

Identity Politics of Football Supporters in the Era of Globalization and Commodification

a Dutch case study at FC Twente



At the start of a match on the 14th of March 2015, supporters show signs which say: 'FC Twente remains ours!'¹

Mart Vreeswijk

5642930

Supervisor: Nienke Muurling

Cultural Anthropology: Sustainable

Citizenship

Word count: 19.454

¹ Source: www.rtvooost.nl. Accessed on 10-08-2016.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	3
2. Theoretical Framework.....	10
2.1 Modern identity in global world	10
2.2 Global – Local: Frictions	11
2.3 Identity/alterity.....	14
2.4 Football and identity-making.....	17
2.5 Taxonomy of football spectators.....	18
2.6 Association – corporation: who owns the club?	20
3. Methodology & Research Setting.....	24
3.1 Methodology	24
3.2 Research Location and Population.....	28
3.2.1 ‘Tukkers’	31
Overview of the situation.....	34
Case study at FC Twente	39
4. Forever Red.....	40
4.1 Proud Tukkers: symbols and songs.....	41
4.2 What’s in a name?.....	43
4.3 Supporters’ association 4EverRed	44
4.4 The 4EverRed Bus	45
4.5 Multi-leveled identity.....	49
5. Twente Lives!	52
5.1 Twente, Unite!	53
5.1.1 Starting a members’ association	53
5.1.2 The first members meeting: Creating a voice for the supporters	56
5.2 Twente Lives!	59
5.2.1 Displaying a sign of life.....	59
5.2.2 The ‘Twente Leeft!’ March.....	60
5.3 West versus east.....	63
5.4 ‘Us against everybody’	65
6. Conclusion and reflection	68
Bibliography	72

1. Introduction

We are the beating heart of the club, we, the people. We are no customers of a football company, we are lovers/enthusiasts of our FC Twente. It is our duty to embrace and protect the club together, especially when the existence of the club is threatened on all levels. Together we need to rebuild the club, we need to become involved and we need to remain involved with our club. We need to have a voice in policy-making through knowledgeable people whom we trust and who become accountable to us. Especially now we, as supporters, need to take up the challenge to make FC Twente a club which would make every Tukker proud, once again!²

In an ever more ‘globalised’ intertwined world, what do concepts like citizenship, culture and identity still mean? When confronted with these concepts one automatically starts to think about his own citizenship, culture and identity. What do these rather abstract concepts mean for oneself? I, myself was confronted with this question. I thought back of my seven months of backpacking through parts of Asia and New Zealand in 2014/2015, where I realized something peculiar in the typical talks one has in hostels. Where most Dutch people say they are from Holland out of convenience, I insisted that I was not from ‘Holland’. I associated Holland with just the *west* of the Netherlands (the provinces of North- and South Holland). I sincerely wanted people to know I was from Twente, a small region in the *east* of the Netherlands. Along with it, I regularly asked people who were football enthusiasts

² Accompanying words with the initiative ‘Twente, Verenigt!’. Original: *Het kloppend hart van onze club zijn wij, de mensen. Wij zijn geen klanten van een voetbalbedrijf, maar liefhebbers van ons FC Twente. Juist nu het voortbestaan van de club op alle fronten wordt bedreigd is het onze plicht samen de club te omarmen en te beschermen. Samen de club weer opbouwen en betrokken worden en blijven bij onze club. Inspraak in het beleid middels kundige mensen waar we vertrouwen in hebben en die ons verantwoording afleggen. Juist nu pakken we als achterban de handschoen op om er weer een club van te maken waar iedere Tukker trots op kan zijn!*

whether they knew the club from this region: FC Twente. I experienced a surge of pride when people knew it, which brings me to the next curiosity.

Football (or “soccer”) is a peculiar phenomenon. People who are not into the sport consider it as ‘just a game’. A very boring game at that. Why they are wrong is hard to describe to them. Professional football – and professional sports in general – is much more than just a game. It is a matter of honour, a matter of pride. It represents the competency of nations (Carter 2002, 408). Some football fanatics – or ‘hooligans’ – literally want to fight for their club (Spaaij 2008). Football both divides and unites people. It is discussed in politics and is almost daily a headliner in the news. The impact the sport has on society is incomparable to anything else and the reach is incredible: For instance in 2014, 3.2 billion people watched the world cup in Brazil.³ It is an embodiment of globalization (Giulianotti and Robertson 2004, 546), but also of locality (Carter 2002). Football is definitely more than just a game and the ‘game’ itself seems to be taken more and more out of the equation, meaning that its main goal – entertainment of the people – is pushed to the background.

The world of professional football is more and more changing into a world of global capitalism. Four indications are observable while scrolling through social media and the forums on web pages dedicated to football. Firstly, people continuously mention that football is no longer of the people but that football clubs are merely the playthings of (foreign) rich owners. Secondly, the biggest European clubs now make their way to other continents – mostly Asia – for their summer break to present their team to their overseas fans, but also for the enormous sponsorship deals they have with overseas companies. A third indication is that several clubs are said to play unattractive, risk-free football, just to make sure that the squad

³ Source: <http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2015/m=12/news=2014-fifa-world-cuptm-reached-3-2-billion-viewers-one-billion-watched--2745519.html>. Accessed on 12-08-2016.

wins and profits are secured. The fourth indication is the movement of players (or 'commodities') from club to club. The amount of players being transferred rises every year⁴.

The fact that there is a huge amount of money involved in modern football is illustrated by the sport's turnover of 250 million pounds in 2001, which was equivalent to the Netherlands GDP (Walvin 2001 quoted in Giulianotti & Robertson 2004). This figure has likely risen ever since due to the 'hypercommodification' of the sport (Giulianotti 2002). 13,558 players were transferred in 2015, recording a new all-time high⁴ (FIFA 2016). The amount of money involved has risen 2.6% since 2014 and 44.2% since 2011. The evidence of large money can also be illustrated by the amount of it being paid for individual players. Of the top twenty most expensive players, only three transfers have been made before 2005 and fourteen have been made after 2010. The top five transfers add up to a total of 510 million Euros (Figures that will likely change with at least two transfers entering the top 5 in the summer of 2016).

At the same time, Dutch football seems subject to a large downfall. Of the top twenty most expensive players bought by 'Eredivisie' clubs (the nation's premier league), ten were made before 2005 and only four after 2010. It is the opposite of the international trend (respectively three and fourteen). The belief in Dutch football in general is at an extremely low point, with the national team not qualifying for the European Championship in 2016. Last year's Dutch champions PSV made it to the final sixteen of the Champions League (the largest European club tournament) for the first time since 2007, which is conceived by Dutch football followers as just an incidental victory. By contrast, clubs from the Eredivisie made it to the final sixteen almost every year up until 2007. The Eredivisie is now often referred to as

⁴ Source: <http://www.fifa.com/governance/news/y=2016/m=1/news=fifa-tms-reports-global-transfer-market-spending-up-44-2-since-2011-2756247.html>. Accessed on 04-08-2016.

the ‘Mickey Mouse competition’ by Dutch football followers and journalists, meaning that the league is not to be taken seriously. Whenever a player excels in the national league, often the first question is: To which foreign club will he be sold? The Eredivisie turned into a training ground for youngsters, of which the best are sold to the international top clubs. In the last few years, these players are no longer sold to the top international clubs, but to smaller clubs that still have more money than top Dutch clubs.

To keep up with the biggest clubs worldwide, smaller clubs take larger risks or take extreme measures like selling the football club to a rich (foreign) new owner. This has especially been the case in the United Kingdom with almost one third of the professional football clubs in the hands of a foreign shareholder⁵. So far, in the Netherlands, there have been two examples of foreign ownership, Vitesse and ADO Den Haag. In addition, FC Twente is an example of a Dutch club that has taken large risks in the hopes to succeed in its goals.

There have been some opposing voices and protests to the development of the foreign ownership in the Netherlands, but real action has not been set up to overthrow the management⁶. However, single ownership has had some opposition in the world of football with, again, main examples in the United Kingdom. As a direct consequence of the takeover by Malcolm Glazer of one of the most well-known football clubs in the world, Manchester United FC, a branch of the supporters seceded itself and established a new football club: FC United of Manchester (Porter 2011). Another example from the United Kingdom is Portsmouth FC, a former Premier League club, where supporters managed to become the

⁵ Source : <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/apr/14/english-football-clubs-owned-abroad-tax-avoidance>. Accessed on 04-08-2016.

⁶ Source: <http://www.vi.nl/nieuws/fans-ado-kondigen-protest-aan-tegen-wang-.htm> Accessed on 04-08-2016.

main shareholders of the club after being fed up with the mismanagement of numerous consecutive owners of the club⁷.

In the Netherlands, the first real protest against mismanagement of a football club by a select few is at FC Twente. In line with what is mentioned above, FC Twente was a small club who wanted to join and keep up with the world's best clubs. In 2012 chairman Joop Munsterman said the following: "A place amongst the top 30 of Europe is our goal... The time is ripe. If you want something as a club, you have to be there now"⁸. He also aimed for a capacity of the club's stadium of 44.000 supporters in 2015⁹. I remember that I believed that the club could make it. In fact, all supporters and followers seemed to believe it at the time. Everything he said sounded logical. The club would make it to the top in a healthy and sustainable way, just like we expected from a club in our region. It gave the supporters a great sense of pride. Held in the light of what really happened, all he promised feels like a sour joke. The consensus amongst supporters and other followers was that the 'megalomania' of, now former chairman Munsterman with his 'old-boys network' led to the downfall of the club¹⁰. This ultimately led to the initiative 'Twente, Verenigt!', to give the club back to its supporters.

