes, as the image below shows, an obligation for supporters.

Figure 16 - Obliged to Learn

It can be read on the top of the post, which was shared by the page admin, that if you can read English you have the obligation to read about the history of Luis Suarez and how this history impacted on the way he plays and acts in the pitch. Learning about the players or the club's history is to different supporters in both Brazil and Switzerland, a way of showing their devotion and love for the club. As Luis explains in the below quote, he understands that learning about the club is a fundamental duty for any supporter. Learning becomes an act of carefully studying the different aspects of the club's history, and above all, linking that to the cultural specificities of supporting an English side.

> "The fundamental point for me [in respect of learning about Liverpool] was when I got really on Internet in 2004 and 2005. *So I started studying the team. Learning about it*. *I got lots of international magazines* from a friend I made in England. A gringo liked me at that time, and *sent me lots of Liverpool magazines*." (Luis, emphasis added)

In Luis discourse is possible not only to see this notion of there being a duty to learn about Liverpool, but also his reliance on showcasing the authenticity of the source. First he could not learn properly without Internet, as it constrained him to follow just what the Brazilian media reported. Second, for not solely relying on the Brazilian media, something that would go against the idea of authenticity in his view, he claims to have had access to international magazines, in particularly magazines from Liverpool. In this sense, as explained previously, there is a strong link between authenticity and locality, if not for determining who is the authentic fan, but for determining the sources of information. This notion of locality and authenticity was particular clear on the accounts of both Beto and Guilherme when they explained their process of learning about Liverpool. Beto, as he explains in the below quote, highlights the differences between learning about Liverpool

and learning about Flamengo, the other club he supports, and claims that in respect of the former it was through a non-linear fashion.

> "*With Flamengo I was conditioned as basically all kids in Brazil are. With Liverpool I had to learn in a non-linear fashion, looking for things I wanted to know on that specific time.* Like today I am going to check who scored more goals for the club, today I am going to check the starting XI of our first Champions League title. Everything through the Internet, because TV doesn't help you with this." (Beto, emphasis added)

The linearity that Beto mentions reflects the notion of learning in situ, in the sense that the learning happens while the facts take place. Through his discourse it is possible to see how he relates linearity to normality, as he claims that he learned about Flamengo naturally as all kids learn about their loved clubs. Here, hidden in his discourse the notion of normality which was discussed in the academic discourse analysis can be seen, where learning to love and deciding whom to love is passed from father to son, in a natural process. On the other hand, when he mentions that he learned about Liverpool through a non-linear way he is highlighting the fact that he could not only choose what to learn, but especially to choose from where to learn. And from where to learn becomes the anchor point in the different supporters' narratives to claim authenticity, as they tend to highlight that when to learn is in fact an individual decision. This view is clearly seen in the below discourse from Guilherme when he relates both learning to love 'in England' and 'abroad'.

> "*The big difference between following a team from abroad is that in England the history and stories are naturally transmitted*, and as I live in Brazil that [the club's history] doesn't show in the media, *so the supporter needs to look for info*. First I looked at sites from the broadcasting channels, but the info were really basic, so I

started looking for info on the official Premier League and Liverpool sites." (Guilherme, emphasis added)

For Guilherme, the fact that he can not learn as naturally as someone in England (because he has not been in contact with the club on a daily basis) demands that he look for information. This need for learning expresses the desire to claim authenticity, and to prove to a certain extent, love for the club. In this sense, supporters seek forms of learning that mimic this constant metaphysical contact by emphasising the distinctiveness in terms of authenticity of the official webpage or the local media. If they can replicate the rituals of local supporters in learning to love, especially by engaging with the local media - Liverpool Echo - they would do so in a way that can bridge their geographical distance. As argued by different supporters in Brazil during their interviews, reading the Liverpool Echo and avoiding any links from The Sun newspaper becomes a daily routine that allows them to experience first hand the club, mimicking to some extent this 'natural' learning that they praised. In this sense, as mentioned previously, the decision of what to learn becomes an individual construction while from where to learn is collectively constructed in a way that imitates the claims of authenticity encountered, especially in the first phase of the academic discourse analysis genealogy. For them to truly learn to love Liverpool involves not only an individual desire to learn, but especially being able to engage with the same sources that are collectively perceived as authentic. Nonetheless, as it will be discussed in the next section, learning to love Liverpool does not involve forgetting their previous love, in the sense that learning to love also means finding ways of accommodating multiple coexisting passions.

6.1.4 ...But Without Forgetting Old Loves

In my first contact with Nora during my participant observation period in Switzerland I started our conversation in a pub in Lausanne asking her about her story as a football fan and how she became a Liverpool fan. She went on to explain to me her passion for football, her relationship with English football and to Liverpool as I described in a previous sections. Nonetheless, during our conversation she also explained to me how she got into football and how this love for football made her look for another club abroad. Nora was a season ticket holder of her local football club - a second tier Swiss team - during her youth and attended all matches with her father. Becoming a football supporter was something natural to her, as she was introduced at an early age to football by her family, especially her father. In this sense, it can be said that her first passion for football grew locally while attending all home matches and some away matches with her father. Nora did not have a choice in this regard to choose which team to initially support and this aspect was also observed in different interviews I conducted with supporters in Brazil. As Beto explains in the below quote, deciding his first team to support was some sort of family imposition that he could not fight against.

> "Exactly [talking about his family as football supporters]. *Here at home everyone* is flamenguista [supporters of CR Flamengo]. And obviously that final in 1981 [Liverpool faced Flamengo in the club world cup final] was a catalyser for everything I felt since then *as a Liverpool and Flamengo supporter*. *Flamengo was almost like a catechism for us*." (Beto, emphasis added)

Beto's quote is revealing on different levels, in respect to how supporters decide which teams to follow, and how they manage their multiple affiliations. In the first place,

he highlights the fact that he supports Flamengo out of some sense of duty to his family, something that was imposed on him and his siblings through a constant ritual. His analogy to catechism and thus to religious rituals is important in the sense that it reinforces the notion that supporting Flamengo was a constant act of devotion that was passed on by his parents. Above all, catechism involves the idea of following a set of rituals with questions and answers that instructed him as to the right ways of supporting Flamengo. In this sense, deciding to support Flamengo was a choice made by his family and he had just to follow the instructions to become a full member of that community of followers. On another level, his discourse is important as he emphasises the fact that he is both a Flamengo and a Liverpool supporter, opening the opportunity to understand how he became a Liverpool supporter. While he focuses on family (everyone at home supports Flamengo) and catechism in relation to Flamengo, supporting Liverpool can be said to represent the opposite: an individual choice and an individual learning process, as explained previously. Being a family choice to support a team, which is inherited culturally was also central in Antônio's discourse when he explains why he also follows Vasco da Gama.

> "Everyone told and still tells me that I am crazy for supporting Liverpool. *They tell me I am Brazilian, not English lol. But Vasco* [da Gama] *is also in my heart, I am son of a Portuguese couple* [historically Vasco da Gama was the club for the Portuguese community in Rio de Janeiro]. *I have the same feelings for Vasco and for Liverpool*." (Antônio, emphasis added)

It is interesting in Antônio's discourse the links he makes between territoriality and truly supporting a football club. As he explains, others tend to criticise him on his choice of supporting Liverpool by him not having any territorial attachment to the club, whilst he does have supposedly blood and cultural links to Vasco da Gama. As discussed in the

discourse analysis of the academic discourse on football fandom otherness, cultural and blood links were conditions that granted supporters authenticity especially in the first phase of the genealogy. This notion of territoriality is better explained by both Carla and Flávio in the below quotes.

> "Well, *lets say in territorial terms there is no much problem in supporting Galo [Atlético Mineiro] and Liverpool*, even more because the chance of they playing against each other is almost nil lol *But lots of people do not understand why we end choosing a team so far away*, on the other side of the world, but in reality, it is them that choose us." (Carla, emphasis added)

> "Yes, I support Náutico [Clube Náutico Capibaribe] too. They are my passion. Náutico and Liverpool. Only.
>
> Interviewer: But people accept that? That you support more than one club?
>
> *Here in Pernambuco people are really provincialist, there is no I am Sport* [Recife - another club from Pernambuco state] *and São Paulo* [a team from São Paulo state, 1600 miles distant from Recife, the capital of Pernambuco], *it is not acceptable and neither common*, especially because of the state's history [Pernambuco had an emancipatory revolt in the 1800s]. *But in relation to international teams is something really new*, boosted by information and communication technological advances that allow you to follow clubs from other countries, *and by being something recent and by being from outside Brazil it is not seem as a problem*." (Flávio, emphasis added)

As both Carla and Flávio highlight, territoriality plays an important part in deciding what would be considered as normal or as deviant. As they both explain, it is somehow

acceptable to support more than one club if they are not bound geographically, in the sense that they would not be competing for geographical or blood solidarity. It is interesting, especially in Flávio's discourse, how he underlines that the geographical distance is less important than the nation-state boundaries in determining what would be considered normal and acceptable. Even that Pernambuco lies 1600 miles from São Paulo by both being within the Brazilian borders would make someone supporting a team in each state unthinkable. Nonetheless, if both teams are in different nation-states it appears that supporting both is a logical and acceptable decision. Nevertheless, as it will be discussed further in a next section, supporters find ways of justifying through their discursive praxis those 'deviant' attachments that do not share both blood or territorial qualities. Going back to Antônio's discourse, another important passage is when he emphasises that both clubs are in his heart, meaning that on one hand he can still maintain his love for Vasco da Gama - something he inherited from his parents - while on the other hand he can still love Liverpool on a same level without further distinction - something he decided individually. This can also be seen in Flávio's account. In spite of this apparent levelness between their old love and new love that both Nora, Beto, and Antônio - in this initial quote - recount, supporters were always eager to create hierarchies between the multiple teams they support. The levelness in their discourse, in this instance, should not be considered as ahierarchical but instead should be read as a discursive praxis that tend not to put one above other as seen in the below quote from Beto.

> "*Mate, I believe nowadays is more like equal than one over the other* [talking about his love for Liverpool and Flamengo]. I don't consider myself alienated, neither for Liverpool, or Flamengo. I love football since I was a kid [...] *But this*

happiness triplicates when I see is Flamengo and/or Liverpool on the pitch." (Beto, emphasis added)

Nevertheless, they seem to be conscious about a possible hierarchisation which was more evident further on in the interview with Antônio as the below quote shows.

"So far both haven't played against each other [talking about Vasco and Liverpool], *but today I am more Liverpool than Vasco lol I always say like this: Vasco is tradition, Liverpool is from the heart. Vasco is a family tradition, my father used to take me to the games always, and afterwards I went by myself. But Liverpool I chose, during my childhood, but I chose*." (Antônio, emphasis added)

The quote above reinforces the two levels and notions that have been discussed so far in this section. First it provides another vivid account of the multiple loyalties supporters have, and gives an insight into how those loyalties come into existence. Second, and most importantly, is how Antônio finishes his sentence by emphasising that even though he was not born a Liverpool supporter, he nonetheless chose to be one during his childhood. This is interesting again on two levels, first by the emphasis given to the fact he could choose to be a Liverpool fan in contrast of being 'imposed' by his family, and second by highlighting that the process of choosing to support Liverpool was taken during his childhood. This last point reinforces what was previously discussed regarding the features supporters regard as providing authenticity, especially a long history of supporting the club. The quotes below from Paulo and Luis give a more detailed account of this multiplicity of love and how both come into existence.

"I am palmeirense [Palmeiras supporter] since I am a kid. *But since I 'discovered' Liverpool* it can be said I am first Liverpool." (Paulo)

> "*I come from a family that supports Palmeiras, and when I was young just because of tradition I followed it. But after I met Liverpool* I understood that I didn't loved the other. I don't have two hearts. Mine just have space for Liverpool." (Luis, emphasis added)

In so much that Luis claims that his heart does not have space for more than one club, and that might contradict what has been discussed so far in this section, his assertion should be read differently. The interesting part of his quote is the fact that he for some time supported both Palmeiras and Liverpool, and both for different reasons in a similar fashion to those other supporters I interviewed (as with the above quote from Paulo). What is important is the emphasis he gives to the fact that he had the chance of choosing to support Liverpool, and secondly he created a hierarchy in which Palmeiras was put aside. As with Beto, Nora and Antônio the apparent levelness that just one club in Luis' heart might create should not be understood as something ahierarchical, but on the contrary must be seen as hidden hierarchisations that relegates Palmeiras to a place where love does not play a part. To summarise this section, the below quote from Renato does a great service as it reinforces the notion of there being an individual choice to support Liverpool, and that hierarchies are created between the multiple loves supporters nourish.

> "In that time [1970s] in the States outside Rio-SP [Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo] axis *we 'could' support one team each state. So I started picking a team in each country too*, but the love for Liverpool is, without a doubt, bigger than any other team that *I chose* in other countries." (Renato, emphasis added)

6.1.5 The Collective Historiographies

In the past sections I reflected upon supporters' discourses in relation to their historiographies as supporters, firstly by looking to their actual praxis as supporters and second as to how they became a football supporter. Considering all that has been reflected so far, disregarding the section in which I discussed their membership to an extended community, the results tend to point to an overly individualistic notion in which supporters either enact their rituals by themselves, or chose to support Liverpool through an individual choice or call of love. In so much as this individualism discourse was overtly present during many of the interviews and the participant observations, there were moments in which those same supporters would express some sort of collective notions. As discussed previously in regard of being a Liverpool supporter and collectivism, in this section I will seek to explore supporters' discourses that reflect some sort of heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) and point to the coexistence of both individualism and collectivism discourses.

