

## **Globalised sports in a historical perspective**

Sweden participated in the 2004 UEFA Championship in Football, in Portugal. During the time of the championship Björn Horgby visited Malaysia and Vietnam and saw some of the matches on TV. One night in Kuala Lumpur he had problems to sleep because of the intermittent screaming. Football fans suffered a penalty kick ending. Another memory from this journey was a meeting with a young boy in Hue, who had thorough knowledge of the Swedish players. Four years later Christer Ericsson saw the next UEFA Championship visiting Japan. All matches were broadcasted and were close commented by Japanese experts. The interest for the tournament in Japan was significant.

The great interest in Asia for European, male football – here exemplified of such as different countries as the industrial world power Japan and the communist Vietnam – needs to be problematized. In this paper we discuss this topic as an expression of globalised sports. Processes of globalisation link up the world and change global economic and social conditions. As an example of these processes we can name the partly transfer of the western manufacturing industry to regions and countries with lower costs as China and India. Simultaneously, the western world developed the knowledge and entertainment industry. Today, sports are a more and more important part of this entertainment industry.

Here we use a historical perspective to study the consequences for sports of the processes of globalisation. We use male football as an object lesson. The central question is: which cultural consequences on the fields of sports got the processes of globalisation. We discuss this question as processes of identity and education. The article is divided in three parts:

- a. Globalised sports
- b. An historical perspective on globalised sports
- c. A discussion of processes of identity and education

### **A. Globalised sports**

In this first part we discuss the concept of globalisation as a framework of the study. A precondition for the development of globalised sports is the developing of a global

infrastructure – especially in the shape of cable and satellite television. In the processes of globalisation specific expressions of globalised sports were build up. In this field we chose to emphasize global symbols of sport and global athletic associations. This first part also deals with some consequences of the globalisation of sports. The first of them attend how sports manage global migration. The second of them discuss the cultural effects on the field of sports of the processes of globalisation.

## **The concept of globalisation**

With globalisation and processes of globalisation we mean the economical, social and cultural processes which link and affect globally.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, globalisation can be analysed as a long-term historical process, ongoing for hundreds of years.<sup>2</sup> We choose to describe globalisation through a take-off in the world hegemony of global capitalism. This perspective focus colonialism and imperialism and emphasis a global economical, political and cultural order of power dominated by the so-called western world. Belonging to this world counts for the present the USA, Canada, Western Europe, Japan and Australia. As economy links the global market this illuminates the historical conditional differences in the global standards of living. For an example, Africa south of Sahara in 2001 reached 4 % of the GDP per inhabitant of the western world.<sup>3</sup> The extended migration from the poor to the rich parts is a consequence of these global differences. Hegemony not only creates economical dominance but also cultural superiority. As consequence the hegemonic power of the western world will be the norm of interpretation.

Hegemony is not unchangeable. In the mid 70s the global relations began to change. The global economy was linked by a global transport and communication system. In the same time parts of the low industrialised third world began to industrialise and a global economical transition started as the mayor parts of the heavy industry – shipbuilding, steelworks and mines, the engine of the economies – in the western world were outrivaled by the fast-growing heavy industry in countries as Brazil and South Korea, who could produce to a much lower cost. This was the start of a process when the manufacturing industry partly moved from the first to the third world. As a consequence of this changes the western world went

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<sup>1</sup> The research of globalization is so extended that we won't make any references. The model of explanation depends on what problem you emphasize.

<sup>2</sup> For an example, Marks, Robert B, *The Origin of the Modern World. A Global and Ecological Narrative*. Lanham, Maryland 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Smits, JP, "Exploring International Differences in Economic Performance from a 'Social Capital' Perspective", Paper for ESSHC 2006.

into a long-standing structural crises. In the same time the fast industrialisation of China, India and the Asian Tiger-economies created the preconditions for undermining the global hegemony.<sup>4</sup>

Sports are and have been an international affair. But, many viewers would probably consider the internationalisation being rather new and call this process globalisation. In the globalised sports of today national sport organisations will not make decisions without considerations of the international preconditions. The globalised sports claims two faces. In Sweden – and probably in many other countries – the field of sports has been more differentiated, with more variation and many sports to choose among. In the same time, the culture of global sports, as the Norwegian historian of sports Matti Goksøyr accents, has been more equivalent, thus the freedom of choice in theory has grown.<sup>5</sup> Only minor parts of sports get global attention and these parts have been more concentrated and one-dimensional. And, these parts of elitist sports now have changed to an industry of entertainment. This means a development from emphasizing results and success to the priority of a combination of entertainment, sports' results and also preferably economical benefits.

## **The global infra structure**

A precondition of process against an industry of entertainment is the creation of a new global infra structure of cable and satellite-TV and also Internet. This infra structure, developed in the 80s and 90s, made it possible to worldwide watching of Olympic games and European Championships and World Championships in male football. The expansion of media played an important role for especially European football being global. The heavy interest was capitalized in the rights of broadcasting, which rapidly became substantial costly as the requests on the market grew. The media scholar Peter Dahlén points of that Robert Murdock in the early 90s became one of the leading actors in the business of making male football a global product of trade. In 1991 his TV-channel Sky bought the rights of broadcasting of the British Premier League for approximately 250 millions GBP. According to the Norwegian sports scholar Harry Arne Solberg some the satellite channels in late 90s and early 00s established most of their activity on the rights of broadcasting football. The severe

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<sup>4</sup> Taylor, Matthew, "Football, Migration and Globalization: The Perspective of History", on *Idrottsforum.org* 2007. About the concept of hegemony, see for an example Horgby, Björn, *Rock och uppror. Amerikansk, brittisk och svensk rockkultur 1955-69*. Stockholm 2007 and *Kampen om facket* (forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup> Goksøyr; Matti, *Historien om Norsk Idrett*, Oslo 2008, p 157.

competition bumped up prices even further. The rights to the Champions League were the most attractive.

The American sports channel ESPN started in 1979 and broadcasted sports around-the-clock. In 1993 it covered about 65 % of the cable market in the USA. As a consequence of globalisation the channel at the same time also broadcasted in Spanish, Portuguese, German, French, Dutch, Mandarin and Chinese. In 1993 the channel also began to broadcast in Canton for the market in the southern parts of China. The company began to give priority to the Asian market before the European. The IOC' decision to give Beijing the Olympic Games in 2008 can be viewed in the same perspective as the markets for the IOC' sponsors opened.