I am *not* a FC Twente supporter and I never really presented myself as such (see chapter 2.5 for the taxonomy of spectators). Up to my fieldwork I only attended five games of the club. However, I noticed on the other side of the world that I was very much concerned with the club. I did not care about Dutch politics or other important events, I cared about the

⁷ Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2013/apr/10/portsmouth-future-fratton-park-ownership> Accessed on 03-08-2016

⁸ Source: <http://www.goal.com/nl/news/213/eredivisie/2012/02/10/2897864/munsterman-wil-naar-de-top-25-in-europa> . Accessed on 04-08-2016. Original: 'Een plaats bij de eerste dertig is ons doel... De tijd is er rijp voor. Als je als club wat wilt, moet je er nú bij zijn.'

⁹ The stadium has been expanded from 13.000 to 24.000 in 2008 and to 30.000 in 2011.

¹⁰ Concerning the ownership of the 'old-boys network': <https://www.groene.nl/artikel/het-werd-de-club-van-joop-en-aldo>

club. What happened to the club almost physically hurt. The club went through a crisis. In 2010, the club became champions of the Netherlands for the first time in their history, but the performances both on and outside of the pitch have been worsening since 2011 down to the lowest point in the second half of 2015 when it all seemed to collapse. When I first left the region to go to university in 2010 (right after the championship), I felt immense *pride* to say I was from Twente. In the second half of 2015 my sense of pride was nearly gone and replaced by *shame*.

This made me decide to study the identity politics of football supporters. This thesis tries to find answers to several sub-questions. How do supporters perceive their own identity? Do they derive their identity from their club? How do they show this by means of symbols and rituals? What grammars of identity-making do they use? How do supporters perceive the commodification of their club? These sub questions lead to the main question to be answered in this thesis:

What are the identity politics of football supporters in the era of globalization and commodification?

When I started research for this thesis in November and December 2015 FC Twente found itself on a sixteenth place out of eighteen. They were in trouble of relegation to the second league, a tremendous loss of face for the all-time fourth club of the Netherlands¹¹. Furthermore, the club was threatened with the withdrawal of their professional licence due to the financial problems, mismanagement and even misleading of the KNVB, the Dutch football association. The implication of this measure was that the club would cease to exist.

¹¹ Based on the accumulated points since the start of the Eredivisie.

All of this led me to the insight that this might not just be a sporting and financial crisis for a football club. If the club represents the competency and identity of supporters and other sympathizers in the region, it might lead to an identity crisis for an entire region.

The possibility of an instant identity crisis for an entire region made me realize *this* was the site to do my fieldwork. The fieldwork was highly dependent on this unique period. General subjects like how supporters feel about foreign players in their team were of less relevance, as the club could use every player they could possibly get. Supporters were well aware of that. It has been more relevant and interesting to observe how the supporters responded to this period of insecurity. This also influences the build-up for this thesis,

The build-up for this thesis will be as follows. The second chapter provides a theoretical framework. In the third chapter I will explain my use of methodology and the research setting. An interlude will follow, in which I an overview will be provided to frame the situation the supporters have been in. The fourth and fifth chapter are of an ethnographic nature and elaborate on the identity politics of the FC Twente supporters. Chapter 4 focuses on the symbolism of the club and its supporters, and on the specific identity politics of supporters' association '4EverRed'. Chapter 5 is focused on initiatives that were 'brought to life' over the past months. The last chapter is for conclusion and reflection.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Modern identity in global world

In pre-modern times, or agrarian society, the self was something that was ‘transparent and rather uninteresting’ (Bendle 2002, 6). Everyone’s role in society was ‘fixed’, therefore identity as such was unquestioned. The largest part of society belonged to ‘self-producing units’ (Gellner 2008, 30). In self-producing units, professions are taught by parents to children. Within this system, everyone became a specialist in – and nothing but – his own trade. In that sense, there was a strong division of labour. Gellner claimed that this structure was the defining characteristic of one’s identity in pre-modern times. People knew each other’s role in their society, and thus the social position one held (Gellner 2008, XXII).

The modern paradigm more or less started with the industrialization of Europe. Industrialization required a culturally homogenized society (Gellner 2008). An important part for this society was mass education, through which everyone spoke the same language and received the same basic education. This mass, basic, education leads to interchangeable members of society. In the homogenized modern society, members become more mobile in terms of both employment and geographically. Gellner saw the modern society as a “distinctive form of social organization and culture” (Gellner 2008, XX). Modern times can be distinguished from pre-modern times because of this different social organization.

Within modern, European, societies the hegemonic thinking has been that the nation state defines citizenship. Gellner (2008) saw nationalism as a function of modernity, closely related to industrialism. As he noted, structure is what creates identity. When one’s role in society is unclear in terms of pre-modern time structure, one seeks for a new source for identity. The structure in modern society is the social organization provided by the nation state. The nation state provides mass education and literacy, a common language and a

common history. Identity is then based upon membership of that nation state. In other words, someone who lives within the border of the Netherlands is Dutch.

With the world becoming more global and interrelated, or entering the stage of 'high modernity', this notion of citizenship too comes under pressure. The taken for granted social structure is breaking down, and both individualism and social mobility rise (Bendle 2002, 6). If identity has previously been based on the strong social structure, the mentioned processes lead to insecurity of one's identity or a 'crisis of identity'.

Opposed to insecurity is the concept of 'trust', which is central to Giddens' notion of identity. According to Giddens, trust provides "a sense of ontological security in the face of the chaos that threatens on the other side of the ordinariness of everyday conventions" (Giddens 1991, 37 in Bendle 2002, 7). While the security of the nation state weakens, people are looking for new – or old – shared identities (Tilley 2006). The collective identity is based on a shared tradition, shared symbols and is closely related to a bounded place. Tilley states that identity must be felt, and cannot be simply imagined (Tilley 2006, 22). One needs to be able to become aware of it through his senses. It is material forms that may provide this feeling of the identity. Think about religious buildings, a shared language or symbols. The professional football club is such a symbol. The next part will elaborate on this.

2.2 Global – Local: Frictions

Although globalization is highly discussed in anthropology, its relation to sports is hardly given notion. The most prominent examples of ethnography amongst football supporters are from sociologists (Giulianotti 1995; Spaaij 2008). Giulianotti and Robertson see sports, and football in particular, as an important site for research of globalization (Giulianotti and Robertson 2004, 546). They go as far as to say that modern football is an embodiment of globalization. Giulianotti and Robertson understand globalization as both a

process of the mind and a physical process. It is characterized by a greater consciousness of the world as a whole and it consists of the intensification of social and cultural connectivity.

There is no doubt that modern football is part of the intensification of connectivity between cultures. There is a high mobility rate of football players from one nation state to the other. In 2005 more than 50% of foreign players in Western Europe were non-European (Besnier 2005). Several European national football associations have rules to restrict the high mobility of non-European players towards their nation state. Playing professional football is comparable to any other job, but these rules are often bypassed or less strict than with other professions. Examples in Italy show that football clubs even helped falsifying passports of prospected players (Hamil et al. 2010).

Besnier places the mobility of players in a postcolonial perspective (Besnier 2005). There is a reproduction of the same power relations like in colonial times, with global North (meaning Europe) being the centre and global South being the periphery. However, Besnier nuances this perspective and notes that it is more complex and should be put into a broader perspective of several power relations. An additional critical note on putting it into postcolonial perspective is that, although countries from the global South are being exploited by global North, the 'commodities' that are extracted from global South are athletes. These athletes tend to receive high salaries, which makes this different from the typical extraction of commodities. Nonetheless, it is a fact that there has been a rather one-sided tendency with football players moving from global South to global North. Within the postcolonial perspective the Netherlands now seem to become a nation state in the periphery. Its commodities, the players, are lured away by clubs in larger countries like England, Spain, and Germany with promises of better salary. This may be rather confronting for the Dutch football clubs (and its followers) and may be an extra motivation for them to take larger risks to keep up with European standards, as what happened at FC Twente.

Despite the mobility of football players all over the world, one has to be cautious in speaking of terms like globalization as if it is one large, smooth process. In a sense, football can still be seen as the opposite of globalization. Football clubs are bound to their national league, and players are bound to their nationality. For their ‘international career’, players with double nationalities are eligible to play for both, but can choose just one. The world of football thus seems more like an international world than a global world. Tsing invented the notion of the ‘economy of appearances’ to illustrate that companies conjure stories in order to attract investors (Tsing 2005, 57). Ho did research with investment banks and argued that they need to conjure stories in order to seem global, so they can convince corporate clients for their own benefit (Ho 2005). This might also be the case with the transnational corporations (which I will abbreviate to TNC’s) that Giulianotti and Robertson (2004) refer to. By TNC’s they mean the most wealthy football clubs in the world, with a global community of spectators the size of nations. This ‘global community’ might very well be part of the economy of appearances. By assuming globalization as a universal smooth process, one also ignores the friction that appears upon sites of encounters between different cultures (Tsing 2005). Frictions appear between foreign club owners and the board or supporters of the club. An example in the Netherlands of this awkward engagement in an unequal encounter, what Tsing means by friction, is concerning the ownership of ADO Den Haag, which is for 98% in the hands of Chinese businessman Wang Hui. The club had to wait more than a year for the millions Wang promised them. Consequently, the board of the club and supporters talk grudgingly about Wang in the media.¹² Both parties do not seem to understand each other in their relationship. This seems to be based upon cultural differences

¹² Source : <http://www.vi.nl/nieuws/wang-dreigt-met-ontslagen-bij-ado-den-haag.htm>. Accessed on 07-08-2016.

regarding expectations of an organization. Still, this thesis shows that professional football may attribute to the process of breaking international boundaries.

Players from all over the world in their teams seems to be of no problem to supporters, but foreign ownership does attract opposition. Whether it is *foreign* ownership that attracts this opposition or simply the way the club is being managed, is a point of interest for this thesis. This process of globalization of modern football makes it interesting to think about the reasons why supporters still identify with their club, if their team consists of different players from all over the world every year. In order to come to that answer, it is interesting to first explore the process of identity making.