During my first encounter with the supporters in Switzerland, I arranged to meet Edgard and Adele in a pub in Geneva when they introduced me to other supporters who were past members and coming new members to the Swiss Liverpool Official Branch. During this first encounter I sat close to Adele on a big table that all ten of us shared. In this instance, she became my chief informant during that night as the conversation was flowing around the table while we watched Liverpool play Wigan. As with the interviews, as explained previously, I always started the conversations asking the supporters to tell me their histories and stories of how they became Liverpool supporters in the first place. With Adele this was no different, and what she recounted provides a good initial illustration of

how collective and individual decisions coexist harmoniously in regard to choosing which team to support. Adele was not a fan of football until she met Edgard who already followed Liverpool. During their first encounters, Edgard invited Adele for a weekend trip to England, and particularly to Liverpool. Knowing that Edgard was a Liverpool supporter and that the trip would probably involve watching football, she was in a position of choosing between spending a weekend in the company of the man she loved, which involved going to the match for 90 minutes, or not making the trip because of this 90 minutes of football - something that she did not like at the time - and maybe losing him for good. Adele chose the former, and spent as she described a marvellous weekend in the company of Edgard. She not only made the right decision in regard to going with Edgard, as their relationship grew strong after that, but especially in her recount in relation to becoming a Liverpool supporter. What the discourse in this first story shows is the intersection between what was discussed in previous sections regarding deciding to become a Liverpool supporter as an individual choice, with a collective construction that to some extent imposed on her some restrictions to which club she could support. Above all, what is interesting in this story is the link between family ties and the decision process to support a club. As discussed in the previous section, family, territoriality and cultural inheritance is regarded by different supporters as the traditional way of becoming a football supporter, and here in Adele's story it is possible to see how family links to individualism in her decision process. Those links were also encountered during the interviews with supporters in Brazil, as the below quote from Antônio illustrates.

> "I support Liverpool, and I really support them, *because of the influence of one of my uncles*, who showed me The Beatles when I was still a kid. And as I have

> always been crazy for football, *I went to research which teams they had in the land of The Beatles*." (Antônio, emphasis added)

It is interesting in Antônio's discourse to see the connections he makes between The Beatles and Liverpool FC. What he highlights is not the fact that John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison or Ringo Starr were massive fans of Liverpool FC, but that they were from the city. This notion of territoriality becomes an important factor to construct their feelings of belonging to this wider community of supporters, and as briefly discussed previously, reinforce imagined rivalries with other regions and cities in England. At the same time, another important part in Antônio's discourse is the fact that he confers on his uncle the honour of introducing him to The Beatles, which could be read as indirectly influencing him in becoming a Liverpool supporter. In this sense, Antônio's discourse embraces both notions of territoriality and familiarity in directing him towards Liverpool. A similar discourse was found during the interview with Carla when she explains how she became a Liverpool supporter as seen in the below quote.

> "I love The Beatles since I was 8, *my cousins that introduced me* to the beatlemania. So in 2011 after I finished Uni I backpacked around Europe and *went to Liverpool* [because of The Beatles]. *My cousin supported Liverpool* (nowadays she supports Arsenal lol) and we ended buying tickets for the game against Bolton. *It was after that that I started liking Liverpool*." (Carla, emphasis added)

The way that Carla relates her passion for The Beatles is interesting, her early introduction to them by her cousins, and how one of her cousin also introduced her to Liverpool. In so much as her cousin changed allegiance to another team, which as the academic discourse analysis showed might be interpreted as deviant, she continued to

support Liverpool nevertheless. Chiefly what should be highlighted in her discourse is the notion of territoriality by her emphasis in relating The Beatles to Liverpool and her initial decision to go there because of the band. Her love for the club thus could be said to follow a territorial love for the city that was initially a love for the band. As much as these previous discourses basically showed others influencing my informants to become Liverpool supporters, the inverse process was also present during some interviews. As described by Luis below, his devotion to Liverpool ended up influencing others to not only nickname him as Liverpool at university but also some of his friends started supporting the club.

> "*I have friends that started supporting Liverpool afterwards because of me*. Lots came to know the team because they knew someone that supported Liverpool. My nickname at Uni was Liverpool." (Luis, emphasis added)

To the extent that this quote reveals the processes by which the supporters I spoke to influenced others to start to love Liverpool it does not acknowledge the previously discussed notions of territoriality and kinship. Nevertheless the latter can be found in both discourses of André and Percival when they described how they ended up influencing their family members to follow Liverpool with them. As seen in the below image, André ended up making all his family members to wear the Liverpool top while watching one of the games.

Figure 17 - André's Family Supporting LFC

As he described during the interview (see below quote), he not only influenced his family to support the club, but also one of his students. This discourse reveals a communitarian process in shaping the way people come to support clubs from abroad, that can be considered to be in direct opposition to the individual process discussed so far in the previous sections.

> "I have a student that supports Liverpool with me. Well, *he doesn't support Liverpool*, but he likes to study with me and loves to watch the games with me. Look at this pic, when I influenced the whole family to support Liverpool." (André, emphasis added)

Nonetheless, this quote from André also reveals the previously discussed notion of authenticity, in the sense that he does not grant his student the status of being a supporter,

meaning that this student has probably not gone through all of the processes described previously that supporters need to pass through to claim authenticity. Percival, on the other hand, describes how he ended up compelling his father to become a Liverpool supporter by them constantly watching the games together. This is particularly relevant as it reinforces the previously discussed notions of temporality as his father is learning to become a Liverpool supporter by this continuous ritualisation of watching the games with his son.

> "Interviewer: do you watch with anyone? or by yourself?
>
> Percival: *I normally watch the games with my father*
>
> Interviewer: does he support Liverpool too? Or is he neutral?
>
> Percival: yes, he supports Liverpool
>
> Interviewer: because of you?
>
> Percival: *yes, he always watched the games with me, so he ended liking the club too*" (Percival, emphasis added)

It is relevant to highlight the fact that what is seen in Percival's discourse can be understood as a reversed process if taking the conceptualisation as seen in the academic discourse analysis as the traditional one. Percival influencing his father to become a Liverpool supporter would not be regarded to be the normal historical course where the paternal figure dictates who their offspring would support. In this sense his discourse is relevant as it point to a direction where both individual and collective constructions are interrelated in generating a different historiography where the son influences the father in a sort of inverted paternalism. This will be particularly relevant in the next chapter when I will provide a theoretical discussion in relation to the Beck & Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) individualisation thesis.

Summarising this section I believe that the story that I observed in both Switzerland and England of Oscar and his daughter and son illustrates this aforementioned intersection between individual and collective choices. I met Oscar for the first time in a pub in Lausanne when we watched Liverpool play against Tottenham Hotspurs. On that day, Oscar was by himself and we spoke just a little bit about his story as a Liverpool supporter and his engagement with the Facebook community. Oscar is one of the most active members of the community, not only posting and sharing different newspaper articles, but also greeting new members joining the group. What caught my attention during our initial conversation was the family aspect that was brought up in his discourse, even that he was by himself in our first encounter. Nonetheless, when I met him and the other supporters from Switzerland in Liverpool for the first time in April 2013, Oscar was accompanied by his older son and on the second meeting in May 2013 he was not only with his son, but with his daughter and one of her friends. Talking to them, it became clear that both of his children became Liverpool supporters by the influence of their father and that travelling to Liverpool to watch the games became a common family ritual that they enacted every two months or so. In so much as their father had different reasons to become a Liverpool supporter - an individual choice, the children followed a more traditional path as described previously in the academic discourse analysis in the sense that because their father was constantly going to watch Liverpool games, they also became supporters - a collective construction. As it will be discussed further, this has great theoretical implications as it points to the co-existence of both individualisation and collectivisation.

6.1.6 The 'Deviant' Love?

In the process of becoming a Liverpool supporter, my informants described as discussed above how they fell in love with the club, how this was an individual choice that typically happened by accident, or how this process was substantiated by collective historiographies, and how they learned to love Liverpool. In so much as these processes seem to cover their entire history and story of falling in love, they nevertheless highlighted another aspect that was particularly important for them: justifying this 'deviant' love. In this sense, departing from the critical discourse analysis performed during the literature review I assumed that the idea that 'authentic' supporters were the ones that bore the aforementioned characteristics (man, white, working class, and especially local) was real[64]. As so, during the interviews I sought to understand how those supporters that considered themselves as authentic (see Chapter 5), justified this deviant behaviour and how they used their discursive praxis as a way of substantiating their claims for authenticity.

In the below quote from Carla, even though I was not focusing on, nor was I particularly interested in questions of gender[65] she raised the issue and compared in her discourse to notions of locality. For Carla, on a foundational level of 'deviance' is that she is questioned by others, especially men, why a woman would like football in the first place, and this apparent 'deviant' behaviour is magnified by a second aspect which is locality. In this sense, being a woman would make her a 'deviant' supporter from the start, based on the perceptions of others, however it would become satisfactory for them if she

[64] The idea of being real here I am referring to the reification of those available academic discourses, where those discourses create the reality in which those supporters live

[65] Gender is also an important aspect in othering as discussed in the literature review, but inasmuch that this process is relevant for highlighting the others' voices, the thesis is more concerned with questions of locality, nationalism and cosmopolitanism

could explain her attachment to a local club. When those others face the idea that she not only supports a local club, but also a club from abroad the sense of deviance is augmented.

> "But lots of people do not understand why we end choosing a team so far away, on the other side of the world, but in reality, it is them that choose us ... *Unfortunately people get scared when they see a girl that likes football*. Nowadays it is growing a lot, but woman that really follows is a rarity. *So when I tell them [men] that I support a team from here and after I tell them [men] that I follow the championship abroad, the get even more scared lol*" (Carla, emphasis added)

When Carla highlights that men get even more scared because she loves and follows a team from abroad, she is using rhetoric to argue that this long distance love demands much more passion and knowledge of the game than just liking a local side. This extra passion and knowledge is what makes her more 'deviant' in mens eyes, in the sense that they would accept her following a local side just because is traditional within the hegemonic discourse. Showing true love and long commitment to a distant club appears to be central to different supporters in their discourses. As seen in the below quote by Percival, the idea of deviance is related to his love apparently being transient, meaning that it does not have the qualities of existing for a long period of time with a 'hot' attachment.

> "I support only Liverpool and my team here called Ceará
>
> Interviewer: and how they see this? like supporting both teams...is it normal?
>
> Percival: *they think it is normal but they think it is odd* to support an European team. It is not common to support European teams, *but lately more people are watching teams from England and Germany*

> Interviewer: and how they see that? do they [people that follow teams in Germany and England] have to explain why they support an European side?
>
> Percival: *well, they normally see as a phase, or just for fun. But when they realise that is real passion they get impressed*." (Percival, emphasis added)

Percival's discourse is interesting on three different levels. Firstly when he argues that supporting a team abroad is normal, but in the same sentence he highlights how this apparent normality is odd for others, he is showing how deviance is constructed. It is possible to find this construction in his last sentence, when normality is related to following a team abroad 'just for fun' or as a 'phase'. This construction of oddness in opposition to normality is the second aspect in Percival's discourse that is worth discussing. The oddness that he is referring to relates to the fact that his love for Liverpool is permanent and not just a phase, like a youth passion. Clubs, as the hegemonic academic discourse showed, demand supporters to demonstrate a constant love and hot attachment, which is constructed as normality. As his discourse shows, it would be normal for him to have this long lasting love for his local side, and have some transient passions with distant clubs at the same time, but when he tells others that his love for Liverpool is permanent it becomes deviant. The third aspect that is relevant to this particular section in Percival's discourse is when he highlights that loving a distant club is becoming more common. This was also present in Flávio's account when he highlights that oddness and deviance are related to locality. For Flávio, as we can see in the below extract (see section 6.1.4 for the full quote), loving a distant club is a new phenomenon boosted by technology and by this love being from outside the geographical borders of the nation-state, it starts to be perceived as normal.

> "But in relation to international teams is something really new, boosted by information and communication technological advances that allow you to follow clubs from other countries, *and by being something recent and by being from outside Brazil, it is not seem as a problem*" (Flávio, emphasis added)

In this sense, normality and deviance are closely related to locality. Flávio's discourse is interesting because he inverts the logic by emphasising that loving a club outside the political borders would be perceived as normal and acceptable, whilst loving another club within the political borders would be deviant. Nonetheless, as it was fully discussed in section 6.1.4, this relates to the history of his state in Brazil where traditionally they sought to secede, creating a provincialism sentiment within this state. To the extent that his discourse might look contradictory to what is being argued in this section, it should be read as emphasising that locality and borders create and reinforce notions of deviance, and if loving a distant club was not a new phenomenon it would also be perceived as transgressing normality. As highlighted by Flávio, the role of technology in allowing individuals to justify their 'deviant' love seems to be central to different supporters in bringing 'normality' in their discourse. Paulo's quote below is an example of how technology is used rhetorically to give authenticity to their love.

> "There is always the ones that think 'it is impossible to support a team so afar' ... I don't even try to argue anymore about it, because *technology allows me to know as much as who lives next to Anfield*. And to not go to the stadium for me is irrelevant.
>
> Interviewer: so distance for you is not a factor?
>
> Paulo: no, never been. It wasn't with Palmeiras, as I lived far from the capital. And it is not with the Reds [Liverpool]." (Paulo, emphasis added)

In Paulo's account, technology permits him to authenticate his 'deviant' love for Liverpool by giving him the opportunity to equate himself with the perceived normal supporter (the local) in terms of being constantly informed about the club. As discussed previously in section 6.1.3 learning to love in respect of being knowledgable about the club is one of the central aspects of how those supporters claim their authenticity. In this sense, deviant in Paulo's terms would correspond with not being in constant touch with the club. Interesting enough is that he claims that, in discussions with others, he no longer tries to argue why his love for Liverpool should not be perceived as deviant. The normalisation of using mediated forms of contact with the club is apparent in his discourse, and if deviance is equated to not being in constant touch, it does not apply to him. Shifting the deviance aspect of supporting a distant club from borders to information and knowledge is an important idea that will be further explored in the theoretical discussion chapter. As Paulo explained, he no longer bothers to explain to others why he should be able to support a club from afar, and this was also present in the interviews with others supporters as with Giovani. For Giovani, as seen in the below quote, friends who are from an older generation normally pick on him when he mentions that he supports Liverpool.