The warning of the Vietnamese authorities of wanting night's rest during the European Championships of football in 2004 can be seen as a little bit odd. But, the matches were watched nightly in Vietnam and this was treated as a social problem.<sup>6</sup> Another example of the globalisation of sports is how the golfer Tiger Woods extra-marital affairs were discussed in late 2009 and early 2010 not only in the USA, but also – to the same degree – in China.<sup>7</sup>

Global attention made well-known athletics becoming symbols of public relations. They became global symbols of sports twinning sports, entertainment and advertising in their brand names. Also the leading football clubs (or entertainment enterprises) became actors on a global commercial market. Another consequence of the global infra structure were the effects on the conditions of the labour market of sports.<sup>8</sup> In the following we will discuss these problem's as they are preconditions of the cultural consequences of the processes of globalisation.

## **Global symbols of sports**

In the 90s and 00s the process from successful jock to a global symbols of sports combined sporting wins in the most public sports with becoming shining stars in the global media supply. Therefore they also acted as valuable global brand names for those enterprises who used them in advertising. As it looks like this commercial processes focus a reducing number of global symbols of sports. Probably this is due to the costly global advertising campaigns,

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<sup>6</sup> Information in Malaysian media the summer of 2004. Dahlén, Peter, "Beckham – mannen, myten, varumärket", on *Idrottsforum.org* 2003, Dahlén, Peter, "Idrottskapitalismens genombrott i Kina", on *Idrottsforum.org* 2008, .Solberg, Harry Arne, "TV-sportsrettigheter – attraktive, men riskable, investeringsobjekter", on *Idrottsforum.org* 2004. See also Taylor 2007.

<sup>7</sup> DN 100404.

<sup>8</sup> About the symbios between sports and media, Helland, Knut, "Sport som attraksjon: Symbiosen mellom fotball og medier", on *Idrottsforum.org* 2004. About the relation between football and public relations, Solberg 2004 and Dahlén 2008.

which are so costly that the enterprises only support those athletes with the biggest and the longest shine.

The British footballer David Beckham is and has been one of these global symbols of sports. Nineteen years old, in 1995, he made his debut in the Premier League for Manchester United. In 2003 he left for Real Madrid. The major Spanish club probably bought him because of his very strong brand name. Media speculated that the Real Madrid wanted to expand in Asia as an explanation of the buy. Beckham had a very strong brand in Asia. The brand and the function as a global symbol of sports affected the transfer in 2007 to Los Angeles Galaxy. That club trusted him to be a symbol of the American soccer league. In 1975 New York Cosmos managed to create such a symbol as they bought the Brazilian world famous star Pelé.

In 2004, 2005 and 2008 Beckham was the most well paid footballer in the world. His successes on the football ground did not correspond to the position. Instead his brand was rewarded. The film “*Bend It Like Beckham*” (2002) emphasizes his brand and the distinct character of his fame as footballer – the dangerous free-kicks’ swerves around and over the defensive wall. The brand not only signals the success of the footballer, but also his life in fame with a strong charismatic aura. Since 1999 he is married to Victoria Adams (Posh Spice), who earlier was one of the singers in the famous Spice Girls. Together the couple have the same kind of aura as the leading Hollywood stars. On his official website he appears as an icon of fashion – both as a symbol of sports and a male object of sex, which gives him a multi-dimensional appearance. Even Victoria Beckham appears as an icon of fashion.<sup>9</sup> On the Internet an amount of web sites tells gossip of the couple.<sup>10</sup>

David Beckham still is one of the most well paid footballers even though his game not is as successful as before. This shows the stamina of the brand.<sup>11</sup> It takes time to develop a worldwide brand. So the enterprises will continue to use his brand. The myths are important for the brand of Beckham. No one expects him to be perfect. He has had his ups and downs. For example, he became the scapegoat in the World Championship in 1998, as he was expelled in a match England lost.<sup>12</sup>

Another brand with global shine is the American golfer Tiger Woods. For many years he was “Mr Perfect” – a conscientious American sports machine, who collected wins. His reserved private life did not develop the brand. The narratives told the story of how he as a

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<sup>9</sup> Dahlén 2003, Wikipedia, The Official David Beckham Website, 100323.

<sup>10</sup> [www.posh24.se/david\\_beckham](http://www.posh24.se/david_beckham), 100323

<sup>11</sup> DN 100324 refer to France Football’ study of the most well-paid footballer in the world. They count wages, bonus’ and incomes from PR. In 2010 Lionel Messi, Barcelona, had the highest total yearly income with approximately 44 million USD. David Beckham was number two with 40 million USD.

<sup>12</sup> Dahlén 2003.

child was brought up becoming a sports star. In 2009 he was the highest paid athlete in the world. He owned about 15 times more than the best paid male footballers.<sup>13</sup> In November and December 2009 his numerous infidelities became worldwide known. His affairs created a tremendous media attention. His sexual escapades did not comport with his brand, so he lost several contracts with sponsors.

Beckham and Woods are global symbols of sport with different brands and these brands are affected by the changes of the global infra structure.

## **Global clubs**

Not just individual athletes, but also many sports associations have been global symbols – especially in male football. During the season 1955/56 the national champions in European football have played in the European Cup Tournament. The season 1992/93 the cup tournament was exchanged by the Champions League,<sup>14</sup> which became a formidable success with the public – especially in TV. On the expanding broadcasting market the prime European football soon became a global matter of nearly the same dignity as the European and World Championships. The combination of TV-rights and the logic of competition and success resulted in strengthening of the already economically strong clubs, which made them even more successful both sporting and economically. The new economical preconditions created assumptions for them to buy the best players on the market. During the last years mainly the leading British, Italian and Spanish clubs have had enough funds to participate in this competition. Consequently, they also have dominated the Champions League.<sup>15</sup>

One consequence of the processes of globalisation is the changes of the British Leagues, the Football League and thereafter the Premier League. During the 60s and 60s nearly all players were Brits or Irish. Today the League is multi-cultural – especially the leading clubs. In 1986 the Football League got 6,3 million GBP for the broadcasting rights. In 2010 the global broadcasting rights for the Premier League are more than redoubled compared to the nearest earlier contract. The income for the period 2010-13 is estimated to over 1 billion GBP. Just the Swedish broadcasting rights brought in nearly half a billion GBP. But, the fastest expansion took place in Asia. In Singapore the costs of the rights tripled from 2007 to 2010.

The broadcasting rights play an important role in the formation of the leading clubs as profit-driven companies. Financially strong interests of owners now compete of purchasing

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<sup>13</sup> DN 100324.