2.3 Identity/alterity

Throughout the years, there have been different positions in the debate on identity/alterity. Baumann and Gingrich (2004) identify two discourses that became influential. These discourses include Heidegger's strong notion of *difference* and Spivak's strong notion of *identity*. Heidegger stressed the importance of difference in identity making. He saw identity as self-centered, a creation of the individual. Difference, however, was of an ontological nature. Difference separated the universal from the particular. By stating this, he created a strong notion of difference, which was always stronger than identity. Spivak spoke of the term 'othering', based on Lacan. Lacan distinguished the notion of 'other' with 'Other'. The 'other' is the other that one can see in the mirror. It is the other that resembles the self. The 'Other' however is 'the powerful other in whose gaze the subject gains identity' (Baumann and Gingrich 2014, 11). Identity was created by definition of the 'Other'. The priority in this discourse was, therefore, given to a strong notion of identity as opposite to the strong notion of difference in Heidegger's discourse. By contrast, Baumann and Gingrich propose a weaker notion of identity/alterity. They state that unity not necessarily means a common identity

amongst those who are united. When considering this, Spivak's strong notion of identity cannot exist, as her notion of identity is proposed by an unknowing other. This thesis builds on Baumann and Gingrich's weak notion of identity.

Baumann and Gingrich propose three different grammars of identity/alterity making. All three grammars have the underlying process of selfing/othering, both part of the same process (Baumann and Gingrich 2004, 19). It is interesting to note that all three were used by the FC Twente supporters, which will be further explained in the ethnographic chapters 4 and 5. The three grammars Baumann discusses are the grammar of orientalising as proposed by Edward Said, the grammar of segmentation introduced by Evans-Pritchard and the grammar of encompassment by Louis Dumont.

The grammar of orientalising is a binary grammar. It is the classical us-them binary. Often it is framed in a negative mirror-image kind of way, in which 'us is good' and 'them is bad'. In the case of FC Twente supporters, the othering of western football clubs (mostly Ajax Amsterdam and Feyenoord Rotterdam) comes to mind. However, Said states that an equal important part is the opposite and how it is framed. Where the negative mirror-image frame is a state of 'being', the opposite is about 'what was' and 'what still is'. The other still has something that 'we' have lost somewhere in the process, which evokes a desire of the other. In this sense identity/alterity is fluid, as there is desire for the other instead of the mere statement of difference.

The grammar of orientalising is strongly related to Tajfel's social identity theory (1974 in Delia 2015). His theory consists out of three parts. Firstly, people tend to seek for a positive social identity. Secondly, they tend to look for a favourable image of this group identity, as opposed to a negative image of the outgroup. Thirdly, when the image of the group turns negative, individuals tend to either try to enhance the positive group image or to leave the group altogether. This is of particular relevance considering the dire situation the

supporters of FC Twente are in. Roccas and Brewer proposed the concept of social identity complexity, which means that individuals have multiple, competing identities (Roccas and Brewer 2002 quoted in Delia 2015). This is also acknowledged by Baumann in the grammars of segmentation and encompassment.

The grammar of segmentation is about the creation of identity/alterity on multiple levels. Evans-Pritchard stated that differences are overcome when faced with segmentation on a higher level. One example that is mentioned by Baumann shows that this grammar is interesting for the identity of the football supporter. It refers to the segmentation on an enlarging geographical scale. On the lowest level, there is rivalry between two local village clubs. After losing, the supporter of the defeated team will cheer for the rival when they are competing in the regional league. The next level will mean that the regional representative gets support for the entire region when competing on a provincial level and so forth. So within this grammar, there is not one clear identity. The identity one adapts is entirely context-relevant. I would nuance this rather simple reasoning, because it does not really apply to (Dutch) professional football supporters for two reasons. Firstly, it seems to imply the possibility that all teams are able to reach the highest league. In the Netherlands, the clubs play in a rather fixed league which is hardly penetrable by other clubs. Secondly, the grammar assumes that all Dutch football supporters would always support Dutch clubs in European competitions. I would question this. I am almost certain that most Feyenoord Rotterdam supporters would rather see their rival Ajax Amsterdam fail in any occasion. The sense of rivalry between football clubs would then be stronger than the higher-levelled identity of the Dutch football club.

The grammar of encompassment is similar to the former as it is also a grammar of otherness on multiple levels. The difference with segmentation is that identity/alterity is not a matter of context, but a matter of points of view on different levels. An interesting example to

clarify is provided concerning Hindus and Sikhs in Britain. There have been a series of violence between these groups, violence that some Hindus do not understand. They state that Sikhs are not different from Hindus, but that they, in fact, *are* Hindus. So from the perspective of the Sikhs, or on the 'lower' level, they have a different identity. But from the perspective of Hindus, there is no difference. They encompass Sikhs within the larger identity of the Hindus.

2.4 Football and identity-making

Several social scientists have done ethnographic research with football supporters (Giulianotti 1995; 2005; 2007; Spaaij 2008; Porter 2011) and other sports (Delia 2015). It shows that football supporters strongly use a grammar of orientalizing. Delia mainly used the social identity theory in her research and found that the complexity of one's identity lowers immensely on a match day (Delia 2015). This is consistent with Giulianotti's findings with the 'Tartan Army' – the Scottish national team supporters – when they follow their national team abroad. They experience the unity that is created by their shared identity as a supporter of the Scottish national team during the entire trip (Giulianotti 2005). Inequalities that are 'real' in their normal lives are forgotten when they assume the identity of the supporter . Problems they experience at home can be left behind. The crisis of identity that has been caused by high modernity is an addition. This crisis may cause distress to these people. This distress is being eased when the complexity of one's identity is being reduced while being a football supporter.

In his research on hooliganism, Spaaij encounters the complexity that might be associated with being a hooligan and a supporter (Spaaij 2008). Hooligans feel a shared identity with hooligans worldwide, and thus distinguishing themselves from other supporters. But simultaneously they see opposing hooligans as the 'other', stressing minor differences.

However, when not in the context of football, there is no aggression towards the ‘other’ anymore.

It might be interesting to realize the symbolic representation that sport has for nations. Sports provide a means to compare the competency of nations (Carter 2002, 408). This competency is interesting because the Netherlands present themselves as a football nation. It is by far the biggest sport in the nation.¹³ Considering the downfall of football in the Netherlands in recent years, this might have its impact on the perceived competency of the nation’s citizens in general. The same most likely counts for club football, in which clubs represent a city district (*Fulham FC*), a city (*Manchester United FC*) or a region (*FC Twente*). The years of success of *FC Twente* could have led to an enhanced sense of competence of the region’s inhabitants, recent years then led to the opposite.

2.5 Taxonomy of football spectators

So far I have been mentioning football supporters without further elaborating what is meant by the term. It is important to distinct different kinds of football spectators. Giulianotti (2002) provides a useful taxonomy of four types of spectators based on two dichotomies. The first is ‘traditional spectator or cultural identification’ versus ‘consumer or market-centered relationship’. The second is ‘hot’ versus ‘cold’, where hot means more identification and solidarity and cold means the reverse. The four types of spectators are ‘the supporter’, ‘the follower’, ‘the fan’ and ‘the *flâneur*’.

The supporter is both traditional and ‘hot’. He has a *reciprocal* relationship with the football club, where in return of support he expects the occasional win or a certain style of playing. This type of relationship is not possible through the market. The supporter

¹³ Source : www.nocnsf.nl/ledentallen. Accessed on 08-08-2016

experiences ‘subcultural capital’, meaning that he gives himself more status than other types of spectators. Those other spectators are referred to as ‘*success supporters*’ by Dutch football supporters. The term is aimed at those ‘supporters’ who are merely there in times of success of the club, and for that reason looked down upon by ‘true’ supporters.

The follower distinguishes himself as a traditional and ‘cold’ spectator. The follower is aware of some shared identity, but the process of identification is not one of a physical relationship. He gathers his information through web pages and social media. An important factor is that he associates himself with the club for normative reasons as opposed to the consumer values. In other words, he denies that club success is the reason for his relationship with the club.

The fan is the opposite of the follower. He is both a consumer and a ‘hot’ spectator. The sense of shared identity is stronger, however the relationship is commodified. He is more likely to attend football matches than the follower is. The sense of solidarity is enhanced through consuming, like buying club shirts and scarfs. Their conviction is that if more people wear the club colours, the collective is stronger which in turn would enhance the performance of the players on the pitch during the match.

The last type of spectator is the *flâneur*. The *flâneur* is consumer and a ‘cold’ spectator. There does not seem to be a relationship with the club in a normative sense and the bond is not strong. He seems to be more drawn to club colours, logo or even the club sponsor than to the identity that is represented by the club. Of the spectator types, he is most likely to switch preferences between clubs and players. He moves more in the visual, cold realm of television and the internet and is therefore more mobile than the other spectators.

Both the follower and supporter are interesting for this thesis, because of their strong feelings of identification with their club. Because the relationship of followers to their club is not physical, they are harder to observe (I can be considered a follower of the club and I have

not been living in the region for six years). This thesis is therefore solely focused on the *supporters*, who are most likely to *show* their identity politics. In order to put this in the context of commodification, the next section is about the trend of professional football clubs moving from associations towards corporations.

2.6 Association – corporation: who owns the club?

Club owners who see their club as a corporation know that the supporters are most likely to stay with the club (Giulianotti 2002). They point their interest to fans and flâneurs, as they are more interesting from a market perspective. This becomes quite apparent in Van Uden's analysis of the commodification of Dutch club Vitesse (Van Uden 2005). He writes about the complexity of loyalty of the 'modern football fan', which is quite the opposite of the traditional supporter. Chairman at the time, Karel Aalbers, speaks of 'new Vitesse fans' as if the traditional supporter is being replaced. The new fans were according to Aalbers demanding customers who want more than the traditional football experience. A new, bigger and improved stadium was built to replace the former stadium despite nostalgic value. It is literally a shift in aim from supporters towards fans. While doing so, they commodify 'their' club and consider the supporters as consumers. This causes friction with the supporters, whose identity is intertwined with *their* club. Supporters reject the idea of being seen as consumers by the club (Giulianotti 2007, 263).