> "My friends taunt me a little bit because *it is a team from abroad, especially the older ones, but young people have the habit to follow international football*.
>
> Interviewer: do you try to explain to them why you support Liverpool? Can you explain that it is also 'normal'?
>
> Giovani: people that taunts me in their majority just follow national football, so it is hard to explain to them. *I just ignore them*." (Giovani, emphasis added)

Giovani's discourse is interesting firstly because as with Paulo he just decides to ignore what his friends tell him. For Giovani, it is apparently impossible to explain to

others why he supports Liverpool, if they have not yet experienced international football. If the love metaphor is superimposed to Giovani's discourse it is possible to say that love can only be explained to others that have already loved. On another level, what Giovani says is really significant as he relates experiencing international football to a generational issues, where younger people are more exposed to those different leagues, whilst older generations are more closed minded and just focus on the local/national league. Nonetheless, in so much as this idea finds resonance with what was argued by Beck (2010) in relation to reflexive modernity being an age of cosmopolitanisation it should be interpreted as one of the possible available discourses. On the other hand, as explained by Ronaldo, this historical linearity between old (not used to international football) and young (exposed to international football) is not that simple, and should be understood in more complex terms. For Ronaldo, during the 1970s when he started following football, it was perceived as normal to have a team in each state in Brazil, and based on this he started picking a team in each country. Nonetheless, as he explains, nowadays there is a 'campaign' that creates a deviant sentiment in relation to individuals that support more than one club. As seen in the below quote, Ronaldo stresses the love and relationship metaphor to explain the naturalisation of this 'deviant' behaviour.

> "In that time [1970s Brazil] in the states outside the Rio-SP [Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo] we 'could' support one team in each state. So I started picking a team in each country too, *but the love for Liverpool is without a doubt bigger than to any other team that I chose in other countries*.
>
> Interviewer: why 'could'?
>
> Ronaldo: well, here in Goiás there is a kind of campaign for people to support just one team, *and needs to be a local team* ... they criticise me because I support more

than one team for instance. *But there are people who have wife, mistress, girlfriend, go to the prostitutes and come to criticise me because I love more than one club*." (Ronaldo, emphasis added)

Ronaldo's quote is fascinating because he shows the possibility of multiple discourses that seems to contradict themselves. While most of the interviewees focused on this novelty aspect of loving an international team, Ronaldo and particularly Antônio, but also during my participant observation with the supporters in Switzerland, all highlighted that supporting a distant club can be historically 'old'. In this sense, when Ronaldo claims that nowadays there is a campaign against supporting multiple clubs at the same time, he is giving support to what Beck (2002) conceptualised as the enemies of the cosmopolitan society. This idea of non-linearity between nationalism to cosmoplitanism I will develop further in the theoretical discussion chapter. Nevertheless, the use of the love metaphor in Ronaldo's rhetoric and how he relates his apparent 'deviance' to that of a man who has multiple relationships with his wife, mistress, girlfriend and prostitutes is a powerful way of challenging notions of normality and deviance in society. Whilst in a society that implicitly and sometimes even explicitly praises mens love conquests (DaMatta, 1997)[66], it is striking for Ronaldo that his multiple conquests are not praised and instead are considered to be deviant. This section is better exemplified by the discourse provided by Vicente when he relates the idea of deviance with of a 'moral patrol' that seeks to dictate rules to which team you can or cannot support. Vicente's use of a novel written by Lima

[66] It is interesting that one of the chapters' title in DaMatta (1997) is called Women - Dona Flor and her two Husbands: a relational romance (free translation) where Roberto DaMatta uses that novel (Dona Flor e seus dois maridos) written by Jorge Amado as a metaphor to analyse moments - especially the carnival - in Brazilian social life where the social system was inverted. In this sense, by using that romance where Dona Flor had two husbands to highlight the inverted system, it is possible to assume that the 'normal' system is for the man to have two wives.

Barreto in 1911[67] to compare to his own situation as a Liverpool supporter is compelling as the main character in this novel was an ultra-nationalistic bureaucrat that later joins the Brazilian Army to fight against a rebellion formed from part of the Brazilian Navy.

> "Well, I think people put rules too much on everything. Now everyone wants you to support your street team, and not from another street. In football I want to have fun, where no one imposes rules on me. I don't have [to follow those rules], people love to regulate others. *If they want to defend provincialism, they need to be more deep [in their arguments]*. So defend artists, the typical food, things that are relevant. *Football is not even Brazilian. No need for more Policarpo Quaresma*." (Vicente, emphasis added)

The use of Policarpo Quaresma in his discourse reflects the ridicule of the argumentation that is of saying that to support an international team is a deviant behaviour. As with Policarpo Quaresma who was ridiculed by proposing that all things non-Brazilian should be banned and changed for genuine Brazilian counterparts, demanding supporters to cheer for the local club instead of a team from abroad is an argument that does not stand up to its criticism. As put by Vicente, if supporting an international club is understood as deviant, so the same should be said of following football in general as it is not even a Brazilian invention. In this sense, Vicente in his discourse is confronting the provincialism

[67] Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma is a novel written by Lima Barreto in 1911 and is recognised as one of the main Brazilian pre-modernist books. In this book, Lima Barreto recounts the life of Policarpo Quaresma, an ultra-nationalistic bureaucrat just after the proclamation of the Brazilian republic. Trying to find ways to solve the 'Brazilian problem' (economic, political, social), Policarpo Quaresma starts to study by himself all things that are 'genuine' Brazilian. One of the main 'solutions' found by Policarpo Quaresma was of abandoning Portuguese as an official language and moving to Tupi (this is the language spoken by a vast majority of native Brazilians), in a way of constructing a sense of identity different from the past colonial power (Portugal). Policarpo Quaresma is ridiculed by his bold attempts to turn Brazil more Brazilian, and after joining the Army to fight a revolt by the Navy he is put in charge of a prison. Unable to bear the arbitrary selection of prisoners to be shot, he writes to the Brazilian president - Marechal Floriano Peixoto - stating that the real nationalists were at the end the prisoners. Because of his criticism to the political system he is detained accused of being a traitor, and the novel ends with him in jail waiting for the President's decree for his execution. The epigraph is taken from a Ernest Renan's book in which he states that the most noble ideals (nationalism in the case of Policarpo Quaresma) do not serve for anything in real world, which is governed by self interests and motivations.

assumption that the 'right thing to do' is to support your local side, and anything different might be considered deviant. This provincialism is better exemplified when Policarpo Quaresma relies in his books to search for the 'genuine' Brazil, in some sort of essentialising Brazil in innate and pure characteristics. This quest for finding and supporting anything that is assumed as pure is where the ridicule aspect resides by the fact that the quest for finding is at the end a quest for inventing and constructing a 'reality'.

Summarising this section, it is possible to see how locality as one of the essential characteristics for being an authentic supporter is challenged by the discursive praxis of my informants. Departing from the reified notion that locals are more genuine in their historiographies as supporters, the informants found different ways of disputing this position by highlighting that: information and communication technologies allow them to be in constant contact to the club as locals do; their love is not just an one-off passion that would fade after the first disillusion; and above all that the need to support a local side is a mere fictional construction.

6.2 Concluding Remarks on Falling in Love

As discussed in the previous sections, supporters create and re-create stories to sustain their claims for authenticity and authentic love. While in the previous chapter the focus was on how supporters enacted and understood their authentic love, in this chapter I was more concerned with understanding how they created the basis for their authentic love. As with interpersonal love (Bauman, 2003), the search for a turning point and moment that could be rationalised as the one that demonstrates their true love was also

present in the different discourses I encountered during the interviews and participant observation. Not only did supporters tend to rationalise how they fell in love with the club, even if that rationalisation meant not finding a rational reason at all, they also highlighted how their love grew over time. In this sense, love was not only a feeling that appeared from nowhere, but was cherished and enacted constantly by the numerous ways they found to learn how to love. Learning how to love was not only an individual process as highlighted by different supporters, but also a collective one where authentic sources of learning were constructed collectively. Another important aspect discussed in this chapter was that learning to love involved a process in which multiple loves were accommodated, and how those multiple loves were able to coexist. All these different aspects of becoming a Liverpool supporter culminate with how they constructed their discourse in a way of authenticating their 'deviant' behaviour. In this sense, informants confronted the pre-assumed reified qualities of what is an authentic supporter by first challenging these assumptions and second by emphasising why locality and nation-state borders would not prevent them of being authentic supporters.

In summary, this chapter shed light on different aspects of the cosmopolitanisation thesis as by discussing: notions of national identities as with the analogy between Policarpo Quaresma and an invented provincialism; how dual 'citizenship' co-exists in their multiple loves for different clubs; how flows of communication and transnational reporting relate to their learning processes of becoming a Liverpool supporter; how language is perceived as both a barrier and a contributor for learning; and how a non-metaphysical mobility becomes possible because of communication and information technologies.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

"The territory no longer precedes the map, nor does it survive it. It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory - precession of simulacra" (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 1)

In the past two chapters I have discussed in length the discourses that supporters create and re-create in order to construct their claims for authenticity. As I demonstrated, supporters rhetorically use the three different themes in regard of the indicators of cosmopolitanisation to construct their discourses in two different and complimentary stories: on being a cosmopolitan supporter; and on becoming a cosmopolitan supporter. As argued previously, the three themes can be broadly divided into: notions of identity and citizenship; across border flows of goods and images; and transnational forms of life, and metaphysical and non-metaphysical mobility. Based on the critical analysis that generated those distinct and complimentary stories in their discourses I will now discuss the theoretical implications that those discourses have in both sport sociology and cosmopolitan sociology. The argument that will be constructed here will be centred in two different thematics: the individualisation thesis within a cosmopolitan perspective; and reflexive modernity as being an age of cosmopolitanisation.

In a first part in this chapter, I will argue based on the findings how individualisation challenges the *kulturkritischer Pessimismus* and nostalgic (Beck, 2007b) sociological imagination that permeated much of the works in the sociology of sport that dealt with football fandom and globalisation. The argument that will unfold in this first section will reassess the works of Walter Benjamin (1999) and Georg Simmel (1950), in

respect of the flâneur and the stranger respectively, and in line with a cosmopolitan sociology (Beck, 2000b, 2003b, 2007b, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2008; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Lau, 2005; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) will propose a more ambivalent conceptualisation for 'distant' fandom. In a second part, I will base my argument in this initial discussion and will postulate that if a cosmopolitan sociology (op cit) is to be applied within the football fandom studies it will have two general implications. First on a ontological level, the acceptance of ambivalences and both/and alliances to different football clubs that do not rely on the traditional modern institutions - the nuclear family, nation-state, class system, and the closed-off social milieu - should challenge the pre-conceived 'natural' academic discourse of what is considered to be an authentic supporter. Secondly, I will argue that this ontological shift will have an influence on the epistemological and theoretical levels by first placing those 'distant' supporters on an equal position with 'local' supporters in respect of claims of authenticity, and then by highlighting that the studies of 'distant' supporters is, in the end, the study of supporters.

In the second part of this chapter I will devote my attention to the theoretical implications within cosmopolitan studies. Firstly, as in the initial section, I will focus on the individualisation thesis (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993, 2002; Beck-Gernsheim, 1983) and will argue that what was espoused by Giddens (1990, 1991) as detraditionalisation should be instead understood as retraditionalisation. The argument that will unfold in this section will show based, on the findings how the modern 'dasein für Andere' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993; Beck-Gernsheim, 1983) was reflexive modernised and retraditionalised as a 'dasein für gewälthe Andere'. I will discuss how modern institutions such as the nation-state and family were retraditionalised within the supporters discourses when they made their conscious and unconscious decisions to start supporting Liverpool

FC and from where to learn to support the club. In a second part of this section I will argue based on Foucault (1969, 2002) that cosmopolitanisation and nationalisation rather than being understood as reality (see Beck, 2004) can instead be understood as discourses that co-exist and reinforce each other in retraditionalising the modern institutions. This argument will be supported by the discourses of my informants when they employed a nationalist rhetoric to authenticate their 'real' everyday cosmopolitan lives. Following this line of reasoning, I will use Baudrillard (1994) to argue that what was understood by Beck and his different collaborators (Beck, 1994, 2002, 2003b, 2007b, 2010; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Grande, 2008, 2010; Beck & Lau, 2005; Beck & Levy, 2013; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) as (modern) nationalism, and thus methodological nationalism, should be seen as a discursive praxis that creates a more real than real coherent, ethnically and sociological homogenous nation-state. I will conclude this chapter by pointing out that if cosmopolitanisation is to be understood as a discourse it will be possible to reconcile it to an also discursive nationalism. As both being understood as discourses it will be possible to envision how heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) of both nationalism and cosmopolitanism co-existed over time and how those voices were always there, but just silenced during particular periods (Bhambra, 2007; Maggio, 2007; Spivak, 1988; P. Williams & Chrisman, 1993).

7.2 Sociology of Sport

7.2.1 Individualisation and Football

In 2002 Richard Giulianotti published an influential typology that sought to map different forms of football fandom by creating an ideal type taxonomy (Giulianotti, 2002)[68]. In doing so, Giulianotti (2002) contrasted two forms of solidarity with two forms of identification to create a four quadrant taxonomy of the different supporters' 'identities'. The focus now will be on how Giulianotti (2002) constructed the idea of the flâneur, especially his re-reading of both Simmel's 'The Stranger' (1950) and Benjamin's 'The Arcades Project' (1999), through what Beck (2007b) conceptualised as a nostalgic and *kulturkritischers Pessimismus* tradition of most of the modern and postmodern normal sociology. I postulate that work in the first, second and third phases rely on an individualism thesis (see Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), and Giulianotti (2002) is an emblematic case, ended by falling into the misunderstandings of individualisation as postulated by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1993, 2002)[69]. By re-reading both Simmel (1950) and Benjamin (1999) through an ambivalent cosmopolitan sociology that takes the individualisation thesis to its fore, the argument that I will construct in this section will seek to propose a different understanding of what means to be a football flâneur.