<sup>14</sup> Wikipedia

<sup>15</sup> About wage trends, see Offside 2000, nr 1 and Dahlén 2003.

clubs in the Premier League. One of the first of them was the Russian oligark Roman Abrahamovitj who bought Chelsea in 2003. One of his followers was the earlier Thai Prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra, who bought Manchester City in 2007 and sold the club less than two years later to representatives of the royal family of Abu Dhabi. In 2005 the American sports club owner Michael Glazer – on credit – bought Manchester United. The global interests means that it is no accident that the London club Arsenal advertise for the airline company Emirates from the United Arab Emirates. Their new arena is called Emirates Stadium. According to estimations of the business journal Forbes Manchester United in 2010 is the most valuable football club in the world – a position the club has had the last six years. The prosperities on the broadcasting rights market causes the Premier League in 2010 to pay higher salaries compared to the leagues in Italy and Spain (1,6 billion GBP compared to 1 billion GBP respective nearly 1 billion GBP). The costs of wages rose considerably during the last years in all three leagues. So, the leading teams in these three leagues can continue to buy the best players in the world.<sup>16</sup> While the British leading clubs are profitable objects of investment Real Madrid is the opposite. That club is well known for being the most willing to buy players. When a new president for the club is elected he promises the members to buy specified players. The members not only vote for president but in the same time for contracting a player. As a consequence Real Madrid carries tremendous debts, but have apparently corresponding credits.<sup>17</sup>

In the traces of the struggle of broadcasting rights and the global attention to Western European football many clubs have own TV-channels, who only report about the affairs of the club. Manchester United's TV-channel MUTV take in this way care of the global brand of Manchester United and also contributes to income from advertising and merchandising, which mostly consists of sales of football sweatshirts and such a things.<sup>18</sup> The TV-channel of Real Madrid broadcast 14 hours a day about the club. One of the biggest media groups in Spain owns the channel Real Madrid Televisión. The club get paid for participating in arrangements and interviews with the players. This kind of supporter journalism has been a way of nursing the brand. Of course Barcelona also has a TV-channel.

As a result of the severe expenditures more clubs than Real Madrid got a shaky economy. The global financial crisis, which burst out in 2008, diluted the markets for advertising and

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<sup>16</sup> DN 100325, Dahlén 2008, Taylor 2007, Wikipedia, Forbes quoted after SvT Text 100423. After Manchester United with 1,8 billion dollars follow Real Madrid 1,3, Arsenal 1,2, Barcelona 1, Bayern München 1, Liverpool 0,8, Milan 0,8, Juventus 0,7, Chelsea 0,6 and Inter 0,4 billion dollars.

<sup>17</sup> Offside 2000, nr 4.

<sup>18</sup> [www.manutd.com](http://www.manutd.com) – the Official Website, 1003234

sponsoring and undermined the economy even further. A sign of this was the Manchester United selling of the Portuguese star Christian Ronaldo to Real Madrid. Probably the economical insecurity benefits some clubs just below the top from the national leagues not that attractive on the TV-market. One of these clubs is the German club Borussia Dortmund, who only gets half of the income from TV-rights as Manchester United. Instead the club has a solid economy based on 153 000 members.<sup>19</sup>

## **The labour market of sports**

As we mentioned above the changing conditions of the labour market of sports plays an important role for the globalised sports. The geographical mobility of the players is a central question. The direction of the mobility from the economical periphery to the economical centre implies that the players move to Western Europe and the leading leagues there. Or if you put it in another way, migrants from the economically poor world seek the rich world. So, the leading clubs consist of the best players all over the world, while the national leagues are drained from front-edge competence. When the managers of the national teams of Senegal, Ivory Coast, Nigeria or Cameroon they mostly have to travel around Europe and watch their players. Remarkably many players also come from Brazil and Argentina.<sup>20</sup>

Even the migration in Europe is large. Inside the EU and the EES-area the so called Bosman judgement regulates the mobility of the players. In 1995 the EG-court decided that the free mobility of labour inside the EU also was going to be applied in sports. Before 1995 the clubs used a costly system of transfers when players were sold. This diminished the movement of the players. As a motive of the transfers the clubs talked about the costs of refining and educating a player. But, the clubs also used the system of transfers in the aspiration of creating a cartel in the purpose of preventing of bumping up wages. After the judgement the clubs only could get compensation for breaking a wage contract. Another change, the national federations no longer could limit the players from the EU-countries in the national leagues. Some countries earlier used this system to cherish young domestic players.<sup>21</sup>

The Bosman judgement increased the movement of the players inside Europe. As a consequence the level of wages rose. The differences between well-to-do clubs and other clubs also grew. Rising costs resulted in economical problems for many clubs in the national

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<sup>19</sup> DN 100330, Dahlén 2008.

<sup>20</sup> Taylor 2007.

<sup>21</sup> Snögren Johansson, Elin, "En fri arbetstagare? Om det internationella transfersystemet för elitfotbollsspelare inom EU, särskilt om förtida uppsägning av anställningsavtal", *Idrottsforum.org* 2009. Snögren Johansson shows the Bosman' case started a change in the praxis of labour legislative conditions of the market of sports.



leagues. In Sweden this process was build up by the change from semi-professional to professional football.<sup>22</sup> To reduce “economical doping” – buy players on credit as Real Madrid and create big dept’s – many national leagues in the beginning of the 00s introduced licensing of the elite clubs. From now on it was necessary that the clubs had a stable economy. Otherwise they risked reduction of points or even degradation to a lower series – as the British Leeds in 2006/07. The Swedish Football Association introduced the license in 2002 in the two highest series of male football and from 2005 also in highest female series. Before the season in 2005 the Swedish Football Association degraded Örebro SK.<sup>23</sup> The introduction of license resulted in a more cautious economical management.

## **The cultural consequences in the sports field of the processes of globalisation**

The processes of globalisation got many cultural consequences. An extended migration from the periphery to the centres and the global economical structural change, which moved industrial work in the opposite direction, resulted in traditionalistic reactions in the Western World. The national and specific local identities grew in importance. The growing nationalism, which is connected to sports, can be interpreted in this way. The industrial changes mostly affected low educated, young men in the Western World. They have had big problems in their settlement on the labour market. Without a solid work identity they compensate themselves by identification with like-minded football supporters. Below we will discuss both identities – nationalism and the strengthening identities of football supporters. In the second part of the paper we insert these identities in a historical perspective. In the end of the paper we tentatively also discuss the possible global consequences.<sup>24</sup>

### ***Sports as arena of nationalism***

Since World War II it has been problematic in many western states to public articulate nationalism and nationalistic values. Sweden is an example of this. The Swedes has been proud of the successes of the welfare state project, which resulted in the rapid change in the early post-war period from poor country in the periphery of northern Europe to becoming a well-to-do country in the European centre. Meanwhile politics emphasized international

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<sup>22</sup> Offside 2001, nr 2, Taylor 2007.