Laura Nader once had a quote that reminds me of the situation concerning professional football clubs: "Never before have so few, by their actions and inactions, had the power of life and death over so many members of the species" (Nader 1972, 1). This is a rather strong quote to use for a topic that seems so light as the game of football. However, the quote holds some truth for the modern football association. If football is a distinguishing factor for the creation of identity for supporters all over the world, those who are in control of

the club are also in control of the identity of its supporters. Held in that light, it is hard to defend that the club's board is not democratically chosen by its supporters.

Due to the commodification of modern professional football there is an ongoing process of increasing distance between the club and its supporters. The commodification of professional football – and turning supporters into consumers – is according to Giulianotti due to four reasons: the growing popularity of professional football, the stronger ties it has with corporations, the emergence of pay-per-view television and the replacement of cheaper for more expensive seats (Giulianotti 2002).

A consequence of commodification is that the players are increasingly mobile, as is mentioned in section 2.2. The amount of transfers of players between clubs is rising. Players are arriving from all over the world. The financial potential of professional football is being acknowledged by the corporate world and is in recent years being picked up by financial superpowers like the United States and China which leads to a growing tendency of players moving from Europe to both the United States and China, while at the same time overseas investors buy shares in European clubs.

Simultaneously, due to commodification there is a trend of traditional supporters towards fandom and with *hyper*-commodification of football even towards *flâneurs*. Clubs act like companies and regard their supporters more and more like consumers. Players are being seen as stars, and clubs use and intensify this image through tools like media training for the players (Giulianotti 2002). By drawing more stars to their club, they can accumulate more wealth from selling commodities in their fan stores. The traditional supporter is in this process replaced by the more wealthy spectators, the spectator who first of all shows his support through consuming. The gap between club and supporter continues to increase in a vicious circle. This process is strongest for the TNC's, who are able to attract the biggest stars, but it may affect smaller clubs as well.

Porter mentions that a football club is seen as a community or culture by its fans, as the opposite of the corporation that is created by global capitalism (Porter 2011, 13). Of course, this sense of community might be an opportunity for the club owners to use in order to make profit. However, in the process of commodifying the players and changing supporters into consumers, this sense of community is being affected negatively.

Through commodification, the club creates a more risky situation for itself. When the club enters a sporting crisis, like FC Twente in the period of fieldwork, it is the traditional supporter who is intuitively most likely to stick with the club and the fan and flâneur are most likely to leave (Giulianotti 2002). Vitesse is an example of the risky situation. As explained by van Uden, Vitesse focused on the ‘modern football fan’ and build a new, bigger, stadium (Van Uden 2005). In the first years, the new stadium reached its capacity with these modern fans. Then the club experienced a period of less success and the capacity was never reached anymore. The club is now, in the summer of 2016, planning to reduce the capacity of the stadium¹⁴.

A professional football club endangers the relationship with its supporters not only through commodification but also through a lack of reciprocation (Giulianotti 2002). For instance, the supporter will feel let down due to a lack of performance on the pitch. Performance does not necessarily mean winning matches, performance could also mean a style of play. The lack of reciprocity could have terrible consequences for the number of traditional supporters. An example of a perceived lack of reciprocation and its consequences is from April 2015, when there were already problems at FC Twente. A large part of their supporters’ associations demanded the resignation of head coach Alfred Schreuder by means

¹⁴ Source: <http://www.vi.nl/nieuws/vitesse-verkleint-gelredome-vanwege-lege-stoeltjes.htm>

of a letter to the board¹⁵. They were afraid that many thousands of supporters would not extend their season cards due to a lack of performance and especially *passion* on the pitch.

In general, it seems that the supporters stoically accept the commodification of their football club, but in recent years there has been some resistance by groups of supporters. The most examples come from the United Kingdom, as is mentioned before in this thesis, although there are examples from elsewhere. In Austria, supporters of SV Austria Salzburg formed a new club after the ownership of Red Bull changed the club's colours and name (to FC Red Bull Salzburg). In 2014, Red Bull offered FC Twente the same deal but chairman Munsterman, declined¹⁶. Perhaps he realized how important the symbolism of the club for its supporters was. Despite refusing this deal he too commodified the club and took great risks which eventually led to great financial problems and to the initiative of 'Twente, Verenigt!'. Before further elaborating that, this thesis will continue with a methodological section.

¹⁵ Source: <http://www.rtvoost.nl/nieuws/default.aspx?cat=1&nid=215684>

¹⁶ Source: <http://www.voetbalzone.nl/doc.asp?uid=233330>

3. Methodology & Research Setting

3.1 Methodology

I am aware that this research may partially be motivated by indignation and that I am more engaged than is expected in objective research. Laura Nader argued that students should use their indignation in conducting research (Nader 1972, 2). Students were studying problems that they did not have any feelings with. Nader considered this as a loss for anthropology. Nancy Scheper-Hughes has gone even a step further and argued for a more morally engaged anthropology, which she called militant or “barefoot” anthropology (Scheper-Hughes 1995, 417). This group of anthropologists were to have an alarming role and identify power problems that infected society. I feel great sympathy for their ideas and argue that my engagement has put me in a situation others would not be able to reach, because of a characteristic that can be attributed to both football supporters and the people from this region.

Scientists who conducted ethnographic research amongst football supporters have noted a tendency of suspicion towards outsiders (Giulianotti 1995; 2005, 5; Spaaij 2008, 3). As I grew up in the region where I conducted my research, I know that people from Twente are also suspicious of outsiders. Outsiders are easily picked out, especially when performing fieldwork in a small village. Even I have mildly experienced the problem of ‘standing out’ the first time I joined the supporters to a match. People I knew would jokingly ask me whether I still spoke ‘Twents’ after living elsewhere for several years. After explaining them my purpose there, everything turned back to ‘normal’. They know me, so they trust me. In other words, my engagement with the community put me in an advantageous position.

I used Giulianotti and Spaaij as my main inspirations for conducting research. Both have been involved with football supporters for years. They have always been open with the

supporters. For instance, Spaaij told his research subjects that he collected data for a book (Spaaij 2008, 4). They have both successfully made use of the ‘snowballing’ technique. The snowballing technique is one that takes a lot of time, maybe even years (Giulianotti 1995, 9).

I was privileged to have many contacts in the network of FC Twente supporters already, so I hardly made use of the snowballing technique. Three months is not a long time for ethnographic research. This is especially the case when pure contact time is limited because of the nature of the subject (the supporter is only a visible supporter on match days). I decided that participation would remain limited to one supporters’ association.

I used a mixture of data collection methods: multiple-sited participant observation, ‘casual conversations’, a few semi-structured interviews, analysis of documents, and analysis of online fan fora and other online football-related fora. The obtained data from these different sources were used for cross-validation (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 128). The insights from several methods were checked by comparing the results. This is referred to as *triangulation*.

A big part of my research consisted of participant observation. Through participant observation, I could obtain insightful information concerning symbols, rituals and grammars of identity making. Participant observation proved a useful research method in gaining a deeper insight in the ‘normal’ behavior of the football supporter. Participant observation allows for greater trust to be built with the research subjects, which is of great use for this research population. Thus, it creates better access to both the informants and their activities (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 110). I had access to the supporters’ association ‘4EverRed’ located in Weerselo, of which I had to become a member. Through this association I was also able to obtain access to the hangout in the stadium of the biggest supporters’ association ‘de Vriendenkring’ (which means ‘the circle of friends’). I took part in the association on five match days, of which two were away games. This meant meeting in the local pub, joining

them in their bus to the game, hanging out in the home of de Vriendenkring and attending the match in different places in the stadium. Besides these match days, I attended a meeting of the new member's association 'Twente, Verenigt!' and the 'Twente Leeft!' march.

I have conducted a few interviews to gather in-depth information. The interviews were semi-structured. I tried to avoid asking direct questions as I preferred to observe their way of talking about identity, globalization and commodification. As I expected, it proved rather difficult to obtain a lot of information through interviewing. Most participants did not think much about globalization or commodification of their club. I decided to not take any more interviews, besides with those who were already willing to openly talk to me.

Conversations with prominent members of supporters' associations and of the new members' association were insightful. They can be seen as a representation of the rest of the members of their respective associations. These conversations were interesting to get a general image of the supporter and their engagement with the club.

As noted, time to observe supporters is limited, so I had to make use of alternative methods to observe the supporters. As DeWalt and DeWalt indicate, the number of researchers who are using the internet is growing (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 23). Hine suggests that the main ethnographical principle, that of getting insight in a community through participation, is for an online community the same as with more traditional approaches (Hine 2008, 259). I used passive observation on both fan sites and other football sites. I used several steps for the analysis of the data. Firstly, I made a distinction between fora for FC Twente supporters and more neutral football fan fora. Secondly, I created categories in which articles belonged. The categories developed throughout the research period, some were dropped and others were added. The most important categories were 'supporters', 'past power structure', 'current power structure' and 'financial'. I created a chronological timeline of every category. Lastly, depending on the category, I looked for

indications of the identity-making process as described by Bauman (Bauman and Gingrich 2004). I especially looked for usage of words like ‘Tukkers’, ‘Twente’, ‘red’, ‘west and east’. The category system gave me an interesting insight on the power structure of a professional football club, leading to a broader understanding of the sustainability of the entire system of global professional football. Furthermore, it proved to be a useful overview of this turbulent period. The main four websites I used were Twentefans and Twenteinsite (and their Facebook pages) and the more neutral sites Voetbalzone and Voetbal International. Twenteinsite and Voetbal International can be regarded as the more informative websites. The most supporters were active on Twentefans and Voetbalzone. To get a better insight in the FC Twente supporters, Twentefans was the most useful. As my presence on the internet was unnoticed, I could easily assume the role of the so-called “lurker” without affecting the situation.