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[68] As by January 2015 it has been cited over 350 times according to Google Scholar. For example, an evidence of the influential *kulturkritischers pessimismus* re-reading of Simmel (1950) and Benjamin (1999) by Giulianotti (2002) can be seen in the work of Hognestad (2015)

[69] An example of the misunderstandings of individualisation can be seen in Numerato (2015) when reflexivity is equated to a self-reflective understandings of individuals and groups within society. As argued by Beck et al. (2003), reflexive modernity is not associated with a stronger self-awareness and reflection, but with a 'movement' that reflects the modern structures against themselves.

Walter Benjamin (1999) and Georg Simmel (1950) were not only contemporaries but also friends (see Translators' Foreword in Benjamin, 1999). Both authors were interested in common changes to society, which later on became known as the modernisation of Europe, and in particular the creation of the metropolis or the migration from the countryside to the city. Benjamin (1999) from his side tried to understand this influx of new inhabitants to the metropolis by looking at one particular site in Paris - the Arcades - which were as he demonstrates throughout his work, a long term French architectonical project that ended having influences on socialisation. For Benjamin (1999) the Arcades became the site for the flâneur, a location in between the place of work and of dwelling, where the flâneur is not either at home or in a strange setting. In the Arcades the flâneur seeks refuge in the crowd for his/her apparent strangeness while promenading around and scouting the market (the Arcades). To this point, Benjamin (1999) comes closer to his contemporary Simmel (1950) by giving to the flâneur the characteristics of 'the stranger'. The stranger in Simmel (1950, p. 402) was understood as someone that "[...] comes today and stays tomorrow" in a direct reference to the influx of migrants to the metropolis. The stranger then is not completely detached to his/her new home, neither is her/him fully comfortable in this new place. It is possible to see already an ambivalent sociological imagination in Simmel (1950), different to what was claimed by Giulianotti (2005a) which was of him just having a dualistic thinking[70]. The stranger, as Simmel (1950) argues, embodies the notion of being both mobile and free, while at the same time he/she tries to be fixed to a particular location. Nevertheless, the stranger will never become fixed to a place while he or she is still perceived as a stranger (Simmel, 1950). In

[70] The same can be said about Ulrich Beck's (2000b, 2001, 2007b, 2010) dismissal of 'modern' sociological thought by emphasising their apparent inability to grasp the sociological world through a both/and epistemology. As seen in Simmel's (1950) theorisation, the stranger is both at home and at an unfamiliar place, highlighting what later on Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2008, 2014) would describe as the global generation, and their distant passions and love.

so much as the stranger seems to be inorganically associated to the location by his/her condition as a stranger, Simmel (1950) ends his paper by arguing that he or she is an organic member of the group in the sense that strangeness is a common condition for different members of a community. If both authors were read through a *kulturkritischers Pessimismus* sociology as Giulianotti (2002) did, it becomes obvious how individualism, commercialism and commodification play a role in portraying the football flâneur as someone who just window shops in the mediated and cool virtual arenas of internet and television. Nonetheless, what would be the theoretical implications if Simmel (1950) and Benjamin (1999) were read through an ambivalent cosmopolitan sociology? What my data analysis in respect of being and of becoming a cosmopolitan supporter can shed light on a different understanding of the flâneur? To answer these questions I will use the data to argue that the flâneur in Benjamin (1999) and the stranger in Simmel (1950) are the precursors of the cosmopolitan supporter by his/her freedom, mobility, strangeness and closeness, and their feeling at home without being fully comfortable with this 'new' culture.

As with the flâneur (Benjamin, 1999) and the stranger (Simmel, 1950), the cosmopolitan supporter finds himself/herself in an initial situation where s/he is not completely comfortable. By being uncomfortable with what the 'traditional' modern structures such as the nation-state and nuclear family dictated to them, supporters were on a quest to find a different place where they could feel welcomed and in love with (see first section in Chapter 6). As described by the supporters, Liverpool FC was not the first distant club that they experienced, but became the last in their search for love. As with the flâneur in Benjamin (1999), the supporters were strolling both metaphysically and non-metaphysically through an array of clubs and cultures that they were to some extent

familiar with. This familiarity, as highlighted by Simmel (1950) in relation to the stranger, relates to the fact that supporters while not necessarily being part of what can be conceptualised as the Liverpool FC culture, shared different facets of this culture by their previous experiences of supporting other football clubs. In this sense, supporters, when they 'met' Liverpool FC were as the stranger (Simmel, 1950) both familiar and unfamiliar with what they encountered. The familiar aspect to this encounter could be seen when supporters start recounting how they learned to love Liverpool FC, especially by their claims that the local media (BBC, Liverpool Echo, etc) were the authentic ones with which they should and must become accustomed. This familiarity can be theorised as a simple transposition of their past experiences as supporters, where in both Brazil and Switzerland they relied on the local media to keep informed about their 'local' clubs. Locality, in this sense, brings familiarity to the unfamiliar, a place where supporters as strangers can safely anchorage. Nonetheless, as with the stranger (Simmel, 1950) supporters felt unfamiliar with what they were experiencing, and again on learning to love Liverpool FC is emblematic, mostly because of language barriers they faced. Other examples of this unfamiliarity relates to the songs that they had to learn, the history of Liverpool FC (i.e knowing the difference between Hillsborough and Heysel), knowing that The Sun as a media outlet should be avoided, and to pay homage to the 96 victims of the Hillsborough disaster. As someone that is strolling in a different setting (Benjamin, 1999) or is in a 'strange' place (Simmel, 1950), supporters had to overcome not only metaphysical barriers such as their distance to the club and to other like-minded supporters, but especially non-metaphysical ones as transposing an apparently deviant barrier. To transform this strange feeling into something familiar, not only for their inner 'satisfaction', but especially for the outer world, supporters had to formulate (as discussed in the last section of Chapter 6)

discourses that erased those metaphysical and non-metaphysical barriers that constructed them as 'strangers'. Above all, as discussed in the third section of Chapter 6, supporters as strangers (Simmel, 1950) live in this liminal place in between their old and 'traditional' love (the old 'home' for the stranger) and their new-found love (the new 'home' for the stranger). In this sense, as with the stranger (Simmel, 1950) the football cosmopolitan flâneur is not fully at home nor fully an alien to those different clubs they support. As so, s/he needs to construct discourses to claim authenticity in regards to their 'deviant' behaviour for both 'traditionalists' in Liverpool and in Brazil or Switzerland.

The flâneur in Giulianotti (2002) does not only stroll through the cool medias, but is, in a direct contrast to the individualism theory (for a critical appraisal see Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993), a methodic and self-controlled chooser that calculates the positives and negatives of all their choices. This is epitomised by the idea that if the team is losing they will stop supporting it and will bandwagon to the next winning side (Giulianotti, 2002). As argued by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1993, 2002) this conceptualisation of individuals as being rational choosers is one of the misunderstandings of the individualisation theory, and is also encountered further on in Ulrich Beck's (see Beck, 2010) theorisations of the unintended consequences of reflexive modernisation. As described in Chapter 6, supporters did not chose Liverpool FC consciously but it was by accident and out of destiny that they fell in love with the club. In this sense, different from the pessimistic and nostalgic flâneur (Giulianotti, 2002), the cosmopolitan flâneur is in tune with the individualisation thesis proposed by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1993, 2002), where individuals mix-and-match their own self-constructed biographies. This cosmopolitan flâneur by his/her initial choice to support Liverpool FC becomes unintentionally bound to a new locality (Liverpool, Merseyside, and England), which is best expressed when they start to follow news from

local media outlets such as the Liverpool Echo. Their love relationship for Liverpool FC is unintentionally extended to players, signs, and cultural artefacts related to the club, and above all to historical events associated with the club (i.e. Heysel and Hillsborough disasters). In this sense, when deciding to love Liverpool FC, those supporters unintentionally decided to be part of this social solidarity between individuals that transcends the nation-states borders. The cosmopolitan flâneur in the figure of those distant supporters not only lives in different places at the same time - place polygamy (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) - but also becomes unintentionally tied to different localities, culture, and others. Supporters in Brazil are not only tied to Liverpool, but also to Pakistan, Switzerland, and Thailand etc, as discussed in Chapter 5. If those unintended ties are seen from another angle - take the view of the 'local' Liverpool FC supporter for example - the apparent homogenous locality and place that gave rise to the conceptualisation of local supporters as authentic bearers of the local fan culture (see Chapter 3 for a critique) becomes unsustainable. Locality, thus, is never static or monogamous, but always in constant movement, and metaphysically and non-metaphysically polygamous. In this sense, the stranger characteristic (Simmel, 1950) of the cosmopolitan flâneur is not only applicable to those distant supporters who come and stay (in both metaphysical and non-metaphysical levels), but also to the 'local' who is always a stranger to his/her 'own' place.

Moreover, the pessimistic and nostalgic flâneur is portrayed as an individual that has no attachments to either here nor there, that can stroll from one place to another without suffering or feeling any loss (Giulianotti, 2002; Hognestad, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 5, supporters as cosmopolitan flâneurs highlight their suffering in relation to supporting on their own and of having to support from a distance. For the former, this idea of being by themselves and of how meeting like-minded others is such a joyful moment

relates to the concept of the stranger (Simmel, 1950) by emphasising this search for others that share the same characteristics. As discussed previously (see Chapters 5 and 6), finding others in both metaphysical and non-metaphysical worlds becomes paramount in the cosmopolitan football flâneur quest for mix-and-matching their own 'authentic' biographies. Above all, the cosmopolitan football flâneur shares the objectivity characteristic described by Simmel (1950) in a positive way. While Giulianotti (2002) understood objectivity as a lack of emotional attachment, transforming this 'nostalgic' flâneur in a cool and ruthless chooser, the cosmopolitan flâneur is both close and near emotionally to 'unknown' others that nevertheless share some similar characteristics. This was better exemplified in Chapter 5 where the centrality of meeting others in both metaphysical and non-metaphysical situations was discussed. Those supporters used the various available media to create this sense of attachment with strangers, and when possible arranged meetings that were not based on a necessity of watching Liverpool FC. Nevertheless, as with Simmel's stranger (1950) the club was what glued all of those different supporters together. As with any powerful glue, those attachments are harder to break, and give a sense of permanence to the relationship, nonetheless they have always the propensity for disjuncture. For the former characteristic, a particular example is discussed in section 5 of Chapter 5 when the Whatsapp group was created by Carla, in the sense that it cements the relationship to an everyday socialisation that transcends Liverpool FC. For the latter, a particular example was given in section 2 of Chapter 5 when supporters create hierarchy between authentic and 'likers' or 'tourists'. Those are representatives of individuals that once were glued to this socialisation but detached themselves to this only point of contact - Liverpool FC.

In this sense, the cosmopolitan football flâneur is not an individual governed by a ruthless ambition to calculate the best opportunities and choices that s/he could find through the cold and detached media as newspaper, television and Internet. In the first instance, the cosmopolitan football flâneur when faced with the first paradox of individualisation - being free to choose, but of having to choose - does not make his/her decision based only on rationalisations. As discussed in length in Chapter 6, the cosmopolitan football flâneur ended unintentionally picked Liverpool FC because it was the club that they felt picked them. Different from the nostalgic flâneur, what attracted those supporters to Liverpool FC was not any rationalisations based on the results on the pitch, but they were emotionally driven to Liverpool FC because of what they felt for the club or for a particular player. A second aspect that differentiates the cosmopolitan football flâneur from the nostalgic flâneur is that their mediated socialisations are equated to their metaphysical encounters. In this sense, what was once understood as the cold and detached mediatisation of the nostalgic flâneur relations, should be conceptualised ambivalently as providing those cosmopolitan football flâneurs the opportunity to meet and socialise with others. Thus, the cosmopolitan football flâneur is not (as with the nostalgic flâneur) governed by individualism, but by individualisation to the extent that the unintended consequences of them loving Liverpool FC makes them love other strangers irrespective of nation-state boundaries. As a result of that, the cosmopolitan football flâneur should be seen as an organic member of a community, and not merely inorganically attached through unauthentic behaviours and rituals. The cosmopolitan football flâneur as the stranger (Simmel, 1950) is here to stay.

In so much as this section was focused in the implications of a cosmopolitan sociological imagination to the sociology of sport, and in particular to supporters identity

theorisations, through what I conceptualised as the cosmopolitan football flâneur, it already allows for envisioning possible avenues to be explored within the individualisation thesis proposed by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1993, 2002), Beck-Gernsheim (1983) and Giddens (1991). These avenues will be further explored in section 7.3.1 where I will argue that instead of a 'dasein für andere' in modernity (this other being the modern institutions such as the nation-state, social class, and nuclear-family) or a 'bastelbiographie' in reflexive modernity (for a discussion see Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993), what is encountered is a 'dasein für die gewälthe andere' where individuals chose consciously or not to which structures to adhere to. Not only do they choose the structures, but as demonstrated in this section, they unintentionally became emotionally attached to other strangers through those chosen structures. As it will be further theorised, cosmopolitan individualisation still means of being for an other entity.

7.2.2 Cosmopolitanisation and Football

As discussed throughout the literature review on football fandom, supporters' identities and club identifications are constructed dichotomously through direct oppositions between us and them (see Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2001). Those constructions are not just confined to football fandom, but permeate the whole football studies literature where oppositions and dualistic reasoning are common place. This form of approach can be seen throughout the literature review, when in the first phase researchers dismiss distant supporters, as well as in the second phase when clear distinct historiographies based on the nation-state borders are constructed disregarding any cross-fertilisation on two-way

forms[71], or when supporters are clearly labelled as distant, virtual, pub, or new fan as in the third phase. In all these different examples, researchers are still operating ontologically through clear dichotomisations. In this sense, how would a cosmopolitan sociological imagination that seeks to have an ambivalent epistemology impact on those discourses? How does ambivalence challenge the modern structures that are basilar to constructing those dichotomous discourses? How ontological ambivalence alter the theoretical and methodological levels? Based on these underlying questions I will argue that from what I encountered in the empirical research that ambivalence, as with loving from distance, loving more than one club at the same time, loving metaphysically and non-metaphysically, and of place polygamy, has shaken the foundations of the traditional modern structures that constructed the 'normal' discourses. I will further argue that this ontological shift impacted theoretically on the way that we should understand and conceptualise fandom, in the sense that 'distant' supporters are paradoxically the 'closest' supporters. Methodologically I will argue that to understand supporters socialisations, culture, rituals, and habits it is not anymore imperative than to look at 'local' supporters or even to create 'distinctiveness' when studying 'distant' supporters. I will conclude this section by arguing that enquiring on 'distant' supporters is actually enquiring on supporters.