<sup>23</sup> Wikipedia

<sup>24</sup> Sörbom, Adrienne, ”Politikens globalisering i Emmaboda. En fallstudie från den svenska arbetarrörelsen”, in Sörbom, A & Abrahamsson, H red, *Den tömda demokratin – och vägarna tillbaka till makten*. Stockholm 2004 and Horgby forthcoming.

solidarity and Sweden's international role as a neutral and peacekeeping power. In practice the message told the citizens that Sweden was a little bit better than other countries and that there was a Swedish way to social security and welfare – the Swedish model – which everyone could be very proud of and it was important that other countries also ought to pick up the central parts of the model.<sup>25</sup>

The Norwegian nationalism developed as a reaction of this early post-war economical success and also the Swedish big brother nationalism. The Norwegian sports historian Matti Goksøyr points of the Norwegian complex of relation to Sweden. Then, the situation changed. In the same time as the economical structural change – and crisis – Norway became a leading oil producing country. Consequently the welfare development turned in favour of Norway and partly also the Norwegian progresses in sports, which today creates a Swedish envy of Norway – especially articulated in the field of sports.

Swedish conceptions also changed by the transformation of the nation from cultural relatively homogeneous to becoming multi-cultural. Today one eighth of the population can be categorized as immigrants in the first or the second generation. Together with the entry of EU in 1995 and the threats of globalisation the need of articulating the Swedish nationalism has been more and more important. The purpose of this articulation has been twofold: partly to strengthen the national self-esteem, partly to react against “strangers” (inside and outside the nation). The use of national symbols has been more common. During the 70s and 80s there were few flags. During the last decades the flag has been an important national symbol. Another sign of this strengthening of the national self-esteem is the celebration of the national day the 6<sup>th</sup> of June. Between 1916 and 1983 that day was “The day of the Swedish flag”, which few celebrated. In 2005 the national day became an official holiday. The celebration has grown, but it is not that intense as in the USA, France – or in Norway.

Successful athletes and national teams play important roles as national symbols. Matti Goksøyr calls the international contest in football for 90 minutes of nationalism framed by flags and the national anthems.<sup>26</sup> During the last decades the official support to top athletes has grown in many countries. This is not by coincidence. The investments in the future successes in the Olympic Games are examples of this kind of political policy. The national support of the Olympic sports has a distinct purpose to create national prestige. As a consequence Sweden has produced world stars in track and field. The amount of medals in the

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<sup>25</sup> Berggren, Henrik & Trägårdh, Lars, *Är svensken människa? Gemenskap och oberoende i det moderna Sverige*. Stockholm 2006.

<sup>26</sup> Goksøyr 2004.

most recent Olympic Games has been relatively high.<sup>27</sup> The GDR and other nations in the so called Eastern block invested from the 60s to 1989 in a similar way in sports, with the purpose to show the correspondence between the wins and the success of the Soviet system. In GDR this resulted in the systematic use of doping. Also national states as Russia, China and the USA have made systematic investments in results in the Olympic Games. According to an Australian study since the 80s there have been a linearly connection between economical investments in elitist sports and Australian medals. Other studies also attest the rising national investments in national wins. The Danish sports scientist Rasmus Storm points out that the political controlling of resources to some sports are conditioned. When the political goals are not reached the economical support ends.

To sum up, during the last decades the successful nation of sports is an important part of the national self-esteem of the well-to-do part of the world. By no coincidence the Russian president Medvedev, according to media, was very critical against the organization of the Russian winter sports after the relatively failure in the Olympic Games 2010 in Vancouver. The hunting of medals at the Olympic Games and the aspiration of national sport successes has created a “permitted” national self-esteem in a time when unconcealed nationalism will be defined as something problematic.<sup>28</sup>

### *The cultures of supporters*

The local identities are mostly expressed as the cultures of supporters. In Sweden the attendance figures were all time high at the 40s and 50s, just before the introduction of TV. When TV broke through as entertainment media, the figures dipped. But, during the last decade the trend has changed. Especially the derbies between the big city teams will fill the galleries, even though the matches simultaneously are broadcasted on the sports channels. The supporters are more than ever and are also more dedicated to their teams.

These changes in attendance figures can be explained in several ways. Firstly, the value of entertainment of football has increased. So, football can appeal to big, new groups. Secondly, the exposure in media has increased. This is a consequence of the increasing value of entertainment and the possibility of exploiting the market value of football. This medial value of entertainment is not the same as public value of entertainment – we will soon return to that

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<sup>27</sup> For example DN 080531, see also Goksøy, Matti, ”Skihopp, cricket-tester og fotballkamper: Idrett som identitetsarena”, on *Idrottsforum.org* 2004.

<sup>28</sup> Goksøy 2004 points out that sports have been a field where the discourses accept articulation of national identities. Storm, Rasmus, ”En vedenskrig om medaljer”, on *Idrottsforum.org* 2008, also Stub, Henrik, ”Fotbollen som farlig förebild. Sovjetunionens autonoma fotbollskultur”, on *Idrottsforum.org* 2004, compare Berggren & Trägårdh 2006.

question. Thirdly, the value of identity of football has increased, as the need of identification with a team has developed. All three explanations are possible.

The increasing value of entertainment of football is related to the professionalisation of footballers with better skills, which resulted in a faster and more interesting football. The value of entertainment in media deals with the increasing coverage of football as it finds a large audience. It is no direct correlation to the value of entertainment. Instead it means that many persons want to consume the product. In the 00s Swedish media have increased the coverage of football. The leading tabloids the *Aftonbladet* and the *Expressen* have daily, voluminous supplements of sports and writes especially of football.

The importance of the values of identity and entertainment is the most recently change of trend. Especially the big city clubs have supporters associated with hooliganism – with a derailed, violent identification to the club. An effect of the bursts out of violence is the reduction of the “ordinary” audience. During the last years the extreme supporters in several ways have affected the work of the clubs. In practice they have suspended club directors and other leading officials and trustees in conflict with these supporters. They have protested on the members annual meeting, on matches and harassed the leaders in different ways. These kinds of problems seem to have strengthened. During the last years the media have discussed the fighting down of the hooligans.