Besides focusing on the supporters, I also analyzed several documents to get a better insight in the power relations. Because I did not have access to the club itself, I had to find different ways to observe. The official research conducted by Ben Knüppe and instigated by the KNVB was very helpful to me, because he did have access to every single document of the club. Besides the report I analyzed several documents of TV, which were given to me voluntarily. These documents made their intentions clear as to what their aim was in relation to the club. Lastly, I analyzed written accounts of speeches by (former) chairman, Joop Munsterman. I especially analyzed his choice of words and possible contradictions with the report of Ben Knüppe.

During participant observation I have been making notes by using the app “OneNote” on my smartphone. This app instantly makes online contact with my tablet and laptop through my “OneDrive cloud”. This has two few advantages over using a traditional notebook for field jottings. It would look rather peculiar with a notebook in a football stadium, not to mention all the spilled beer that would ruin the book. On top of that, making

notes on the toilet is equally troublesome as it is often not more than a gutter. Using my smartphone for jottings did not attract attention, because it seemed as if I was typing a text message to someone. A lot of people were holding their phones in their hand during the match, so my role as an observant was unnoticed. The second advantage was that my notes are orderly, as they are bundled in separate files of the same map. OneNote provides a very handy mapping system, and provides the date and time of the note. This way, the process of making clear notes out of my jottings has been less time consuming. Concerning the type of fieldnotes: There are three different kinds of field notes described by Bernard: descriptive, methodical, and analytical notes (Bernard 2006 quoted in DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 165). Descriptive notes can be used to give answer to the theoretical questions and improve my memory of the observations. Methodical notes helped being critical of the chosen methods and analytical notes are used to get an overview in order to analyze the findings. I kept this distinction in mind while creating field notes. However, I have not made a clear distinction between the different kind of notes other than using a bold font or square brackets – thus drawing attention – when the note was other than descriptive.

3.2 Research Location and Population

One could argue that the research location is the city of Enschede, where the stadium stands. This would be a too easy point of view as I knew that the community of supporters spreads all over the region of Twente. In order to try to confine the fieldwork, I limited my research to a few sites in the region of ‘Twente’ in the Netherlands. The region lies in the province ‘Overijssel’, though Twente is a ‘strong’ region. This means that for the inhabitants, the region holds more value than the province. The region covers around 1500 square kilometers and has a population of 620.000 inhabitants (more inhabitants than four of the twelve Dutch provinces have).

The football club is located in Enschede, the biggest city in the region with just over 150.000 inhabitants. However, the FC Twente supporters are not merely centered in the city but are spread all over the region. This is clearly shown in the interactive football map (figure 3.1) that was created by regional newspaper Tubantia in 2014. They collected data of season card holders of all Dutch football clubs. The color red on the map indicates a municipality in which the highest density of season card holders is from FC Twente (east part of the map). Based on this map, it is almost possible to draw the border of region of Twente. The interactive map shows that in most municipalities in Twente, at least 70% up until 100% of the season card holders are FC Twente season card holders with a clear exemption of the municipality of Almelo, where rivals 'Heracles Almelo' house. This can be observed on the football map by the little black area inside the red area. The list of supporters' associations on the club website shows the same tendency with associations all over the region.



Figure 3.1: screenshot of ‘the football map’¹⁷

The region of Twente contains the highest density of season card holders per inhabitant in the country¹⁸. The stadium, the ‘Grolsch Veste’, has a capacity of around 30.000. During the past season, there have been on average almost 26.000 supporters in the stadium¹⁹. This means that over 4% of the region regularly attends the stadium, but on average 2.4% of the Dutch people attends one of the 36 stadiums of the Netherlands¹⁸. The club also has the most supporters’ associations in the Netherlands, summing up to a number

¹⁷ Source: www.tubantia.nl. Accessed on 05-08-2016.

¹⁸ Source: <http://www.tubantia.nl/extra/datajournalistiek/voetbalkaart/hartstochtelijke-clubliefde-in-twente-1.4593041>. Accessed on 04-08-2016.

¹⁹ Source: <http://www.voetbal.com/toeschouwers/ned-eredivisie-2015-2016/1/>. Accessed on 04-08-2016.

of twenty-four. What becomes clear is that this is a relatively football-minded region in an already football-minded country.

The supporter's association '4EverRed' is based in the town called Weerselo, consisting of 3000 people. It is an 18 kilometer drive from the town to the stadium. According to the football map, there are 171 FC Twente season card holders. This means that over 5% of the town owns a season card for the club, more than the regions average. The association consists out of more or less 300 members, meaning that almost half do not own a season card – that is, assuming that all season card holders in the town are also member of the association. It also means that 10% of the town is member of this association. The association has their home in the local pub and they have their own bus (which was mostly paid for by local sponsors). The bus departs from the parking lot across the pub. The bus is double decked and can seat more or less 70 persons.

As mentioned, the choice for this association was partly based upon convenience, as I already knew most members of this association. These numbers show that the town and association are an interesting representation of FC Twente's supporters, which make this more than just a convenient choice. Moreover, most research on football supporters is focused on supporters – and hooligans in particular – from the city. This research shows that that is not the entire representation of 'true supporters'.

3.2.1 'Tukkers'

An important feature of the people from the region is the name they give themselves: 'Tukkers'. Its origins are rather vague. This particular word became associated with the so-called 'dumb, rural, non-western Dutch people who live in the heath'. In earlier times, this basically meant all Dutch provinces except for the western provinces: Zeeland, Noord- and Zuid Holland. For reasons that are equally vague, the term Tukker became increasingly

reserved for the people from the region of Twente. This identity of being a Tukker has always been one of a mixture of shame and pride. When Tukkers moved to regions in the west of the Netherlands, they tended to feel ashamed of their accent. The accent made them feel rather backward.

Over the course of years I noticed a growing sense of pride amongst Tukkers concerning both the term and dialect, despite the connotation of the ‘dumb farmer’. For instance, several television-personalities (Ilse de Lange, Kim Kötter and Herman Finkers) were praised for their usage of the dialect and for being a typical Tukker. However influential TV-personalities are, I argue that especially the ‘Twentse’ football clubs have had the biggest influence on this sense of pride of late. Both professional football clubs in the region (FC Twente and Heracles Almelo) have for a long time been performing outstandingly, and have both continuously been nicknamed Tukkers in the media. Somehow ‘trots’ (the Dutch word for pride/proud) became associated with especially FC Twente. It may have something to do with basking in reflected glory as described by Cialdini (1976; 2009, 167). In short, it means that people feel successful when something they identify with is successful. Supporters, for instance, often say ‘we’ won the match. In this case, the successes were spread over several years, which perhaps provides a longer period of basking in reflected glory. ‘Proud to be a Tukker’ is a sentence that is commonly used and is displayed on for example official scarves from the FC Twente fan store. ‘Grolsch’ – the local beer brewer and name giver of the current stadium – also created a special can of beer for the year that FC Twente became the Dutch national champions with the word ‘trots’ written on it. Perhaps the most striking example of the point made here is in one of the songs that is normally sung most often in the stadium. It starts with the sentence ‘*Trots da’w veur Twente bint*’, which is sung in the local dialect and can be translated to ‘proud that we support FC Twente’. The second and third sentence of the same song might elaborate further the point of the mixture of perceived

shame and pride: 'We don't care what you think of it. You can laugh at us, it doesn't hurt us'. It seems as if the supporters defend themselves for their pride of being a Tukker. So it seems that sociohistorical circumstances are deeply involved in the 'selfing' and 'othering' process of the FC Twente supporter.

Overview of the situation

If you do not want to fall, you can better stay down²⁰

On the 8th of January 2015 an independent research committee, led by Ben Knüppe, was installed by Dutch football association KNVB to investigate the power structure of the club and the shady practices in the past years. The results became public in a thirteen page report on the first of March²¹. The most important results of the report were as follows:

- There is an ‘unhealthy culture and unclear governance’.
- The KNVB were purposely misled.
- The financial situation is worrying and needs ‘closer attention’.
- Due to ‘differing reasons’, all persons with statutory functions in the period between 2013 and June 2015 were to resign and not to come back. The same counts for Joop Munsterman and Aldo van der Laan, both former chairman of the club.

The unhealthy culture and unclear governance meant several things. Firstly, the executive and supervising functions were not separated, it is described as a ‘one-tier board’. Everyone simply acted, without supervision or critical notes. The distribution of tasks was of an informal nature, much like a family business, in the negative sense. This created an *ad hoc* environment, with all additional risks.

Secondly, there was a culture of ‘he who pays the piper, calls the tune’. Several of the involved gave the club financial guarantees, which gave them more power and created greater misbalance.

²⁰ Original: ‘*Als je niet wil vallen, moet je maar op de grond blijven liggen.*’ A line used by Munsterman in his new year’s speeches of 2013, 2014, and 2015.

²¹ Retrieved from www.fctwente.nl on the second of March 2016.

Thirdly, the culture was one of ambition and taking risks. Analysis of the written records of the 'new year's speeches' since 2011 from former chairman Munsterman confirms this part²². Interestingly, every time he talks about 'growth' and 'taking risks', he uses 'sayings'. The five pages long speech in January 2011 announce the upcoming years of taking risks and he hopes to foresee the future in 2014/2015: 'It matters not what are the circumstances, we rise above, we took the chance!' In 2012 (twelve pages) he speaks of the choice between growing faster and consolidating in these 'economically tough times'. He doubts whether consolidation is even a possible choice, or whether survival in the top is only possible by keeping up internationally. In 2013 (twelve pages), 2014 (eighteen pages) and 2015 (nine pages) he uses sayings to justify his choice for taking risks. 'If you do not want to fall, you can better stay down' and 'still water stinks' are the two sayings he repeatedly uses. The culture is one of taking risks, because standing still is seen as something bad.