As Beck (2007b, 2010) argued, social sciences are in need of a paradigm shift in respect of its methodological approach. Beck (2007b, 2010), as discussed in Chapter 2, proposes a methodological cosmopolitanism position that embraces ambivalences, incongruences, pluralisms, coexistences and internal globalisations that render the modern

[71] Those studies in the second phase of the genealogy constructed the historiographies just based within the borders of the discussed nation-state, and looked only how 'England' or 'English culture' influenced those places. Nonetheless, those research have missed how these different places influenced those early 'English' travellers and how this impacted the game in the home nations afterwards.

sociological categories as nation-state, family and social class into zombie-categories (Beck, 2001). This methodological paradigm shift proposed by Beck (2007b, 2010) has permanent implications on both ontological and theoretical levels by altering the way social researchers understand the nature of individuals being and becoming, and thus of how the theorisations are led from this point. One of the first implications, if a cosmopolitan ambivalent epistemology is applied to football studies is the deconstruction and subsequent reconstruction of nation-state boundaries (Beck et al., 2003). The theoretical discussion will start firstly by focusing on how those supporters initially deconstructed the normalised modern borders to authenticity and how they re-erect different frontiers instead. This will lead, as argued previously, to discussions on both theoretical and methodological levels which will be addressed further on in this section.

As discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to how authenticity was granted to particular groups of supporters within the hegemonic academic discourse, researchers focused their barriers construction on a priori structures as the modern nation-state, social class and nuclear family. In this sense, the most authentic supporter within the academic rhetoric would be the one sharing the same nationality and social class, and where his (not so much hers) nuclear family is organically associated to this augmented family (especially through a patriarchal lineage). Thus, for 'distant' supporters to be able to construct discourses in order to claim authenticity, they had initially to deconstruct those barriers and overcome them. As discussed in Chapter 5, supporters are constantly tested in relation to their claims of authenticity on the grounds of those a priori modern structures, especially nationality and locality. Nonetheless, instead of confronting those structures, supporters bypass them by deconstructing their importance in defining who could claim authenticity. Not being able to attend the game every single weekend, or of not coming from the same locality, are

bypassed and reduced to unimportant categories. As Beck et al. (2003, p. 3) posit, “the old certainties, distinctions and dichotomies are fading away [...]” in the sense that what was assumed as normal in granting authenticity is being challenged by supporters’ discourses. Particularly as discussed in the first section of Chapter 5, these old structures, that erected borders that would prevent the supporters I spoke to to claim authenticity, when challenged have unintended consequences to other supporters across the globe. These unintended consequences of bypassing and challenging naturalised borders could be seen when those supporters ‘automatically’ grant authenticity as to Pakistanis and Thai. In this sense not only are the borders between Switzerland and England, or Brazil and England erased and bypassed, but unintentionally both borders between Pakistan and Thailand with England, and between Pakistan and Thailand with both Brazil and Switzerland are abolished. In so much as the modern nation-state political borders are the ones supporters commonly explicitly challenge in their discourse, they also implicitly challenge the way social class and nuclear family played a role in determining authenticity. As discussed in the literature review (see Chapter 3), and previously mentioned in this section, authentic supporters are the ones that follow the same team as others in their organic community (social class and kinship). Nevertheless, when the supporters I spoke to recount their quest in finding a corresponding love (see Chapter 6) they implicitly challenge these pre-assumed structures by emphasising the individual qualities of this wandering. In this sense, deciding to become a Liverpool FC supporter was not dictated by those modern structures, but was, as argued in the previous section, part of an individualisation project that reframes the aforementioned structures.

Nonetheless, supporters are not just deconstructing the pre-conceived borders and rendering them obsolete, they are at the same time re-creating others based on different

grounds. Using Beck's (2001) analogy, supporters when erecting those different borders are giving life to those zombie categories in what I conceptualise as a Frankensteinian nation-state. This means that instead of constructing homogenous grounds to authenticity that could be easily captured by a modern sociological imagination, as the clear invented lines of the modern nation-states, supporters are through bricolage adding pieces and bits to an incongruent border (Beck, 2005). This idea of erecting new borders is best captured in the second section of Chapter 5, when supporters emphasise the distinction between true supporters who have a true love relationship with the club and individuals that are just tourists, likers or fans. In this sense, authenticity is not only claimed by the ones that can de-construct the modern structures, but is especially granted to the ones that can re-construct new barriers. The act of re-constructing, with its emotional burdens (as discussed in section 6 of Chapter 5) becomes a long term individualisation project that adds weight to the idea of an incongruent border. This incongruent border is better exemplified by the impossibility of clearly distinguishing who a priori can or cannot claim authenticity as this same border is always under constant destruction and construction. While under a first modern sociological imagination, as discussed in the literature review (see Chapter 2), the borders were clearly apparent and supporters could be easily conceptualised as either falling within or outside of them (see Chapter 3). Through a cosmopolitan sociology supporters are both in and out at the same time depending how those borders are re-structured. How to assess temporality or emotional burden vis-à-vis authenticity becomes in itself the act of erecting borders. In this sense, those borders by inherently having Frankensteinian characteristics are simultaneously assumed to be both natural and invented (or created and assembled as with Frankenstein), that leads to a position where ambiguity reigns. Instead of being seen as zombies (Beck, 2001), reanimated human corpses without

any mental activity apart from a constant desire for authentic human flesh, those structures should be seen as Frankenstein's monsters, someone or something that has a different and invented composition vis-à-vis the 'natural' but is a result of human creative (deconstructing and constructing) activities.

This de-construction and re-construction of borders in a Frankensteinian way have implications in both methodological and theoretical levels. If it is accepted that ontologically and epistemologically the borders are under constant destruction and reconstruction in their discursive levels vis-à-vis authenticity leads to the questions of who and how should football fandom be studied. In a first modern sociological imagination (see Chapter 3) where those borders were assumed to be naturally congruent, the who and how questions ended by being answered based on the modern structures of nation-state, social class and nuclear family that bestowed particular fans with authenticity. If researchers wanted to understand socialisations, or fan culture, they would focus their attention on the perceived normal individuals (who? men, white, working class, and local) and would research them (how?) based on a modern sociological imagination that conferred to metaphysical encounters a higher order position (see Urry, 2008). If their research interest focused on perceived deviancy (i.e. hooliganism, women as fans, or mediated socialisations), they would modify one of those ontological positions and a priori assume that the individuals under research were different to the assumed normal fan (see Chapter 3 for discussion). This ontological rationale is better seen in the last two phases in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, under a cosmopolitan sociological imagination that has in its foundation an ambivalent perspective, it becomes impossible to a priori assume either authenticity or inauthenticity. In this regard, it is imperative that research under a cosmopolitan imagination assume this a priori ambivalent position that seeks to understand how the

Frankensteinian structure is creatively assembled in the first place. To understand fandom is to understand the Frankenstein's monster ambivalently. A clear example of this ambivalent Frankenstein's monster would not be a priori distinguishing the supporters I interviewed based on their locality (nation-state). Under a modern sociological imagination it could be argued methodologically that this doctoral research was based on two case studies (see Yin, 2003) or it was a comparative sociological study based on two distinct nation-states (see Brake, 1985; Sasaki, 2009). Nonetheless, what I argue is that this research by espousing an ambivalent cosmopolitan sociological imagination that has not assumed those a priori structures as natural or actually existing[72] should instead be understood as simply as a piece of research that takes fandom as a context. In this sense, the nature of the Frankenstein borders would then inform how those groups should be understood both separately and interdependently. Chapters 5 and 6 provide the basis for assuming how those Frankensteinian borders and structures were deconstructed and reconstructed, allowing in a second moment to look at these two 'distinct' groups as organically associated. These methodological and ontological perspectives allow for avoiding the pitfalls, not only of methodological nationalism but also of the *kultur pessimismus* that permeated the modern sociological imagination. Thus, methodological cosmopolitanism is not a position that bypasses nationalism as espoused by Beck (2000b, 2007b, 2010), but comes closer to Chernilo's (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010, 2012) argument by the fact that the Frankensteinian nation-state and nationalism is critically discussed (deconstructed and reconstructed). How nationalism and nation-state are reinserted under different understandings into supporters' discourses in their claims for authenticity show

[72] Those borders and structures exist in the discourse level, and thus the discourse analysis becomes inherently the central aspect of any research that seeks to understand how the Frankenstein is invented. I will come back to this discourse analysis, especially related to how it informs the theoretical discussion on modernity, reflexive modernity, nationalism and cosmopolitanism, in section 7.3.2

how these structures can not be bypassed a priori. As I will further explore in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2, methodological cosmopolitanism means discussing how the Frankensteinian structures are discursively assembled.

This different methodological and epistemological perspective that takes into account the Frankensteinian nature of the modern structures have consequences on how theoretically fandom is conceptualised theoretically. When differences were encountered by researchers, they theorised those different individuals under distinctive concepts. As discussed in Chapter 3, this distinctiveness was highlighted in respect of their nation-state (second phase) or the nature of their socialisation (third phase). By theorising those 'different' supporters as pub, virtual, or distant fans those researchers ended up by creating hierarchies that did not account for the Frankensteinian nature of modern structures. In this sense, they assumed that the deconstruction of authenticity (by showing those different socialisations) was enough to reconstruct what it means to be authentic under these 'new' circumstances (see Derrida, 1967). Nonetheless, their partial reconstruction concluded by re-emphasising under a different light the same structures that created and re-created deviancy (nation-state, locality, metaphysically, social class). As discussed in Chapter 5, the supporters I interviewed did not consider themselves inherently different from others even if their socialisations are mediated or if they do not share the same nationality or locality as others. Their place in time and space thus becomes contested in the sense that it ceases to be the central aspect in bestowing them with authenticity. In this regard, being a supporter in a pub, or at a distance, or through the Internet (see Chapter 5) is not what makes them different or similar to other supporters, but what connects them together is a long shared passion and love for the club. In so much as locality can be important in supporters' discourses and is mentioned throughout their interviews (see Chapters 5 and 6),

it is just transient in the sense that supporters may one day be in a pub, another on the Internet, and another one meeting fellow supporters. What lasts, on the other hand, is their shared love for the club. In this sense, supporters can be transiently metaphysically distant but non-metaphysically they are constantly as close as possible. Based on this, I argue that the 'distant' supporter should be understood as the 'closest' supporter. This conceptualisation calls for a re-thinking of how supporters are portrayed within the academic discourse, in particular the ones that were hyphenated by their position in time and space. This has not only impact on those supporters "away from the stadium" (pub-fan, distant-fan, virtual-fan), but this approach also has the unintended consequence of calling for a reassessment of what it means to be in the stadium (stadium-fan).

7.3 Sociology of Cosmopolitanism

7.3.1 Dasein für Gewälthe Familie

As argued by Lash (2001) in the foreword of Beck & Beck-Gernsheim's book (2002), individualisation within second modernity means the retreat of modern institutions in delimitating individual's socialisations. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002) focus their analysis on how reflexive modernisation, and thus individualisation, are eroding the borders of those modern institutions such as social class, nation-state, nuclear family and ethnic groups that create the 'normal' social individual. An example of their individualisation thesis can be seen in their last co-authored book on distant love (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2014), where the focus of analysis is centred on how reflexive

modernisation and cosmopolitanisation modify what we normally assume as what means to be a normal family, and especially, a nuclear family. In this sense, the traditional family is being de-traditionalised (Giddens, 1990, 1991) by the constant challenges that the banal cosmopolitanisation exerts over the normal first modern institutions. Nonetheless, as argued by Beck et al. (2003) reflexive modernisation, and thus cosmopolitanisation, should not be understood through the 'de-' prefix, but instead with a 're-'. To this end, Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1993, 1995, 2002, 2014) and Beck-Gernsheim (1983, 2004), while discussing individualisation, provide imaginative accounts of how those institutions are being de-traditionalised, however they fall short in describing and theorising how they are re-traditionalised[73]. In this regard, I will argue in this section by referring back to the idea of a cosmopolitan flâneur that what I encountered within football supporters' discourses could shed light on re-traditionalisation. The argument that I will construct in this section seeks to explain how instead of a 'Dasein für Andere'[74] (see Beck-Gernsheim, 1983) or 'Bastelbiographie'[75] (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993), what is seen is a 'Dasein für gewälthe Andere'[76] that inherently and unintentionally ties individuals to reflexive modernised institutions.

As discussed in section 7.2.1, the cosmopolitan flâneur is on a constant quest for finding a place where he or she can socially anchor themselves. Those cosmopolitan

[73] An example of this shortcoming can be seen in Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2014) when they discuss the example of women that leave their country and family to work as au pairs for other families in economic developed places. While Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2014) vividly show the de-traditionalisation of the nuclear family (a mother taking care of their children from distance while taking care of someones' else children), they fall to acknowledge that the presence of those women re-traditionalise the modern nuclear family by them being incorporated into these new families. Also, following Beck (2010) it could have been said that the children in both places unintendedly become part as distant siblings of these augmented re-traditionalised family.