As mentioned earlier, we believe the hooligans partly are connected to the processes of globalisation. One consequence is the amount of young men, outside the labour market with undermined male identities, who compensates this by over-communicate the culture of the supporters and especially the violent expressions. Not just in Sweden, but also in other parts of Europe, male football is transformed from the entertainment of the gallery to high-risk projects, where groups of hooligans are expected to battle.<sup>29</sup>

In the same time the cultures of supporters is over-communicated and transformed to hooliganism another trend is obvious. Especially after the Bosman’ case footballers are products on the market, who can be sold and bought. As a result fewer players are loyal to their clubs. Since 1993 Alessandro del Piero have played in Juventus. During many years Henrik Larsson stayed in Celtic. They are exceptions gaining in respect and attention because of their choices. Instead many players in success climb from club to club and vice versa in reverse. A career can begin in a minor Swedish club, who starts the education of the player; it continues in a Swedish elite club, who develop the skills of the players and acts as a shop-

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<sup>29</sup> Robson, G, *No One Likes Us, We Don't Care. The Myth and Reality of Millwall Fandom.* London 2000

window for clubs with more money. And so it continues. The infidelity of the players is connected to the rise of the brand of the global star on behalf of the brand of the clubs.<sup>30</sup>

Probably, this tendency has not affected the developing cultures of the supporters.

## B. An historical perspective on globalised sports

### **The National arena**

During the bigger part of 1900-talet sports and perhaps above all football, in Sweden as in many other countries, have played a big role as arena for national identity. In connection with the increased globalization, the shaping of one stronger EU and other expressions for a weakened and perhaps up to and including dissolved nation - state, should reasonably nationalism at athletic competition tend to sound of – in the beginning of 1990 at least the European Commission hopes so.<sup>31</sup> The commission however had misinterpreted the strength in the national symbols and the sport's nature as an arena for identities. As Matti Goksøyr shows, the development in Norway became opposite to what the Commission had hoped. During 1993 and 1994 the Norwegian sports nationalism became to the highest degree a living force.<sup>32</sup> Goksøyr mentions particularly Norway's advancements to the football world cup 1994 and OS in Lillehammer the same year, as examples on events where strong national feelings come to be expressed and where national symbols were used diligently. The sport has, he argues, retained its position as a kind's free zone for national expressions, where one sings national anthem and use national symbols that on other public arenas would be seen as directly improper.<sup>33</sup> We share this perspective.

Which sport that is farmed as an arena - or perhaps an arena where nationalism can be expressed – shifts over time. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and far into the 20<sup>th</sup> cricket was the sport in England that created the strongest national feelings.<sup>34</sup> From 60s the male football definitely took over that role, despite that it became all more common that the British clubs began to become multiethnic. James Walvin argues that the clubs in fact become "*a mosaic of nationalities and*

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<sup>30</sup> This trend is similar to the general process of individualization in the Western World, see Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization. Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton, New Jersey 1997.

<sup>31</sup> See Goksøyr 2008, p 161

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

<sup>33</sup> Goksøyr 2008, p 162

<sup>34</sup> Walvin, James, *The Only Game*, Longman, 2001, p 248 - 249

*religion's, yet when they played against foreign teams, they were thought to represent England".<sup>35</sup>*

In this paper we have no possibility to study how – and if – football became a more important national arena in Sweden, but there are clear signs indicating that so is the case. International matches in football against neighbouring countries were common from the early 1900-talet. These international matches against above all Denmark were depicted as struggles against "the heritage enemy", but more than that where it not. And so it continued, although the international contest was broadened. Sweden could also celebrate big national successes - especially during the early post-war period with the gold in the OS in 1948, the bronze in the World Championship in 1950 and the silver in the World Championship in 1958 as height points. The attention was however meager and the national celebration where also limited.

However, during the last decades something has happened. Firstly, firsthand supporting their teams has become more common among supporters from Sweden and other Nations. This depends of course partially on the increased standard of living, but it is not the only explanation. Secondly, the interest from media has increased distinctly. Thirdly, the national celebration of the successes has increased including more symbolic elements - especially in the form of waving flags and supporter's celebrating their heroes in public in a carnivalisque way. The successes on the football grounds and at the rinks of ice-hockey, as the bronze medal at the 1994 football world cup and the gold medals at the Olympic Games and the World Championships, has been properly celebrated in public. At several occasions the teams has been escorted by the Swedish air force when they entered Swedish air rooms.

In this context, we do not have the possibility to deepen the analysis of sports as an accelerated national arena. Instead, we will now discuss the identities that are tied to sport clubs in the form of supporter culture.

### **The early football and the western football roots**

The football's roots have been discussed several times by the famous sociologist Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning and by the Swedish historian Torbjörn Andersson and sociologist Aage Radman. Different shapes of pre-modern football have been played around the world. The most important roots for modern football are the early football that flourished on the British islands during the medieval time. This "people football" was relatively rule loose and even brutal. One did not delimit the playing field and had not any distinction between audience and

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<sup>35</sup> Walvin 2001, p 249

players. The ferocity meant that the game already during the 12<sup>th</sup> Century was considered too violently, uncontrolled and useless for the best of society. Therefore the authorities strived to check - or with Norbert Elias's terminology "civilize" - football. In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century football, like many other sports, was regulated in England. But, the people form of blunt football mentality nevertheless in big extent lasted with the audience, on the terrace.<sup>36</sup>

The football of the people was integrated in the festival calendar. In particular during the Shrove Tuesday, various villages, parishes or occupational groups fought against each other. According to Andersson and Radman, also modern football has retained these links to the festival and its mentality. Big ball games are always expected to be big public folk festivals. Firstly modern football was developed as a middle- and an upper class sport, but soon it spread among the working class. Now the game became a more pronounced spectator sport. And the terrace was difficult to check. Particularly during the 1890s the worries grew about the unchecked fans.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, the non-Socialist groups strove after using modern football in order to shape and educate the young gentleman and to discipline him with the roles of the game. Football "*do men of boys and boys of men*" was a classic expression for this process of disciplining.<sup>38</sup> During the 20<sup>th</sup> Century this civil endeavour came in conflict with the expressions of working-class sports; commercialism and hooliganism, which we soon will return to. But, this was not enough. Women also required access to this culture of football, whose entire miniature world from the start had been built up by men for men. Historical football have been connected to some often contradictive themes: violence and festival; play and seriousness; amateurism and professionalism; popularity and gentlemen sport; commercialism and idealism; youthful immaturity and male discipline; identity and rivalry and regionalism and nationalism.

## When football came to Sweden

In order to closer re-establish to the supporter culture and the football at the turn of the century 1900, football as a male fellowship was not clearly so idyllic and conflict free as the non-Socialist party aimed at. From the start the game confronted obstructions from many divided interests in society. Almost as a law of nature it brought about different conflicts between rival teams. The critical standpoints against football concerned several things. The

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<sup>36</sup> Elias, Norbert & Dunning, Eric, *Från riddarspel till fotbollscup. Sport i sociologisk belysning*, Stockholm 1986. Andersson, Torbjörn & Radman, Aage, *Från gentleman till Huligan*, Stockholm 1998, p 29-31

<sup>37</sup> Dunning, Eric, "Åskådarvåld. Sociologiska notiser kring ett till synes nytt problem", i Elias & Dunning 1986, p 139.