The reason why I include the amount of pages is because it seems he needs more words every year to conjure a nice story. It fits well in the economy of appearances Tsing and Ho wrote about (Ho 2005; Tsing 2005). Every year Munsterman speaks of a financially healthy and stable club. In 2013, he said that after eight years of growth, this will be the first year of stagnation due to 'the consequences of the economic crisis'. He confirms this in 2014 and sees this as a reason to invent new initiatives of which 'some will fail'. The failure of new initiatives is then covered with one of the sayings and the club is supposedly still stable.

The contradictions became apparent in recent years. Just a few months after the 2014 new year's speech, the club is transferred from category 2 to 1 in the category system of the

²² All Retrieved from www.fctwente.nl on the 24th of May 2016. The speech of 2015 was retrieved from www.tubantia.nl on the 24th of May 2016.

KNVB²³. This meant the club is in financial trouble and under close supervision of the KNVB. The article mentions a net loss of 8.5 million Euros over the season 2012/2013, which is contradictory with Munsterman's speeches. The, as it seems, consciously crafted lies come to a conclusion in his last speech (in 2015) in which he resigns. This speech is shorter than the previous speeches, and feels like a summary of everything he said in the years before. He talks of the crisis as reason for budget cuts, of taking risks with the complementary saying 'if you do not want to fall, you can better lie down', and that the club has grown and is stable. He also mentions the one-tier board with a strict division of labor, contradictory to the report of Knüppe. So it seems that not only the KNVB was misled, but also the own supporters.

In the period between the 8th of January and the 1st of March 2016 the club was already working on the big cleanup. 2016's new year's speech was provided by Hein Trebbe and Joop de Winter, both part of the group of non-executives. The message was to leave the arrogant attitude behind and become a 'normal' club again. Cleaning up their act was number one priority for the 'new board of FC Twente'. A new interim chairman – Onno Jacobs – was specially assigned for the occasion. The members of the 'new board' were willing to follow all the advices of the report, because they believed that the license committee would not reclaim the club's license when they were to comply with the report. This meant also the exit for both men who provided the positive new year's speech: Trebbe and de Winter. All the power in the club used to lie with a select few in the 'old-boys network', now the club was at the mercy of the KNVB. What remained for FC Twente was to arrange their financial accounts. The municipality of Enschede had to vouch for 32 million Euros, a group of regional businessmen guaranteed for another 12 million Euros and the club had to make an

²³ Source: <http://www.vi.nl/nieuws/fc-twente-door-knvb-teruggezeten-naar-categorie-1.htm>

arrangement with current creditors (of which a number were those board members who had to make way). After that the license committee would decide whether the club would keep its license.

Early April interim director Jacobs was full of hope, when he spoke to his personnel²⁴. He saw that negotiations were on schedule and assumed all would be well. The storm was supposed to lie down after the verdict of the license committee, which was expected on the first of May. The decision was postponed to an unknown date until there was a – very sudden – announcement from the KNVB on the 18th of May that news would come at the end of the afternoon. The license was to be withdrawn, only to be replaced by a new license. It was a measure that did not really exist and thus unexpected by all. Instead of the storm lying down, it even increased in intensity.

The verdict would mean relegation to the second highest professional Dutch football league – the Jupiler League – and grave financial consequences. It meant that money from TV-rights would drop drastically. The distribution of this money is based on the performance of the clubs in the last ten years. Withdrawing the license also meant erasing these performances. In 2015/2016 FC Twente was ranked fourth, which meant 6.5 million Euros in income²⁵. The new license would mean they would rank last out of 36 professional football clubs. According to the numbers, number 18 received 1.7 million Euros. Number 36 would probably receive well under 1 million Euros. The drop in money from TV-rights would not be the only financial consequence. Sponsors would drop out, a number of supporters/fans

²⁴ Source: <http://www.twentefans.nl/nieuws/20794/jacobs-laet-zich-hoopvol-uit-tegenover-personeel-denk-dat-het-goed-komt-.html>

²⁵ Source: http://www.rtvoost.nl/nieuws/default.aspx?nid=216309&_ga=1.175380194.1939810933.1470747595

would not extend their season card and agreements with municipality and others that were made during the last months would dissolve.

The 'solution' of replacing the license for a new one was thus not accepted by the club. Relegation would mean bankruptcy according to chairman Jacobs. The club's board were led to believe that if they cleaned up their act, they were to keep their license. The measure came as a shock. They found their way to court and to the appeals committee of the KNVB. Meanwhile, the clubs in the Jupiler League filed a complaint about the accession of FC Twente to their league. They saw it as unfair competition. A few day later during the general meeting of professional Dutch football on the 24th of May, the ECV²⁶ asked FC Twente to not go to court. FC Twente was offered to keep their TV-rights as well as an extra promotion spot in the Jupiler League next season to make promotion more easy. FC Twente refused, they were still in the supposition that they did all they had to do and should not face any consequence regarding their license. FC Twente went to court on the 27th of May. The officiating judge decided to take the full two weeks to make the decision. While waiting for the decision, FC Twente went to the appeals committee of the KNVB on the 6th of June. They did rightfully so, because the judge decided negative for FC Twente on the 10th of June. The appeal's committee was the last straw for FC Twente to remain in the Eredivisie. The committee decided to overrule the license committee and by doing so making the 17th of June 2016 a historical day for FC Twente supporters.

²⁶ The *Eredivisie Commanditair Vennootschap* consists out of all clubs in the Eredivisie and is in command of the official TV-rights and how to distribute the income.

Case study at FC Twente



The 'Grolsch Veste'²⁷

*Trots, da'w veur Twente bint
Het moakt oons nie uut wat ie doar van vind
Lach ons moar uut, neu dat deut oons nie wat
Enschede is onze stad²⁸*

²⁷ Source: www.vi.nl. Accessed on 12-08-2016.

²⁸ A song sung in the stadium. The translation is as follows: Proud, that we support Twente. We do not care what you think of it. Laugh at us, it does not hurt us. Enschede is our city.

4. Forever Red



Figure 4.1: Logo supporters' association 4EverRed²⁹

*FC Twente boven alles
FC Twente is mien club
Als we winnen ga ik los
Als we verliezen blijf ik trots
FC Twente heel m'n leven lang³⁰*

²⁹ Source: <https://www.facebook.com/sv4everred/?fref=ts>

³⁰ A song sung in the stadium. It translates into: 'FC Twente above all. FC Twente is my club. If we win I go nuts, if we lose I remain proud. FC Twente all my life.'

The choice for the title of this chapter has been two-fold. The first reason is the symbolism that, for me as a researcher, is captured within this name. ‘Forever’ stands for the unbreakable eternal commitment of supporters with their club and ‘red’ emphasizes the importance of symbolism. Secondly, ‘4EverRed’ is the name of one of the supporters’ associations of FC Twente. I have conducted most of my fieldwork as member of this association. I will start this chapter by explaining the (power of) symbolism at FC Twente. Afterwards, I will zoom in on supporters’ association 4EverRed and its identity politics.

4.1 Proud Tukkers: symbols and songs

It is no secret that symbols, colors and rituals are a big part of (professional) football clubs. Nicknames of a club, national team and/or its supporters are very often derived from those very symbols or colors. Clear examples of national squads are the *Azzuri* (blues) of Italy and *Oranje* (orange) of the Netherlands. Examples of big clubs are Liverpool (the Reds, after their color), Manchester United (the Red Devils, after their color and logo) and Arsenal (The Gunners, after their logo). FC Twente also has its own symbolism, which sets them apart from other clubs.

Most of the symbolism of FC Twente is embedded in the region of Twente. Their logo consists out of a prancing white ‘steed’ depicted on a red shield with the contours of a football (see figure 4.2). The logo is derived from the official flag of the region, the white ‘Saxon’ steed on a red background³¹. Their home shirt is almost completely red – which also finds its background in the region’s flag – and the away shirt varies from time to time. How important the color red is to the supporters, became clear with the presentation of the new away shirt on the 26th of July 2016. It is completely blue, including a blue logo. This decision

³¹ Also used by regional newspaper ‘Tubantia’ and regional bus company ‘Tweets’

received many negative reactions on Facebook. As one person summarizes it: ‘I think everyone agrees that red is the only color for our logo’³².



Figure 4.2: FC Twente logo³³

The club’s nickname is the ‘Tukkers’, after the nickname of the region’s inhabitants. The supporters are named ‘Tukkers’ as well. The stadium’s name is the ‘Grolsch Veste’, named by beer company and sponsor Grolsch which has its main factory in the city of Enschede. Most supporters speak either Dutch or the dialect of Twente. Songs that are sung inside the stadium are in Dutch, English or ‘Twents’.

The embeddedness of FC Twente in the region can partly be observed by analyzing these songs. One example is the before mentioned song ‘*trots da’w veur Twente bint*’. The song makes clear that the supporters take pride in supporting their club. Because it is both sung in Twents and they sing about ‘Twente’ instead of ‘FC Twente’, the representativeness of the club is stressed. That means, being proud of the club would mean being proud of the

³² Original: ‘*Volgens mij is iedereen het er over eens dat rood de enige kleur is voor ons logo.*’

Source: <https://www.facebook.com/twenteinsite/?fref=ts>. Accessed on 04-08-2016.

³³ Source: www.fctwente.nl

region. Chairman of 4EverRed, Rob, compares Tukkers with the inhabitants of the provinces of 'Friesland' and 'Drenthe' in the north and north east, who are equally regarded as 'backward farmers' in the Netherlands: 'What is unique for Tukkers is that we take pride in being a Tukker and want to show it. You hear less from a Drent than a Twente, [they are] a bit less proud. A Frysian has the same, they are more inwards oriented. A true Frysian does not speak a word in Dutch. We are not so unworldly'³⁴. FC Twente supporters see being proud of being a 'modest backward farmer' as their trademark.