[74] Being-for-other

[75] Constructed or invented biography

[76] Being-for-a-chosen-other

flâneurs depart from their traditional and ‘safe’ structures such as the modern nation-state, nuclear family and social class that provide them with conditions where they could be for others (see Beck-Gernsheim, 1983) or where they can construct their own biographies (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993). Examples of those conditions can be found in Chapter 6 when supporters discuss their multiple love and their collective historiographies. The former illustrates how supporters also maintain their love for a ‘traditional’ football club that is based primarily on first modern institutions. In this sense, supporters are following what Beck-Gernsheim (1983) described as ‘Dasein für Andere’, being this other the modern nation-state or modern nuclear family. Individuals in section 6.1.4 recounted how they became supporters of particular clubs by emphasising the influences they received from their parents, or from the normalised notion that authentic fans support their local side. As so, individuals when supporting their parents’ clubs or local clubs are being for their family or for their nation (Dasein für Andere). On the other hand, the latter illustrates how supporters come to craft their own biographies by their emphasis on highlighting their invented collective historiographies. This can be better seen in section 6.1.5 where individuals recount how the reflexive modernised family and locality influenced them in following Liverpool FC. Accordingly, when family members introduce them to The Beatles (locality), or when they start supporting Liverpool FC because of other family members, or when other family members are influenced by them, those supporters are crafting their own biographies based on already reflexive modernised institutions. Therefore those processes can be better captured by the idea of a Bastelbiographie (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993). Nevertheless, both processes can be said to be within a de-traditionalisation order that do not account for how re-traditionalisation takes place. In this

regard, Chapter 5 provides a vivid description of how those cosmopolitan football flâneurs re-traditionalise those modern institutions in their quest for claiming authenticity.

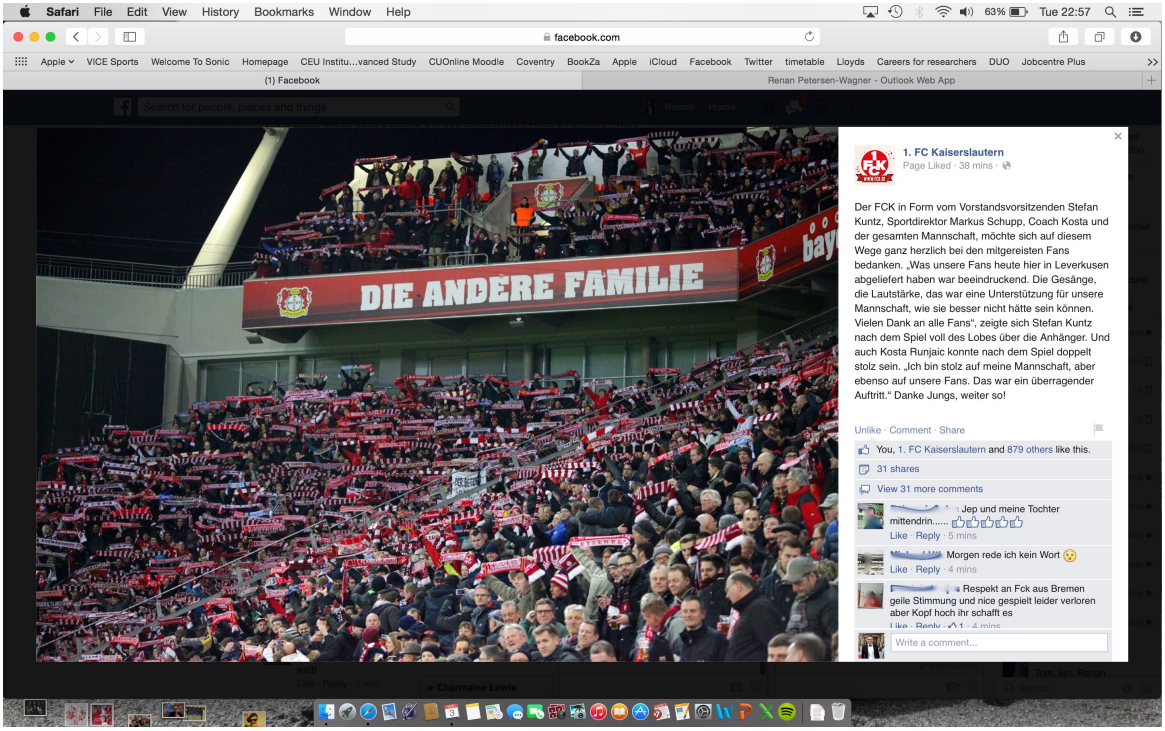
As I argued previously in section 7.1.2, to bypass those normalising discourses the cosmopolitan football flâneur needs not only to deconstruct authenticity but also to reconstruct what it means in respect of the reflexive modern institutions. The first part of the process can be said to be within the 'Dasein für Andere' and 'Bastelbiographie' framework, while the reconstruction is better understood if seen through a 'Dasein für Gewälthe Andere'. This reconstruction process is fundamentally based on already existing structures that are re-modernised a second time. To this end, it can be said that the re-modernisation of those structures is based on the success of first modernity as postulated by Beck & Lau (2005) and Beck et al (2003). The triumph of first modernisation is seen when those structures (nation-state, nuclear family, social class) are still used under a second modern framework in the discursive praxis of supporters. When family, the nation-state, and social class are re-imagined under a different light that incorporates the individualisation thesis (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993, 2002), those cosmopolitan football flâneurs are moving from de-traditionalisation to re-traditionalisation. Family, for instance, instead of being understood as a given structure that individuals are adhered to from birth instead can be seem as a structure that individuals can choose to be affiliated with. Nonetheless, this family is not part of a value-free craft process that entails 'free' choices that are only limited by precarious freedom (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). As discussed in section 5.1.1, supporters see themselves as part of a big family encompassing people from different places that share the same love for Liverpool FC. This idea of a chosen family was not only encountered during the participant observations of Liverpool

FC supporters as the first picture (below) from Marilia shows, but is also a common feature in other clubs as the second picture shows[77].

Figure 18 - Much More than Football. Is the Family I chose

[77] This picture was posted by 1FC Kaiserslautern in their Facebook page and shows one of the stands at Bayer 04 Leverkusen. It reads in German: The Other Family

Figure 19 - Leverkusen Stands in Germany

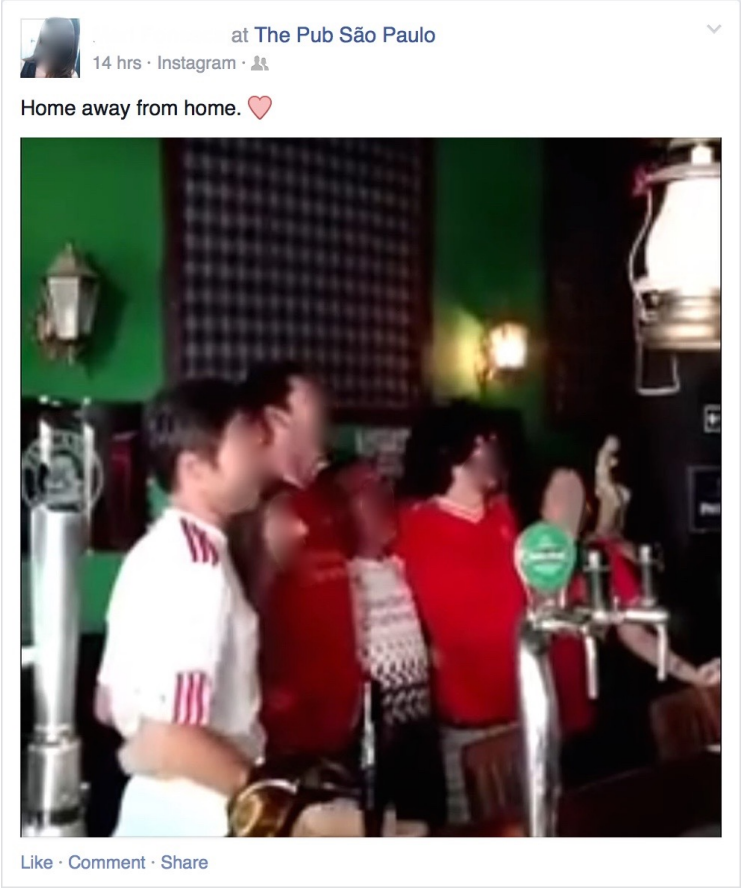


Choosing to be part of a family, as discussed in chapter 6, entails obligations and duties, which individuals must enact constantly to demonstrate their true love for the club. In this sense, when performing those duties and probations, individuals are re-traditionalising what it means to be part of a chosen family. While in the traditional nuclear family based on a patriarchal system, the duties are of respecting and following the father figure and constantly enacting rituals that show this devotion to him[78], in the re-traditionalised family there are different processes that bind together this family. Learning to love through a regular process of accessing webpages linked to Liverpool FC, evangelising new supporters about Liverpool FC history, boycotting The Sun online, reading the Liverpool Echo, constantly checking the Facebook group, exchanging

[78] In respect of football fandom, and particularly to some findings from this thesis, the nuclear family duties can be seen when supporters explain their multiple love (section 6.1.4) and how choosing to support their 'local' side was influenced by their family and heritage

messages on Whatsapp, watching games either at ‘distance’ or ‘together’ in pubs are all part of those re-traditionalising processes. As with the traditional nuclear family where home is a given place that individuals feel protected and safe, the re-traditionalised home is a chosen place in between the traditional home and traditional work. In this regard, this new home as we can see in the below picture posted by Maria, is to some extent similar to what Benjamin (1999) described in relation to the Arcades in Paris. This re-traditionalised home is both familiar and strange at the same time. It is a transient home where familiar people can meet, socialise, and enact those re-traditionalised duties.

Figure 20 - Home Away from Home



The nuclear family was not the only modern structure that the cosmopolitan football flâneurs re-traditionalised in their discourses. A point that was not fully discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 was the processes by which supporters chose not only to follow Liverpool FC and re-traditionalise the family, but to follow a different international side and thus re-traditionalise the modern nation-state. As discussed in Chapter 5, between the many reasons supporters started following Liverpool FC, one was because of a particular player (i.e. Michael Owen and England). Following the player meant not only to support Liverpool FC, but also to support his international side. Other Liverpool FC players that became favourites for those cosmopolitan football flâneurs, such as Steven Gerrard, Luis Suarez, Fernando Torres, Djibril Cissé, influenced them to start supporting England, Uruguay, Spain and France respectively to the point where they preferred those international teams over their own 'national' team. An emblematic event was in a pub in Switzerland when Nora sang God Save the Queen while the 'national' anthem was being performed for the English Rugby Union team at a Six Nations game. Nonetheless, rather that choosing to be part of a family whereas the attachment seems to be permanent, to be part of those chosen nation-states is transient due to the unintended consequences of players leaving or joining Liverpool FC. In so much as this can be true for most 'foreign' players, 'local' players that play both for Liverpool FC and England just reinforce the feeling of choosing to be part of a nation-state. The unintended side-effects of supporting Liverpool FC are supporting a different nation-state and performing re-traditionalised duties that confirm and reinforce this affiliation to this new 'locality'. Thus within supporters discourses the re-traditionalised nation-state and its associated re-traditionalised citizenship is rhetorically constructed as transient, heterogenous, dissimilar and overall accepts multiple solidarities. In this sense, what was encountered was not only a 'Dasein

für Andere' (Beck-Gernsheim, 1983), but especially a 'Dasein für gewälthe Familie' and 'Dasein für gewälthe Nation', that come with unintended duties and responsibilities that should and must be performed.

In so much as being part of a chosen family or a chosen nation-state involves what Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (1993, 2002) described as precarious freedom, what the supporters' discourses unveiled was that precarious freedom also related to the fact that after making their decisions, they enter on another 'Dasein für Andere' situation. Precarious freedom, thus, should be understood as being free to choose which re-traditionalised structure to be captive. As so, in contrast to what Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002) argued, precarious freedom is a process associated with the unintended consequences of the free choices. Unintended consequences that take individuals one more time prisoners to re-traditionalised structures that demand of them re-traditionalised rituals, duties and obligations. In this sense, individualisation ceases to be just about disembedding as postulated by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002), but it is foremost a reembedding process. This leads to the conceptualisation that individualisation within a cosmopolitan epistemology is a discursive praxis that allows individuals to dis-embed from traditional structures, and then to re-embed themselves to chosen collective re-traditionalised structures. The point is that individuals still face modern frames of reference, such as the nation-state, nuclear family, and social class, but this time they have the option to re-traditionalise them in ways that give them the freedom to adhere, leave, or remain. Above all, this freedom allows individuals to construct discursively claims of authenticity that re-creates different boundaries and borders. I will explore and conceptualise further in the next section this idea that cosmopolitanisation, as an unintended consequence of the

victory of modernisation, is part of a discursive praxis that set individuals free from modern discourses, but imprison them afterwards into re-modernised structures.

7.3.2 'The Age' of Cosmopolitanism

"At certain periods, in certain societies, the theater has had a major social function: it collected the entire city within a shared experience: the knowledge of its own passions. Today it is sport that in its way perform this function. Except that the city has enlarged: it is no longer a town, it is a country, often even, so to speak, the whole world" (Barthes, 2007, pp. 58-59)

Ulrich Beck throughout his different co-authored and solo publications (Beck, 1992, 1994, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2011; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, 2014; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Grande, 2010; Beck & Lau, 2005; Beck & Levy, 2013; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) came to imply that reflexive modernity was an age of cosmopolitanisation (see Chapter 2 for discussion). To the extent that Beck (1994), Beck & Lau (2005) and Beck et al. (2003) argued that reflexive modernity was not a complete disjuncture from modernity by the fact that its victory was seen in the re-modernisation of its basic structures (nation-state, nuclear family, social class). On the other hand Beck (2010) and Beck & Sznaider (2006) called for a methodological and epistemological rupture with nation-state based sociology (methodological nationalism) by re-imagining a new cosmopolitan sociology (methodological cosmopolitanism). This apparent contradiction in Ulrich Beck's thought is a point that was already critically assessed by different authors such as Chernilo (2006a,

2006b, 2007, 2010, 2012) in respect of methodological nationalism, Inglis (2009) regarding the complete dismissal by Ulrich Beck of classical sociologists, Robertson (2012) and Robertson & Krossa (2012) regarding a particular universalism (cosmopolitanism), and Latour (2003) in respect of the interpretations of what modernity and reflexive modernity means. Based on this apparent contradiction that calls on one hand for a complete dismissal of modern sociology, and one another claims the victory of modernisation, the argument that I will construct here in this section seeks to reconcile both positions by employing Foucault's discourse (1969, 2002) and Baudrillard's simulacra (1994). Rooted in the discourse of cosmopolitan football flâneurs (see Chapters 5 and 6) I will argue that this either/or position in Beck's thought derives from his tendency to see cosmopolitanisation and reflexive modernisation as 'real phenomena' (see Latour, 2003), blinding himself to the ambivalences of a both/and approach. In relation to this first argument, I will posit that the interviewees' discourses in respect to their claims of authenticity show how both nationalism and cosmopolitanism co-operate in 'creating' 'reality' through a non-zero-sum game fashion. I will further argue that the ambivalent blindness stems from an a priori assumption by Ulrich Beck that nationalism and nation-state are coherent and homogenous structures (see Chernilo, 2007), whereas they should be understood instead as discursively constructed simulacras. I will conclude by arguing that if both nationalism and cosmopolitanism are understood as discursive praxis it will be possible to envision how a both/and heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) existed over time. This position would open new avenues for both comparative and historical sociological studies that reassess our understanding of the contested meanings of the nation-state, citizenship, nuclear family and social class.

