

RADOSŁAW KOSSAKOWSKI
Gdańsk University*

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

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

Abstract

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

* e-mail: radkoss@wp.pl

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DIMENSIONS OF LOCAL IDENTITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CLUB

At the most elementary level, human beings adopt cultural models and moral norms relating to a particular spectrum. The case under discussion concerns the identification with the club (a particular spectrum, symbolic universe) and the perception of it as an important part of supporters' and community life. As indicated by one of the employees, it is a crucial issue for the board of FC Twente²:

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

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

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

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

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

and – collective:

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

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

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

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

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

COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS AND A SENSE OF UNIQUENESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE COMMUNITY OF MEANING AND SYMBOLS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SPACES OF IDENTITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yeah, it is very important. It’s a house where we are living. We saw reaction when the roof collapsed... It was like the whole of Twente lost their roof³. It was... When you see what happened there, all reactions and how everybody came together. Yes, this is the house we all living. It’s very important, very important. [E1]

HISTORY, TRADITION AND LOCAL HEROES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LOCALITY IN THE ERA OF COMMERCIALIZATION

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

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

The process of transformation of football fandom and professional clubs is accompanied by the pressures of the capitalist market economy. Considering the former, increasing ticket prices⁴ and refurbishing stadiums (full-seated sectors instead of standing terraces, installation of CCTV systems) has contributed to a change of profile of the crowd at football matches [Antonowicz, Kossakowski, Szlendak 2011]. As regards the latter, clubs have been converted into transnational corporations dependent on corporate sponsoring, merchandising and revenues from TV broadcasting rights. The market rewards the best teams, and condemns the worst ones as undeserving, doomed to humble existence on the fringes of football. Therefore, local clubs have a dilemma whether to submit to the logic of the market requirements and give up a part of their identity, or – on the contrary – to consequently follow their own course. Doubts of this kind can be noticed also in Enschede. An opinion of one employee illustrates the logic associated with the financial management of a modern club:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSIONS – LOCAL AT ALL COSTS?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Radosław Kossakowski

**“DUMNIE BYĆ TUKKER”. KLUB PIŁKARSKI I BUDOWANIE LOKALNEJ
TOŻSAMOŚCI. PRZYPADEK FC TWENTE ENSCHEDE**

Streszczenie

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

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