4.2 What's in a name?

Over the months it became apparent to me that there was not one type of supporter as was made clear by Giulianotti (2002), but several types of supporters and all considering themselves as the true FC Twente supporter. These differences can be ascribed to geological and social attributes. Both Giulianotti (2007) and Spaaij (2008) did their research with clubs that are grounded in a city, or a district within the city. Spaaij did his research at Feyenoord Rotterdam and Sparta Rotterdam situated in the city of Rotterdam, West Ham United and Fulham FC in London, and FC Barcelona and Espanyol in Barcelona. All represent a part of the city in which they are situated. Hence, the supporters are mostly concentrated in that (part of the) city.

The dynamics of supporters are different for FC Twente. The club is situated in the city of Enschede, but represents the entire region of Twente. The oldest and largest supporters' associations are situated in the city itself: 'de Vriendenkring' and 'VAK-P'. The club's embeddedness in the entire region becomes apparent when watching the overview of

³⁴ Original: '*Uniek voor een Tukker? Trots dat we een Tukker zijn. We willen uitstralen dat we dat zijn... Een Drenth hoor je minder dan een Twent. Iets minder trots. Een Fries heeft dat ook, veel eenkenniger. Een echte Fries kan geen woord Nederlands. Wij zijn niet wereldvreemd.*'

supporters' associations, a total of twenty-five. Twenty-one of those are situated in the region of which eighteen represent a different city, village or municipality in the region. It is a unique concept in the Netherlands, where most clubs just have one or a few acknowledged supporters' associations. This creates an alternative dynamic of 'true' FC Twente supporters as compared to other clubs.

As was mentioned before, participant observation was conducted with the supporters of '4EverRed' in Weerselo, a small village. The next sections zoom in on this association. It becomes clear that they make use of the same symbolism as FC Twente does, just like many other supporters' associations. Yet, they also create a strong identity on their own as opposed to these other associations. The grammars of segmentation and orientalizing as described by Bauman become apparent (Bauman & Gingrich, 2004).

4.3 Supporters' association 4EverRed

'4EverRed' is based in the small town of Weerselo. The supporters' association has its home in local pub 'de Troll'. The location of the pub can be seen as the center of town. The former town hall, the elementary school, the tennis court, the gym and the church are all in the vicinity of a few hundred meters around the pub. The church is across the road, with a large parking lot in front of it (see figure 4.2).

The pub has several banners outside with the name of the pub on it. Below the name is a logo of 4EverRed. Inside the pub there is a large red banner of 4EverRed in black and white letters. There is also a framed, signed FC Twente shirt above the doors of the toilets next to a shirt of local football association 'UD Weerselo'. The pub is not only literally the center of town but is also a central meeting point, especially for the youth of the town.

Furthermore, it is not just the home to the local supporters' association of FC Twente, but also to the local youth carnival association. Most people drink beer in the pub. To be precise,

they drink *Grolsch* beer. Logos of the brand are depicted all over the pub. Everyone knows everyone, including the bartenders. When I order a drink, I am not asked to pay right away nor am I asked for my name: people drink on ‘tabs’ and the bartenders know my name. To illustrate the amount of trust, some of these tabs last for months before they get paid. It is in all respects a local pub.

Rob – chairman of the association – explained how the association was created. An increasing number of people from Weerselo wanted to attend the matches so together with ‘de Troll’ he decided to arrange a bus. As the club and the bus became increasingly popular an extra bus was needed. After the cupfinal in 2011 against Ajax it became clear that he could not arrange it all on his own so the association was established. The two buses became a problem as the group was thus separated into two parts. The idea came to arrange one bus: a double decked bus.

4.4 The 4EverRed Bus

Their logo is displayed on the sides, front and back of the bus and besides that it is entirely painted red (figure 4.2). The interior is all red. Most seats are in groups of four with a table in the middle. The walkway is filled with full and empty crates of Grolsch beer, which are stored in the large fridge in the bus.

The bus is 4EverRed’s pride. The association is more or less build around the bus and it is even more central to the association than the pub is. It stands out amongst the other buses, which stand in line near the stadium during the match. It is one of the very few that are completely in red, and, as a double decked bus, it is also larger than most.



Figure 4.3: 4EverRed's bus in front of the church³⁵

The atmosphere in the bus is *nearly* every match the same – the away games have been different, which will be explained later in this text. The group predominantly exists out of white young male adults, in the ages from 20 to 30 years old. Everyone knows each other. The identity complexity as described by Delia is low, because there are no multiple identities conflicting while in the bus (Delia 2014). The bus ride can be described with few words: sociability, drinking beer, smoking and listening to loud music. It is the atmosphere of a local pub – one on wheels in this case. It is very much in line with Giulianotti's description of Scotland's Tartan Army (2005) in which he applies Georg Simmel's concept of sociability on the supporters' association of the Scottish national team. Excessively drinking beer is condoned and by many even encouraged. Emiel, a member of 4EverRed, explained to me when I asked about the typical *Twentse* identity: 'a bit sturdy/reserved, but also a bit crazy.

³⁵ Source: www.fctwente.nl

We love to drink beer. You can compare it with those crazy Scots, they are just like us.³⁶ His comparison with the Scots is not so farfetched. I can literally quote Giulianotti (2005) in his analysis of the Scottish Tartan Army and replace it with 4EverRed and FC Twente: ‘The Tartan Army seeks to establish and project a distinctive, unitary form of fan identity that is gregarious, ambassadorial and consciously non-violent in relations with other social groups, while still retaining a general cultural pursuit of heavy drinking and raucous support for the national team.’

Interestingly, there is no talk of the upcoming match. There is no talk of FC Twente whatsoever. It amazed me for a while that they did not even discuss what the ‘score would be’. However, it may have something to do with the worrying state the club is in. Giulianotti saw supporters’ associations as a place of refuge from ‘our overwhelming modern culture’ (Giulianotti 2005, 289). As FC Twente is in a crisis, arguably as a result from this modern culture, it is not likely that the supporters talk about the club in the brief period of under five hours they share every two weeks. According to Simmel there is no place for personal moods in sociability (Giulianotti 2005, 295). Their bus is their refuge, a place where everyone knows everyone and all share their passion for FC Twente.

The two away games I attended with 4EverRed provided the exception that proved the rule. Both cities harbor the clubs that are furthest away from Enschede: Roda JC from Kerkrade and Willem II from Tilburg. 4EverRed made a combideal for its members, providing transport, drinks and tickets at a very cheap price for both matches. This drew people from outside the town who first had to become a member. Even including the membership fee – 15 Euros per season –, this was for them the cheapest or only option to

³⁶ Original: ‘*Beetje stugge identiteit, beetje gek, houdt van bier drinken. Je kunt het wel een beetje vergelijken met die gekke Schotten. Die uit Schotland zijn precies zelfde als ons.*’

attend these matches. The awkward situation became clear right at the beginning. Some of these people entered the bus without first making mention of it – as was the custom for the association – which visibly irritated the board of 4EverRed. Furthermore, during the bus ride to Tilburg two young men secluded themselves from the rest while claiming a four-seater. During one of the breaks along the road, one of the two lit up explosive fireworks outside. Rob instantly made clear with his deep, roaring voice that this behavior was not accepted, that the next time he decided to come along he should leave the stuff behind. His scolding got approval by other members, be it in a less proper fashion. The incident of the fireworks was an eye opener to me and made clear that the members of 4EverRed did not fully identify with other supporters' associations like 'VAK-P' and 'Bagpipe', of which they assumed the two young men were members. 'They go to Twente to act tough and misbehave themselves. It has nothing to do with Twente, it is a subculture'³⁷, as one member explained later. The members of 4EverRed do not care much and openly condemn the violent attitude and the usage of drugs that they associate with VAK-P and Bagpipe. It has been interesting to sense the situation getting more tense with the arrival of just two 'outsiders'.

Both supporters' associations, VAK-P and Bagpipe, are situated in Enschede and its members are described as the 'hardcore' supporters, in the first place by themselves. Several members of 4EverRed indicated that their difference with those supporters lies in the distinction between people from urban versus people from rural places, which perhaps undermines the shared identity of the entire region and range of supporters. 'Those

³⁷Original: 'Ze gaan naar Twente om stoer te doen en ik mag me misdragen. Heeft niks met Twente zelf te maken, het is een subcultuurtje.'

differences are perhaps even larger than between the Tukker, Drent or Frysian'³⁸, as Rob told me.

4.5 Multi-leveled identity

Part of the members of 4EverRed are also member of supporters' association 'de Vriendenkring', which – like VAK-P and Bagpipe – is situated in Enschede. This might be contradictory after the rural versus urban distinction, but the reasons to join this association are for 4EverRed members utilitarian of nature. Being a member of de Vriendenkring means easy access to tickets for away games and admittance into their 'home' that is situated in the stadium. Rob is one of the members who goes to the home of de Vriendenkring before the match. He explains that it is mainly because the atmosphere in the home of de Vriendenkring is different from the home of VAK-P – where he used to go to. He sees going to either of the homes as part of the FC Twente experience.

The small group of 4EverRed members in the home of de Vriendenkring clusters together. There is no communication with others. It is as if they want to continue their own pub atmosphere they experience all the way up to the match, though it is incomparable to the cheerful atmosphere in the bus. This is mostly due to the large number of 4EverRed supporters that do attend the home of de Vriendenkring before the match. Some members stay with the bus for a while. They are not an exception, as many more supporters remain near their buses until the match starts. The reason why the association is split up after the bus stops may very well be that they are scattered throughout the stadium in smaller groups.