As argued in previous sections in this chapter, an important facet of the cosmopolitan football flâneur's socialisation is, through constant re-enacting of rituals, the construction and re-construction of boundaries regarding authenticity. As demonstrated previously, those re-constructions by the cosmopolitan football flâneur are discursively composed through a mix-and-match of both modern and re-modernised structures as nation-state, social class and nuclear family. As I argued in the previous section, the cosmopolitan football flâneur de-constructs the basic national outlook hegemonic rhetoric (either/or) that grants authenticity to local supporters for on a second moment re-construct through a cosmopolitan perspective (both/and) what means to be authentic. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, authenticity within the hegemonic academic discourse is defined a priori by clear cut invented structures such as the nation-state, in the sense that those authors are operating through an either/or perspective that allowed them to put individuals within self-contained categories (i.e. 'foreigner' as unauthentic supporter; local as authentic supporter). The cosmopolitan football flâneur, as presented in Chapters 5 and 6, jumbled together those self-contained categories by re-assessing and re-constructing discursively what it means to be authentic. As I argued in the previous section, the modern structures such as nation-state, nuclear family and social class were never completely dismissed by those supporters and ultimately served as a backdrop for constructing those different discourses. In a Beckian perspective (see Beck, 2001), those structures should have been seen as Zombies categories due to their inefficiency in accepting a both/and approach. This position by Beck (2001) comes from his reliance on one form of modern nation-state that was conceptualised as coherent, socially and ethnically homogenous and closed-off to foreigners (see Hobsbawm, 1987, 1992), and thus was unable to embrace the incoherency, heterogeneity and permeability of the cosmopolitan individual. What supporters'

discourses (see Chapters 5 and 6) showed was that neither cosmopolitanism nor nationalism could be defined as such oppositions but are part of the same structural backdrop that allows individuals to construct rhetorically their 'reality'. In this sense, nationalism and cosmopolitanism can be, if not taken into their 'essentialist' perspective, reconciled.

This last argument leads to the question of what would be a non-essentialist understanding of cosmopolitanism and nationalism? My point is that by employing Baudrillard's (1994) theorisations of simulacra and simulation, it is possible to envision what the essentialist national and cosmopolitan rhetoric created and re-created as a reality that is more real than real. If this national and cosmopolitan essentialist rhetoric can be re-assessed and the simulacra exposed, it would ultimately be possible to reconcile both nationalism and cosmopolitanism. For instance, Beck (2000b, 2007b, 2010) provides the first tool to 'uncover' this 'reality' that is not overshadowed by the national and cosmopolitan simulacra, by arguing that sociology needs to move from an either/or to a both/and perspective. The national simulacra with its stationary individuals, closed-off social milieus, ethnically and socially homogenous groups ultimately represented by eleven men running behind a ball and supported by masses was as powerful a symbol as Disneyland is in Baudrillard's (1994) account. Those masses espousing the same expected characteristics of the national simulacra reinforced the illusionary power that it had in shaping individuals real reality. When globalisation and globalism became common features in both academic and political actors discourses (see Chapter 1 for a discussion of globalism and globalisation, and Chapter 3 for a discussion on how it impacted sociology of sport theorisations), the national simulacra started to lose ground to the cosmopolitan simulacra. This 'new' simulacra highlighted the interconnectedness of life across the globe,

the movement of goods, images and signs that disregarded any nation-state political border, and in English football the flooding of foreign money and players into the once preserved immaculate Victorian game were used as prime examples. This 'new' cosmopolitan simulacra when taking its place into academics and political actors' minds had to be as powerful rhetorical tool as the national simulacra, and to do so had to elevate the latter to a more real than real reality. Closed-off social milieus, fixed and rigid political borders, ethnically and socially homogenous groups were all reinforced as a reality that really existed in the past (see A. Harvey, 2005 for a revisionist history of football in Britain). In this sense, the cosmopolitan simulacra needs the national simulacra, and vice-versa, for self-reinforcing its importance in shaping individuals worldview. Considering that, both cosmopolitan and national simulacra co-existed and continue to co-exist in a sort of self-reinforcing heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) that in certain times and places become imbalanced. In light of this, Ulrich Beck's call for a cosmopolitan turn in the social sciences and a move from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism should be understood as a call for re-balancing both of those simulacras. This line of argumentation can be extrapolated to other topics theorised by Ulrich Beck, as his temporal notions of modernity and reflexive modernity. Questioned by what is modernity, Latour (1993, p. 40, emphasis added) argues that:

> "So is modernity an illusion? No, *it is much more than an illusion and much less than an essence*. It is a force added to others that for a long time it had the power to represent, to accelerate, or to summarize - *a power that it no longer entirely holds*."

Taking this idea in respect of modernity from Latour (1993) into consideration, cosmopolitanisation, as well as its 'counterforce' nationalism, seem to be discursive

simulacra powers that shape our understanding and comprehension of the world. While nationalism discourse of modernity, with its homogenous native and heterogenous foreigner, have shaded for sometime the cosmopolitanism discourse of reflexive modernity, the same can be said of the latter shading the former in our contemporaneous world. As Latour (2003, p. 38) would argue "it was because the moderns took themselves to be so thoroughly disentangled from the shackles of the past that they were so efficient at entangling themselves", and this analogy can also serve to discuss nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The idea of a modern nation-state that was coherent, socially and ethnically homogenous, closed-off to foreigners, and where the political borders were congruent to the socialisation borders was so strong and pervasive to all societies' spheres that the cosmopolitan, the outsider, was entangled in that discourse, normalised, and silenced. Taking a Beckian cosmopolitan perspective (see Beck, 2000b; Beck, 2007b, 2010), that asks for a dismissal of national outlook and methodological nationalism, this would entail falling into the same problem as 'modern' sociology created by blinding itself to the cosmopolitan. This time it would be the national who would rhetorically disappear. Considering that, cosmopolitan sociology should embrace instead of dismiss the national sociology. Both national and cosmopolitan simulacra should be taken into consideration while understanding individuals' understandings of the world. This both/and approach that accepts coexistence of nationalism and cosmopolitanism on a non-zero-sum fashion opens prospective sociological questions such as, was the 'modern world' just a homogenous national world? Is the 'reflexive modern world' just an heterogenous cosmopolitan world? How should we discuss homogeneity and heterogeneity in a non a priori fashion? In this sense both temporality of cosmopolitanisation as well as locality of cosmopolitanisation should and must be investigated in future research. I conclude by pointing out that these

are questions that the field of cosmopolitan studies must be taking into consideration through both comparative and historiographical sociological methods.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I sought to discuss the theoretical implications that the Liverpool FC supporters' discursive praxis have in both fields of sociology of sport and sociology of cosmopolitanism. Firstly I argued that the supporters' discourses challenged the *kulturkritischers Pessimismus* of most of modern nation-state based sociology of sport, and it allowed for an ambivalent re-reading of both Benjamin's (1999) flâneur and Simmel's (1950) stranger. Based on this re-reading and supporters' discourses I proposed the notion of a cosmopolitan football flâneur, an individual governed by individualisation instead of individualism. I further argued that this cosmopolitan football flâneur differed from the nostalgic flâneur by him/her being emotionally driven to Liverpool FC and that their mediated socialisations were equated to their metaphysical encounters. Subsequently in this chapter, I argued that by accepting the existence of heterogeneity in the figure of the cosmopolitan football flâneur has shaken the foundations of the traditional modern structures as the nation-state that constructs the hegemonic academic discourse. I argued that this ontological shift has had an impact on how we should theoretically conceptualise fandom, in the sense that 'distant' supporters are paradoxically the 'closest' supporters. Based on these initial arguments, I proposed that instead of a 'Dasein für Andere' or 'Bastellbiographie', what was seen through supporters' discourses was a 'Dasein für gewalthe Andere', where those others were the re-modernised structures (i.e. nation-state,

social class and nuclear family). This re-appraisal of re-modernised structures in shaping supporters' discourses representations of their cosmopolitan everyday life led to my final argument where I sought to reconcile both nationalism and cosmopolitanism. To achieve such re-conciliation I argued that both nationalism and cosmopolitanism (as described by Ulrich Beck) are more real than real structural rhetorics that instead of playing a zero-sum game are self-reinforcing forces that shape individuals' world views. I conclude this chapter by pointing out that if nationalism and cosmopolitanism are to be conceptualised as self-reinforcing simulacra, different sociological questions are raised. I propose that locality and temporality of nationalism and cosmopolitanism must be investigated through comparative and historiography sociological imaginations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Conclusions

This thesis explored the cosmopolitanisation of everyday life by looking at how football supporters in two different localities constructed discursively their 'authenticating' social reality on a third place. The thesis sought to make sense of this discursive reality through Beck and collaborators's (Beck, 2000b, 2003b, 2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1993, 1995, 2002, 2008, 2014; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Grande, 2010; Beck & Lau, 2005; Beck & Levy, 2013; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) extensive work on reflexive modernity, individualisation and cosmopolitanisation, Foucault's (1969) discourse and Baudrillard's (1994) simulacra. Social reality, as argued throughout this thesis, that shakes the foundation of a modern nation-state based sociology and asks for epistemological and ontological discussions.

The first thesis' objective was of following Beck & Lau's (2005) research agenda for social sciences and their call for re-assessing sociological theorisations based on first modern epistemology. This objective was mainly addressed in Chapter 3 where I developed a genealogy of the hegemonic academic discourse on football fandom vis-à-vis authenticity. My argument was that the genealogy can be divided into three distinct phases, namely the other as hierarchical inferior, the other researched through a stamp collector sociology, and the other being acknowledged and gaining initial recognition as authentic supporter. This genealogy, as argued in Chapter 3, has a direct influence on both methodological and epistemological levels as it can provide a priori limitations to research seeking to understand fandom in general. The point put forward through this genealogy

comes back again to reinforce the argument I constructed in the first two sections of Chapter 7.

This initial argument in Chapter 7 relates to the second objective of this thesis which was of understanding how football fan practices were individualised and cosmopolitanised. By employing an ethnographic-inspired methodology and interpretive epistemology I sought to understand how supporters on those two different localities constructed discursively their being and becoming into a third place. Those interpretations that were presented in Chapters 5 and 6, allowed for arguing that the cosmopolitan football flâneur differs from the nostalgic and pessimistic flâneur theorised under a first modern epistemology. In this sense, the second objective was just possible to achieve after exposing the hegemonic first modern academic discourse (Objective I). Moreover, being and becoming a cosmopolitan football flâneur as presented in Chapters 5 and 6, and theorised in the first section of Chapter 7 implied a necessary methodological and ontological shift within sociology of sport. If it is accepted that cosmopolitan football flâneur can also be regarded as authentic, the notions of here/there and we/them become blurred calling for an ontological shift in regard of a priori notions of who to study to understand fandom. In this sense, I argued that these 'distant' supporters are actually the 'closest' supporters, on a form of highlighting that ontologically and epistemologically we as researchers need to deconstruct any a priori notions. I concluded this section by using Frankenstein as an analogy to emphasise that instead of taking the nation-state as a dead (Zombie) structure for granted, it must be epistemologically incorporated in our re-construction of individuals discursive social reality.

The third and final objective of this thesis was discussed in the last two sections of Chapter 7 where I sought to use those being and becoming supporters' discourses to

illustrate and provide a re-reading of Ulrich Beck's theories. In the first part I argued that instead of a 'dasein für andere' as in modernity, or a 'bastelbiographie' in reflexive modernity, supporters' discourses showed that individualisation means deciding to which re-modernised structures to adhere. In this sense, what was seen was a 'dasein für gewälthe andere', being these others structuring forces that were re-modernised discursively. Nation-state, nuclear family and social class still served as backdrops for those supporters in constructing discursively their being and becoming, nonetheless they cease to be clear cut defined and to have more real than real interpretations. This last point opened the possibility to create a critique to Ulrich Beck's apparent contradiction in calling for a complete disregard of modern sociology on one hand, and on another hand calling for a both/and epistemology. I argued based on this contradiction, that Beck ended by relying on a more real than real notion of nationalism and of cosmopolitanism to construct his theorisations, and this impeded him in achieving the goal of re-conciliating both perspectives. I ended by arguing that if those perspectives are understood as more real than real discursive praxis that self-reinforce each other it will be possible to envision a position where they can be conciliated in a non-zero-sum perspective.

8.2 Limitations and Future Directions

This thesis took to the fore Beck (2003b, 2010), Beck & Sznaider (2006) and Beck et al's (2003) call for a cosmopolitan sociological imagination that sought to discuss the limits of the nation-state as an unit and frame of analysis. To avoid and transcend methodological nationalism as advocated by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2008), this research

explored how trans-border socialisations are constructed discursively by football supporters. By looking at two different places (Brazil and Switzerland) which are unintendedly interconnected through a third locality (Liverpool) I sought to highlight how the modern nation-state borders are discursively deconstructed and re-constructed by individuals. Nonetheless, by relying on different data from the distinct places put some limits to the analysis. For instance, supporters in Brazil have not been met face-to-face neither were their socialisations in pubs observed, meanwhile I have not had the opportunity to conduct formal interviews with supporters in Switzerland. While this can be seen as complimentary data that gave a more general and broader picture of this particular context (transnational fandom), having the same set of data could have provided the basis for constructing a stronger argument vis-à-vis the sociological concepts under study.