<sup>38</sup> Andersson & Radman 1998, pp 61-62.

game was considered vicious and dangerous, and moreover it trespassed the Sunday service.<sup>39</sup> Neither the football culture favoured soberness. At the turn of the century alcohol had a central place in sports. This partying was typed openly in sports magazines. It was not a secret that football clubs cherished alcohol. Both teams from Denmark and England who visited Sweden, reported that they were pleased with their hosts, "*that stylish invited them on schnaps to the dinner*".<sup>40</sup> The early sport fields run by private limited companies. They were forced to find collaborative partners to safeguard their economy. Here restaurant activities such as dance and different kinds of party entertainment played an important role. This was a reason to the early integration between sports and alcohol. Therefore the sport fields became early so called "doubtful environments", as the arenas were to a large extent financed by modern entertainment. And the arenas, amazingly not, often drew on the dissatisfaction of the society. So, the pressure increased against the role of alcohol within sports. According to Andersson and Radman, this happened at the same time as the working class began to be interested in sports, especially football.<sup>41</sup>

Another expression of the integration of football in the entertainment industry was the processes of commercialization. In England, this tendency went longest and where earliest through the takeoff of the professional league – a league that was carried out on the basis of commercial principles. In Sweden and several other countries this development were stopped by the prevailing amateur ideal, but professionalism soon would undermine this ideal. After the second war Sweden was one of the leading football nations. In autumn 1946 the Swedish champions IFK Norrköping went on a tour to England and defeated some teams in the British football league. Two of the players in that team were Nils Liedholm and Gunnar Nordahl. Two years later Sweden football team won the gold medal in the Olympic Games in London. Thereafter Liedholm and Nordahl became professional players in Italy. Along with Gunnar Gren, from Gothenburg, they became very successful under the nickname Gre-No-Li. When they become professional they were no longer welcome to play with the Swedish national team. Just before 1958, the football cup on home ground, this rule was taken away.

Professionalism did not just influence the conductive players. In the mid-war and early post war periods many foreign coaches were employed and examples on how the clubs needed to think in commercial terms. For example was the successes of IFK Norrköping were

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<sup>39</sup> Andersson & Radman 1998, p 32.

<sup>40</sup> Andersson & Radman 1998, p 33, also Norrköpings Stadsarkiv, IF Sleipner, Styrelseprotokoll 6/4 1924.

<sup>41</sup> Andersson & Radman 1998, p 38-39.



associated with coaches as Lajos Czeisler, Karl Adamek and Vilmos Varszegi. To get success the teams also needed resources in order to go on training camps.<sup>42</sup>

Football also played a big role as identity object. In the beginning the football culture was dominated by regional contradictions, but the local class conflicts soon also became important. For example could class rivalry between different urban districts or groups be transferred into football. In Norrköping stood the workers team IF Sleipner against the middle class team IFK Norrköping; in Malmö Malmö FF against IFK Malmö; and in Gothenburg GAIS against Örgryte IS. In Stockholm AIK performed under the nickname “smokinglirarna” (the tuxedo players), while Djurgårdens IF were called ”järnkaminerna” (the iron stoves). The third big club in Stockholm, Hammarby IF, was connected to the working class district in the south of Stockholm. Internationally this standard is well known. The antagonism between Celtic and Glasgow Rangers emphasis another dimension; the religious contradictions between Catholic Celtic and Protestant Rangers.<sup>43</sup>

The popular rivalry between clubs stood in sharp contrast against the way football was shaped in the newspapers. The newspapers wrote in a raising and non-personalized tone. The teams, the players, the strikers and the outcome of the game were not important. The exemplary playing was alone imbued, tactic and collective. Objectionable was ”*inadequate discipline, disorder and individualism; in particular dribble with a vain playing to the gallery*”.<sup>44</sup> Those who played for the audience misunderstood the aim of the game, which was to educate the players and the audience. The games were considered to be a type character tests for the players in order to perform as a gentleman and concurrent try to win. For the Swede, the gentleman performance was produced as classless qualities. To play honestly; to be loyal against the team; not narrow-minded to prioritise the victory; to always stay calm; was lifted forward as the exemplary behaviour. In the newspaper *Nordic Idrottslif* all players were gentlemen if they performed correctly on the football ground. There were in other words no ideological differences between the mediation how to play in the beginning of the century to the middle class as it was going to be some years later to the working class. But the working class adopted the game in a slightly different way than the middle class. Players from the working class invested seriously in football and also wanted economical compensations

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<sup>42</sup> Among others Andersson, Torbjörn, *Kung Fotboll. Den svenska fotbollens kulturhistoria från 1880 – talet till 1950*. Eslöv 2002; Persson, Gunnar *IFK Norrköping. En Klubbhistoria 1897 – 1997*. Norrköping 1997; Horgby, Björn, ”Fotboll som arbetaridentitet. Berättelsen om en åttafotad häst”, in Månsson, Pär ed, *Det goda livet*, Göteborg 2001.

<sup>43</sup> Andersson 2002; Billing, Peter & Petersson, Tomas, *Vem vinner i längden? Hammarby, Malmö FF och svensk fotboll*, Lund 1999. Horgby, Björn, ”Klassrivaler – Kamraterna och Sleipner i Norrköping”, *Idrottsforum.org* 2003.

<sup>44</sup> Andersson & Radman 1998, p 36.

for their efforts. In 1905 it became clear that football had a substantial basis in the working class. And in part it started in the industrial societies Eskilstuna and Sandviken.<sup>45</sup> Despite this the class aspect was almost entirely absent in contemporary sport magazines like *Nordiskt Idrottslif*.

## **The football audience - a history**

We have seen that the football soon became an arena for identities and social contradictions and that the audience - at least sometimes was considered as a sinister, uncontrolled mass. Today there are extensive research studies about football audiences and hooliganism - above all among British sport scientists. Football hooliganism became a social problem, which the researchers applied for to find explanations to. Simultaneously the research studies have shown that hooliganism is a relative marginal phenomenon, when it comes to the audience's behaviour. To a considerably higher extent it was about community, carnival and ritual. It was a fellowship based on the common identity, for an example in supporting AIK, the Swedish champions in 2009, in a carnival style with tifon and rituals and with supporting chants and songs.