As pointed out by Lash (2015), John Searle (1996, 2011) provides a distinctive approach to performativity and discourse focusing primarily on how language constructs reality on everyday life level. In this sense, by applying Searle (1996, 2011) to future research can provide additional insights on how national/cosmopolitan outlook relates to the methodological nationalism/cosmopolitanism level, which is better grasped through Foucault (1969) and Latour (1993). By espousing a real cosmopolitan imagination, that demands a both/and epistemology it becomes imperative to look at how 'reality' is constructed not only through social researchers point of view (methodological nationalism/ cosmopolitanism) but also through social actors' point of view (national/cosmopolitan outlook). In this sense, reading Searle (1996, 2011) in 'opposition' to Beck (2010) could provide the basis for a real dialectical 'discussion' between actors and researchers' discursive social constructions. This has the possibility of truly understanding the performativity of both national and cosmopolitan more real than real discursive praxis.

Based on some of the findings in this thesis, another point that could be developed in future research is of employing Pierre Lévy's (1999) notion of collective intelligence. As discussed in Chapter 6 learning to love Liverpool FC is perceived as one of the most important practices between supporters. In this sense, it could be possible by aligning both Lévy (1999) and Searle (1996, 2011) to theorise a collective intelligence that constructs social 'reality' and confronts other collective hegemonic discourses.

Moreover, the findings in this thesis highlight a strong analogy - love - that supporters in both Brazil and Switzerland used to relate to Liverpool FC. In this sense, it becomes imperative to further explore how love can be sociologically understood as a force that challenges modern institutions (i.e. nation-state, nuclear family, social class) that shape individuals' socialisations. Can love be an answer to understand transnational solidarities? Can love provide a different form of knowledge and sociological imagination (see Beck et al., 2003; Santos, 2014)? Could love provide an initial link for the re-approximation of sociology to theology (see Boff, 2008)?

8.3 Concluding Remarks

As argued in Chapter 1, sport and particularly football has had a peripheral role on Beck's (2010) theorisations regarding cosmopolitanism, but as showed throughout this thesis it can be regarded as one of prime locus for understanding the contradictions of reflexive modernity. In this sense, borrowing from Giulianotti & Robertson (2004) it can be said that sport and particularly football is one of the most illuminating domains of banal cosmopolitanism and provides ground for real political and philosophical cosmopolitanism

to be discussed. Football, as argued by Millward (2009) is a fertile ground to grasp sociologically not only differences and oppositions, but also how mutual understandings through discursive praxis can be achieved. Moreover, what this thesis showed was that football as a context might provide different sociological interpretations and theorisations to central concepts as nation-state, individual, social class, nuclear family. Not only should we think of avoiding an epistemicide (Santos, 2014), but above all we should never contexticide by neglecting cultural manifestations and particularly football as a fundamental sociological loci of inquiry. I finish this thesis by holding that sport should be taken seriously sociologically and gain its deserved position in mainstream social theory.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I - Contact Form

Salut,

je suis étudiant en Sociologie en train de faire mon Doctorat à l'Université de Durham en Angleterre, et je fais une recherche sur les supporters du Liverpool FC qui habitent à l'étranger. Je serai en Suisse pendant un mois, à Neuchâtel, du 21 février au 17 mars. J'aimerais pouvoir vous rencontrer pour discuter (autant en Anglais qu'en Français) à propos de votre expérience en tant que supporter du Liverpool FC à l'étranger. Nous pourrions nous retrouver dans des bars pour voir des matchs et discuter avant, pendant et après les matchs. Je serai libre pour voyager en Suisse afin de vous rencontrer pendant ce mois-ci. Je me demande si certains d'entre vous seraient disposés à discuter et regarder le match contre Zenit ce jeudi.

Salutations et YNWA

Hi,

I'm a PhD student in Sociology at Durham University (UK) researching Liverpool FC abroad fans. I will be in Switzerland for a month, staying in Neuchatel, from the 21st February until 17th March. I would love to meet you to chat (either in English or French) about your experiences of being a Liverpool FC fan abroad. We can meet in pubs to watch games together and chat before, during and after the games. I'm free to travel around Switzerland to meet you during this month. I was wondering if any of you is willing to chat and watch the game against Zenit this Thursday.

cheers and YNWA

Renan

Appendix II - Consent Form

Otherness in football fandom: for a cosmopolitan turn in the sociology of sport

- I agree to take part in this research which is to investigate the idea of geographical *otherness* in football fandom, focusing on Liverpool FC fans based in Switzerland.
- I understand that this is a PhD research project funded by Durham University and carried out by Renan Petersen-Wagner. It is in no way commissioned, endorsed, supported or funded in anyway by any other organisations as Liverpool FC or the FA.
- The researcher has explained to my satisfaction the purpose of the study and any possible risks and ethical issues involved.
- I am aware that I will be required to talk about my life experience as a Liverpool FC fan abroad.
- I am aware that I may stop the conversation at anytime and without giving reason, and I may decline to answer any question.
- I understand that any confidential information will be seen only by the researcher and his supervisors and will not be revealed to anyone else, and will be encrypted and kept in a locked office at all times.
- I understand that the results of this project will be published in the form of reports, conference papers, journal articles and other academic outputs, although all data provided by myself and other participants will be anonymised.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the investigation at any time by contacting the lead researcher (Renan Petersen-Wagner). If I wish all information will be deleted and will not appear in the research.
  Name (please print): .....
  Signed:……
  Date:.....
- I agree to have these interviews recorded.
  Signed:……
  Date:.....

L'altérité chez les supporters de football: pour une tournure cosmopolite de la sociologie du sport.

- Je suis d'accord de participer à cette recherche qui veut enquêter sur l'idée de l'altérité géographique chez les supporters de football, en se concentrant sur les fans du Liverpool FC basés en Suisse.

- Je comprends qu'il s'agit d'un projet de recherche doctorale financé par l'Université de Durham et réalisé par Renan Petersen-Wagner. Il n'est en aucune façon commandé, approuvé, soutenu ou financé par d'autres organisations, tels le Liverpool FC ou la FA.

- Le chercheur a expliqué à ma satisfaction l'objectif de l'étude, tous les risques possibles et les questions éthiques qui se posent.

- Je suis conscient que je devrai parler de mon expérience de vie en tant que fan du Liverpool FC à l'étranger.

- Je suis conscient que je peux arrêter la conversation à tout moment et sans donner de raison, et je peux refuser de répondre à toute question.

- Je comprends que tout renseignement confidentiel ne sera visible que par le chercheur et ses superviseurs et ne sera divulgué à personne d'autre. Les données seront cryptées et conservées dans un bureau verrouillé à tout moment.

- Je comprends que les résultats de ce projet seront publiés sous forme de rapports, de documents de conférence, d'articles de journaux et autres publications scolaires, bien que toutes les données fournies par moi-même et les autres participants soient anonymes.

- Je comprends que je suis libre de me retirer de l'enquête à tout moment en contactant le chercheur principal (Renan Petersen-Wagner). Si je veux, toutes les informations seront effacées et n'apparaîtront pas dans la recherche.
  Nom (s'il vous plaît imprimer): .....
  Signed:……
  Date:.....

- Je suis d'accord pour que ces entretiens soient enregistrés.
  Signed: .....
  Date:.....

A construção do outro no futebol: por uma abordagem cosmopolita para a sociologia do esporte

- Eu estou de acordo em participar dessa pesquisa que investiga a ideia de construção do outro geográfico no futebol, focando nos torcedores do Liverpool FC no Brasil.

- Eu entendo que essa pesquisa doutoral é financiada pela Durham University e conduzida por Renan Petersen-Wagner. Ela não é comissionada ou suportada de qualquer forma por nenhuma outra organização como o Liverpool FC ou a FA.

- O pesquisador me explicou satisfatoriamente o projeto de pesquisa, e qualquer risco possível ou questões éticas envolvidas.

- Eu estou consciente de que terei que falar sobre a minha experiência de vida como torcedor do Liverpool FC no estrangeiro.

- Eu estou consciente de que posso parar a conversa a qualquer momento, sem dar quaisquer razões, e posso declinar em responder qualquer pergunta.

- Eu entendo que qualquer informação confidencial será vista somente pelo pesquisador e seus orientadores, e não será revelada para qualquer outra pessoa, sendo encriptada e guardada em um local chafeado.

- Eu entendo que os resultados dessa pesquisa serão publicados em formas de reports, artigos em congressos, journals e outras publicações acadêmicas, mas que todas as informações divulgadas serão anonimizadas.

- Eu entendo que estou livre para sair da pesquisa a qualquer momento através de um contato com o pesquisador principal (Renan Petersen-Wagner). Se eu quiser que minhas informacões sejam deletadas e que eu não apareça na pesquisa, posso somente contatar o pesquisador principal.

  Nome: .....

  Assinatura: .....

  Data: .....

- Eu aceito que as entrevistas sejam gravadas

  Assinatura: .....

  Data: .....

Appendix III - Interview Script (English)

1. What means to be Swiss (or Brazilian) and Liverpool supporter?

    1.1. Choose to be a Liverpool supporter?

    1.2. History? How you became a Liverpool supporter?

    1.3. Learning to become a Liverpool supporter?

    1.4. Member of the Swiss (or Brazilian) branch and/or member of LFC?

    1.5. To be a Swiss (or Brazilian) LFC supporter, or just a LFC supporter?

2. What means to be a member of an official branch?

    2.1. Necessity to be a member?

    2.2. How are they defined as supporters by LFC?

    2.3. How are they represented within the LFC supporters' committee?

3. How to manage multiple loyalties?

    3.1. What means to be a geographical distant citizen?

    3.2. Support Switzerland (or Brazil) and/or England in the international level?

4. To be a LFC citizen with rights and duties?

    4.1. Political engagement with LFC?

    4.2. Level of engagement in transnational activities as Spirit of Shankly, Justice for the 96, Don't Buy the Sun?

5. The availability of Liverpool abroad?

    5.1. Meanings of Liverpool athletes playing/training in Switzerland (or Brazil)?

    5.2. Meanings of Swiss (or Brazilian) players in the LFC squad?

6. Which league to follow, Swiss (or Brazilian) or/and English?

    6.1. Watch the matches on a Swiss (or Brazilian) TV channel?

    6.2. How to get informed about Liverpool abroad?

    6.3. How to find information about Liverpool?

    6.4. Which medias do they generally use?

7. Consuming Liverpool products?

    7.1. Buying in Switzerland (or Brazil) or in Liverpool?

8. Exchange of information with other supporters abroad?

    8.1. Engagement with other francophone (or Portuguese-speaking) supporters?

    8.2. On which language do they communicate with other supporters?

9. What means to be a geographical distant supporter?

    9.1. Are the rituals different?

    9.2. Rituals in Liverpool and in Switzerland (or Brazil)?

    9.3. What represent the rituals and travels to watch LFC games?

    9.4. What means to be with fellow supporters in Switzerland (or in Brazil) or/and in England?

    9.5. The Swiss (or Brazilian) supporters, who are they?

    9.6. How to negotiate this transnationalism of being a LFC supporter in Switzerland (or Brazil)?

    9.7. Are they seen as others by other Swiss (or Brazilian) local supporters, or/and by local supporters in Liverpool?

Appendix III - Interview Script (French)

1. Que veut dire d'être Suisse et un supporter de Liverpool?

    1.1. Choisir d'être un supporter de Liverpool?

    1.2. Histoire? Comment sont-ils devenus supporters de Liverpool?

    1.3. 'Apprendre' à devenir un supporter de Liverpool?

    1.4. Membre de la branche Suisse et/ou membre du LFC?

    1.5. Être un supporter Suisse du LFC ou *juste un supporter normal* du LFC?

2. Que veut dire d'être un membre *officiel* d'une branche?

    2.1. Necessité d'être un membre?

    2.2. Comment sont-ils définis en tant que supporters du LFC?

    2.3. Comment sont-ils représentés parmi le comité des supporters du LFC?

3. Comment gérer les loyautés multiples?

    3.1. Que veut dire d'être un citoyen géographiquement distant?

    3.2. Supporter la Suisse et/ou l'Anglaterre au niveau international?

4. Être un *citoyen LFC* avec ses droits et devoirs?

    4.1.Engagement politique avec le LFC?

    4.2. Les niveaux d'engagement dans les activités transnationales, tels Spirit of Shankly, Justice for the 96, Don't Buy the Sun?

5. La disponibilité de Liverpool à l'étranger?

    5.1. Significations de Liverppol jouer/s'entrainer en Suisse?

    5.2. Significations de jouers Suisse à Liverpool?

6. Regarder quel championat, Suisse et/ou Anglais?

    6.1. Regarder les matchs dans une chaîne Suisse ou internationale?

    6.2. Comment s'impliquer avec Liverpool à distance?

    6.3. Comment chercher des informations en lien avec Liverpool?

    6.4. Sur quel média se fient-ils?

7. Consomation des produits Liverpool?

    7.1. Acheter en Suisse ou en Liverpool?

8. Échange d'information avec d'autres supporters à distance?

    8.1. Engagement avec d'autres supporters francophones?

    8.2. Dans quelle langue se communiquent-ils avec les autres supporters?

9. Que veut dire d'être un supporter distant géographiquement?

    9.1. Les rituels sont-ils different?

    9.2. Rituels autant à Liverpool qu'en Suisse?

    9.3. Que représente les rituels et voyager por regader les matchs?

    9.4. Que représente socialiser avec les autres supporter, autant en Suisse qu'à l'étranger?

    9.5. Les supporters 'suisses', qui sont-ils?

    9.6. Comment négocier ce transnationalisme d'être un supporter en Suisse du LFC?

    9.7. Sont-ils vus comme des 'autres' par les supporters des autres clubs Suisses, et par les supporters 'locaux' de Liverpool?