In August 1913 occurred the first Swedish "hooligan crises". In this month audience disturbances arose both in Gothenburg and in Sandviken. The audience problems in Sandviken were special since they targeted themselves against the neighbour town Gävle. The geographic rivalry probably was strengthened by class differences. Sandvikens AIK was a newly founded working class club, which earlier had been divided during the general strike in 1909. Gefle IF was a pronounced middle class association. During the 10s the strong local patriotic feeling grew among the audiences in Sweden and a row events were classified in the newspapers as actions of thugs, a result of football "*become really serious for clubs and their supporters*".<sup>46</sup> Also in the future, Andersson and Radman shows, it was hard work in trying to discipline the football audience. Sometimes the audience attacked the judge or the players from the visiting team. That kind of behaviour could favour the home team.<sup>47</sup>

Hooliganism has existed all through the football's history, as one undercurrent. It got increased attention after England's victory in the World Championships of 1966. Then football got a huge increased scope in the mediums. And the grown attention around the previous well-known problem with hooliganism was lifted to a new dimension. Hereafter

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<sup>45</sup> Andersson & Radman 1998, p 37

<sup>46</sup> Andersson & Radman 1998, p 47, 51.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid*

“football hooliganism” was considered as a problem that aroused moral indignation. Consequently, violence, which earlier was limited to clear defined young groups from the working class, grew in range. And that led in turn to that the newspapers immediately began to monitor the events, which strengthened the behavioural pattern and contributed to that it got further dissemination.

## **Football hooligans**

Who is a hooligan? The concept of football hooligan was used and is used in Sweden synonymous with “thug” or “disorderly youth”. The concept is retrieved from the English “hooligan”, what in turn is considered derived from an Irish song from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century about the violent family Hooligan. The modern football hooliganism was built up in the Great Britain after World War II in connection to the increased professionalization of the game, which resulted in an increasingly detachment of the audience and the players. Then the solidarity with the teams began to fade away and then troubles arose more often during the games. The problems accelerated and became urgent in connection to the tragedy on Heyselstadion in Brussels in 1985 at the European Cup Final between Liverpool and Juventus, when the clubs supporters began to fight against each other. 39 persons died and 400 were damaged. As a consequence British football clubs were banned during from the European cups.

In the autumn 1971 modern football hooliganism came to Sweden. Then supporters of IFK Göteborg crashed the field in the Swedish Premier Division's last game against Örebro SK in Örebro. A loss meant that IFK was going to be degraded from the Swedish Premier Division. The game was stopped. In Sweden, the problem grew during 1990-talet when hooligan firms began to be visible. A firm consisted and comprises of loose organized supporters, who do not hesitate to use violence in order to, as they see it, defend their team. The first firm was organized by AIK' supporters. Soon new firms were started among supporters of Djurgårdens IF, Hammarby IF, Malmö FF, Helsingborg's IF, IFK Göteborg and GAIS - of which everyone except Helsingborg's IF comes from the three biggest cities in Sweden. In 2002 one person died in connection to a game between AIK and IFK Göteborg, when respective team hooligan firm hit together.<sup>48</sup>

There are a lot of different supporter organizations around the three biggest clubs in Stockholm. During the later part of 20<sup>th</sup> Century supporters created groups like the Casuls and

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<sup>48</sup> Larsson, C & Källgren, L, ”Fotbollsrelaterad Hooliganism”, Fördjupningsarbete, The Education of Policemen, Umeå University, HT 2006, Rapportnummer 323.

the Últras.<sup>49</sup> These supporters have a special taste in clothing and connect to a culture that arose in England in the 70s, which “*distinguishes itself through to not to distinguish itself at all*”.<sup>50</sup> The clothes are good-looking and discreet so it does not show that one is a hooligan. They divide themselves thereby from most of the supporters that dress themselves in ones favourite team's colours. In Italy Ultra grew as a subculture. In Latin Ultra means “more than”. These supporter organizations claim to love their team “*beyond the normal*”.<sup>51</sup> According to interviews in the news papers, the supporters of these supporter groups in Stockholm accentuate themselves as normal men with common jobs and families, who just by chance happens to love their team more than the common supporter do.<sup>52</sup> They also consider themselves as the proper supporters to the teams and with this can punches-up in the team's names be necessarily.

This open up to the conclusion that hooliganism is an identity formatted in special occasions. Since hooliganism also is anchored in its context it is not reasonable to speak about hooligans in that sense that they clearly divide themselves from other supporters. Hooliganism can rather be seen as a type of collective behaviour among supporters.

## **The hooligans and the carnival**

In order to clarify this argument will we insert hooliganism in a carnivalesque perspective. This concept connects to the Russian literary researcher's Mikhail Bachtins studies of the medieval popular culture, whose laughter and grotesque realism, joking and abusive actions, meant that people through theirs disorder at the festival, the market or the carnival for a shorter period took over the power.<sup>53</sup> Bachtin points out that parts of this culture still exist in the catholic carnival - the party before the fast. Carnivalistic means that the everyday hierarchies existence's are turned up and down when its hegemonic power temporary is set aside.

The concept of carnivalisque can be used in order to characterize the modern rock concert, where the cries and disorder of the audiences creates an un-controllable situation, which results in the temporary take-over of the power. In the same way football supporter can take over the power of the terrace or another arena with songs, chants, and scorning of the opponent team and the referee. They do it partial in order to support their club, partial in order

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<sup>49</sup> <sup>49</sup> Dimovski D, ”Fotbollssupport och manlighet”, Examensarbete, Malmö högskola, Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap, Vt 2008.

<sup>50</sup> Citat från Dimovski D, 2008, p 45.

<sup>51</sup> Citat från Dimovski D, 2008, p 46.

<sup>52</sup> See <http://www.dn.se/sport/fotboll/karlek-till-vald-och-aik-forenar-1.542384>, 16/3 2010.

<sup>53</sup> Bachtin, Mikhail, *Rabelais och skrottets historia*. Stockholm 1986, s 14-16.

to have fun. In such contexts, the boundaries between the average supporter and the hooligan can be thin. Here, a longer historical perspective can strengthen the discussion and not only classify supporters as "*violent loving dregs*". The history of football shows this as a far too simple picture. In the connection to hooliganism, media often tries to differ between "authentic" and "false" football supporters. But, is there really any proper difference between one "false" and one "authentic" football supporter? Kutte Jönsson, philosopher at Malmö college, argues that it actually are no bigger differences between them and the average groups. According to his assertion, the ideals of the hooligans basically are the same as the average supporter's, with emphasis on the same kind of masculine ideal and the same kind of masculine norms, which they "*build their commitment on*".<sup>54</sup> His conclusion is that hooliganism mostly is a "*caricature of the prevailing football cultures own logic*". In front is the importance of winning.<sup>55</sup> Most supporters of course do not commit "hooligan crimes", but it is nevertheless important to insert hooliganism in an explanatory context in the football audience culture.

## **C. A discussion of processes of identity and education**

In this completing part from a historical perspective we will summarize the globalised sports processes of identity and education. Firstly we will pick up two processes, which affected western sports and there after we will tentatively discuss how global sports can affect the so-called third world population.

### **Sports as an arena of nationalism**

The historical perspective shows that national teams always have participated in a nationalistic practice. It seems that the nationalism has increased, for example it has been more complex. Through media the use of nationalistic rituals have developed as a process of schooling. One example is the waving of flags, which is relatively new and without a special role-model. Another example of the visual nationalism is the use of the football sweatshirt of the national team. Other visual attributes also signal the national belonging as the painted faces in the colours or the modes of the national banner. Swedish' ice hockey and football

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<sup>54</sup> Jönsson, Kutte, "Huliganism och fotbollens hjärta", on *Idrottsforum.org*, 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Jönsson 2006.

supporters have to a certain degree began to use helmets of Vikings decorated by horns, which symbolize a national identity of a glorious past.

The practice of cheering songs show partly that the supporters of the clubs have reached further in the developing of identity than the supporters of the national teams. Swedish supporters of national teams in football and ice hockey still use the age-old chant "*Heja Sverige friskt humör, det är det som susen gör*" (Hale to Sweden! Good spirit! That's what gives effect). Beyond the national anthem there are no available songs of the nation.

## **The question of hooliganism**

The historical perspective also shows that the western problem with hooliganism is old and cannot be distinguished from the practice of football. The processes of globalization vitalized a behaviour, which was institutionalized in the framework of the culture of football. In the decades after World War II there were relatively no football related violence in Europe. In Britain during the 60s the supporterness and the sub-culture re-vitalized as it was connected to the broadcasting of matches.<sup>56</sup> In England the flare up of hooliganism was treated as an expression of the new youth culture. About ten years later, in the beginning of the 70s, the same kind of action began to circulate in other European countries. At that time Swedish Television began to broadcast a TV-show "Tipsextra", which showed English football matches on Saturday afternoons. In this way the British supporter culture inspired Swedish fans. It started at the galleries of the Hammarby, one of the leading teams from Stockholm, where the matches were framed by the singing of supporters.<sup>57</sup> Next part of this process was the formation of groups of supporters who began to act collectively on the galleries. The purpose was to create "a British atmosphere" on the galleries. During the 80s the more violent supporters established themselves. The British hooligans – especially West Ham's notorious Inter City Firm were they sources of inspiration.<sup>58</sup>

So, the spread of the hooliganism and the education of hooligan norms start with the British hooligans. But, there is no consensus among scholars to what degree the British hooligans influenced youth in other countries. Carnevalesque pranks or other form of public annoyance have occurred in all countries where football has been practiced. The conduct will not take the same expressions or be caused by the same factors in all culture. Of course there are historical,

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<sup>56</sup>SIRC, Social Issues Research Centre.

<sup>57</sup><http://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/fotboll/> "Från flyttat mål till mord", 020308.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid*

social, political and cultural variations.<sup>59</sup> For example, it is hard to compare the class antagonism in Great Britain and the regional conflicts in Italy. Hooliganism ought to be discussed from an educational perspective, as it is possible to pick out certain phases in the development of hooliganism. Collaterally with the schooling of hooliganism also a non-violent carnevalesque fans culture rose. One example is the peaceful Danish “roligans”. Another examples are the development of the singing and the culture of tifo.

The football hooliganism is not a sole British problem, but the research show that the violent European fans treat the British hooligans as role-models, which inspired them and told them how to develop their own culture. The hooligans also are inspired by the increasing media coverage of football related violence. The hooligans appreciate the media coverage and search for it actively in order to create sensational head-lines. In this field there is a competition between different hooligan groups in order to create public attention. The European Parliament even has requested media not to write sensational articles in the purpose of work against the fresh intake of hooligans.<sup>60</sup>

## **The message of the globalised brands**

To sum up we will shortly not just discuss the western consequences of the processes of globalization but also the consequences in the third world. Tentatively we do this by discussing the messages the globalised sports distribute. One such message is the demonstration of the global power relations, where the centre is situated and what kinds of ideals the brands of the globalised sports mediate. As the brands are parts of global capitalism one message is the close connection between globalised sports and global capitalism, situated in the USA and Western Europe. In this way the globalised sport stars participate in the transmission of an imperialistic or maybe post-colonial world view. Football should have its centre in Western Europe.<sup>61</sup> Hunting for success in the western world contributes to cement the global order of power.

Another important message is the mediating of male superiority. It is no coincidence the working majority of the global sports stars are men and that male football is the most important global sport. The symbiosis between the logic of competition and the preconditions set by the market results in different conditions when men and female compete on the sport arenas. And the reward for the performance is very different. Some sports are fairly equal –

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<sup>59</sup> SIRC

<sup>60</sup> *ibid*

<sup>61</sup> Compare Said, Edward, *Orientalism*. London 2003.

for example tennis, track and fields and swimming. Football and some of the other big arena sports are impressed by a male supremacy.

## **Concluding remarks**

Since the development of modern sports elitist sports have been global with the World Championships and the Olympic Games. In the earlier periods it was most important to meet with success. Today when elitist sports – especially team sports as football – have been a part of the global industry of entertainment the goals of sports achievements are combined with the creation of the highest possible value of entertainment. The break through of globalised symbols of sport shows that these goals not always consist. As a consequence of the importance of the value of entertainment the sports star needs to be good looking, so he (or she) can appeal on a large audience. He (or she) also has to act according to that. A football team who plays the game in a boring way, but reaches good results, do not have the same value of entertainment as the team who plays the game in a more entertaining way without reaching the same results. So, the processes of globalization adopt something new in elitist sports.

Sports have also become a much more important arena of expressing nationalism in a time when the borders between nations are going to be undermined. This is another consequence of the processes of globalization. This correlation between sports and nationalism is very old, but it seems to be more important. Today the successes are celebrated more than before. The national symbols have also become important cursors at global tournaments and athletics.

Finally, a third consequence of the globalization is the demand of young men to frame masculinity by the assistance of the identification with the football team. In the interpretation of this identities earlier forms of cultures of supporters, not least hooliganism, have been re-utilized. Now the culture of supporters has been more important for these young men than before and the hooligan violence has been extended.

In this ways the processes of globalization load and re-load elitist sports.