Though I am not a member of de Vriendenkring, I was able to enter their home on the account of Rob who has close contacts with their board members. After several visits it

³⁸ Original: '*Die verschillen zijn misschien groter dan tussen de Tukker, Drenth of Fries*'

became clear to me that the atmosphere is different from the one described to me of VAK-P. I heard several accounts of loud ‘hardcore music’ by which no conversation is possible, drugs being used in the home, and a certain hierarchy within the association which has to be respected. In the home of de Vriendenkring, the music is a mixture of Dutch and pop songs, not too loud. Groups of people are having a chat and drinking a beer. It is a place for a larger range of people – men and women of all ages – not just for male young adults.

The two homes of supporters’ associations de Vriendenkring and VAK-P side by side in the stadium might give extra power to the grammar of segmentation amongst supporters (Baumann and Gingrich 2014) . People on this side of the stadium either have to go through one of the homes, and join either of the associations, or use the direct route to their seats. Interesting is that when people leave the homes through the other side, they enter the stadium itself and all take their seats on the same stand: ‘Vak P’³⁹ (section P). A new collective identity is assumed by all who stand on this stand, directed to the other sides (especially where the sponsors sit and, of course, where the away supporters are). They identify themselves to be the most fanatical supporters of the club: a community consisting of people who do not need to know each other’s background, but all share one thing: their passion for their club FC Twente.

A single shared idea of unity builds a new bond of trust, different from the one inside the pub or bus. During the match, every once in a while a random person shouts if anyone wants another beer. People shove him coins in his hands and order a small or big beer. The occasional person orders a coke, which is taken with sardonic laughter. After a while, he

³⁹ The real section P does not exist anymore. The sections now have numbers, but the name lingered. It is the side behind one of the goals. It has been a section in the former stadium ‘Diekman’, where the most fanatical supporters of the club were grouped together. From this stand supporters’ association VAK-P was born.

comes back with a beer holder containing the ordered drinks. It is interesting to observe that while in the bus, the 4EverRed members see FC Twente supporters from other associations as the 'other', which completely disappears while on the stand. During the match a larger 'other' appears in the form of the away team and its supporters in line with Baumann's grammar of segmentation (Baumann & Gingrich, 2014).

So it seems that from the perspective of supporters' association 4EverRed there is an interesting case of othering towards other supporters' associations. It is therefore impossible to speak of *the* supporters of FC Twente or *the* identity of the supporters. They are unified in their love for and commitment to FC Twente, but are different in their ways to show this. Thus, it seems a process of segmentation (Baumann & Gingrich, 2004). A process that is highly context-relevant. So far, the only context in which the higher level becomes important is in the stadium during a match. This is interesting to remember during the next chapter, which is more focused on (the attempt of) the unification of the supporters of FC Twente.

5. Twente Lives!



Figure 5.1: Twente Leeft!⁴⁰

I do not know their names, but we have a shared passion⁴¹

Rob, chairman of 4EverRed, told me this during the first match I attended with him. The crowd sings songs during the entire match. It appears that new ones are made up on site, aimed at the opponents. A feeling in my entire body urges me to sing along. The feeling becomes stronger during the match as ‘we’ are ahead by more goals. The passion Rob speaks about is the passion for the club. The people he talks about, are the people standing in front of us, next to us and behind us. He does not need to know their names, all he needs to know is that they share his passion. It shows that despite differences between associations, there is a

⁴⁰ Source: www.twenteinsite.nl. Accessed on 10-08-2016

⁴¹ Original: ‘Ik ken al hun namen niet, maar we hebben een gezamenlijke passie.’

sort of community among them. This chapter shows that since January there have been several initiatives to address this community. These initiatives can be divided in a ‘political’ movement and a more ‘militant’ movement. It shows the difficulty of addressing the entire community.

5.1 Twente, Unite!

Where supporters unite, recovery is fastest⁴²

5.1.1 Starting a members’ association

On the 19th of January 2016, four days after the game, a group of fourteen men started an initiative to give the club back to the supporters. They opposed the so-called ‘old-boys network’ of former chairman Joop Munsterman and wanted to create a club based on three main pillars: involvement, voice, and supervision/transparency⁴³. They wanted to appeal to the entire community around FC Twente and called the initiative ‘Twente, Verenigt!’ which means ‘Twente, Unite!’.

Twente, Verenigt! (which I shall abbreviate as TV) was an initiative to create a members’ association, which would in time merge with the club itself. It would mean that supporters would gain more voice in the club. This would make the club the nation’s first members’ association in professional football. They took an example in clubs over the border, like Borussia Dortmund and Schalke’ 04 from the Ruhr region in North Rhine-Westphalia⁴⁴, Germany. Both clubs have great sympathy from the FC Twente supporters. The initiators wanted to create an example to be followed by other clubs in the nation. The initiative started with the following statement:

⁴² Slogan by ‘Twente, verenigt!’ Original: ‘*Waar supporters zich verenigen gaat herstel het snelst*’

⁴³ Source: www.twenteverenigt.nl. Last accessed on 05-08-2016.

⁴⁴ The region borders Twente in the east. Interesting detail is that the same white steed on a red background is used in the flag of North Rhine-Westphalia. Both also speak more or less the same dialect of ‘lower Saxon’, though heavily influenced by their respective nation states.

We are the beating heart of the club, we, the people. We are no customers of a football company, we are lovers/enthusiasts of our FC Twente. It is our duty to embrace and protect the club together, especially when the existence of the club is threatened on all levels. Together we need to rebuild the club, we need to become involved and we need to remain involved with our club. We need to have a voice in policy-making through knowledgeable people whom we trust and who become accountable to us. Especially now we, as supporters, need to take up the challenge to make FC Twente a club which would make every Tukker proud, once again!

Note that it is very clear these supporters would like to see an association instead of the corporation it has become. They were very much aware of the commodification process as described by Giulianotti (2002). They felt that they were being treated as customers and wanted to change this. This is also in line with what Porter found with supporters of Manchester United FC (Porter 2011), who created a new club with the name United of Manchester FC. The concerns were the same and even the terminology is similar (United of Manchester versus Twente, Unite). The strategy, however, is different. The supporters of Manchester United FC build up a new club on their own, whereas the members of TV wanted to change their club. It may have something to do with the size of both clubs and the advanced state the commodification is in. Manchester United FC is one of the biggest clubs, with fans all over the world. The club is one of the Transnational Companies that Giulianotti and Robertson (2004) refer to. The size of FC Twente is much smaller and its fan base – with a few exceptions – hardly exceeds the region of Twente. That would make it more receptive to change.

Another notifiable point is that these supporters' initiative is not named '*FC Twente, Verenigt!*' but '*Twente, Verenigt!*' Although this seems like a small detail, after all the

difference is just two letters, it typifies the ease of symbolism to address a larger group than just football supporters. It is not just the call for the supporters of the FC Twente, but it is the call for the entire region to support their initiative. This also becomes clear in the last line of their earlier mentioned statement: “to make FC Twente a club which would make *every Tukker* proud, once again!” They do not say every FC Twente supporter, but every Tukker. By stating it like this, they assume that all Tukkers take their pride from FC Twente.



Figure 5.1: Twente, Verenigt! Logo⁴⁵

The initiative of TV sounded promising for the supporters of the club. When Twentefans announced the initiative on their website, most fans responded positively⁴⁶. Just a few did not want to become a member. Yet, in actual numbers they did not get the support they expected. On the fifth of February I spoke to Laurens van der Velde and Jan Gerritsen, both members of the board of TV. They expected at least 40.000 members for TV as they made membership free for all season and club card holders. They notified me that at the time they had a mere 2500 members. A reason they gave for this lack of enthusiasm is the fact that

⁴⁵ Source: www.twenteverenigt.nl

⁴⁶ Source: <http://www.twentefans.nl/nieuws/19567/fc-twente-krijgt-unieke-ledenvereniging-twente-verenigt-.html#GFstIoVK2SfbdBFW.97>

it was still vague what the initiators wanted themselves. They told me that the main issue with the club was that supporters had lost their trust. In speaking for the entire community of supporters without first consulting them, they would face the same problem. They were afraid to speak for all supporters, so they wanted to provide a platform for all supporters who were to join their association to make clear what the supporters wanted and what direction the club should take. They also knew that it was well possible they were to propose a member for the Advisory Board of FC Twente on the first of May, because of the report that was to be presented by researcher Ben Knüppe (see the overview). The dilemma was that acting the way they expected from the board of FC Twente, based on their three pillars, might take too much time. Speeding up the process would mean they might not gain the trust of the supporters they so keenly wanted to represent. The initiators were thus in a headlock of their own initiative.

5.1.2 The first members meeting: Creating a voice for the supporters

How keen the initiators were on wanting to speak for all supporters was highly noticeable on their first members meeting on the 18th of April. In their eyes, the achievements that TV reached were achieved together with everyone in the room, not just by themselves. They kept correcting themselves in order to make that point very clear and put a lot of emphasis on the word 'we'.

The members meeting was organized in the FC Twente Lounge in the stadium. Though I had not become a member, I was allowed to attend the meeting. The lounge was packed with people, a total of over 450 to 500. They were mostly men and the average age of the attendants seemed around 40. This is a lot higher than what I have observed at 4EverRed. There were no members of 4EverRed present. The turnout was a good representation of the members of TV. They now had around 4400 members. Not even twenty of them were also

member of 4EverRed. The average age of the members was 43,4. An extra observation might be important to present here. Of the fourteen initiators of TV, ten are above 40 years of age and the youngest is 30 years old. Ten are from Enschede and most have a history in one of the three supporters' associations of Enschede: de Vriendenkring, VAK-P or Bagpipe. The association is thus largely biased towards 'older' supporters and the city of Enschede and its supporters' associations.

The fear of speaking for all supporters without actually speaking for *all* supporters seems grounded and they only appealed to a particular group of supporters. Baumann's explanation of the grammar of encompassing comes to mind (Baumann and Gingrich 2014). The initiative basically claims (or wants) representation of all supporters, but not all supporters identify with the initiators. I would like to refer to supporters association 4EverRed. The average age of 4EverRed supporters is below 30, whereas the initiators of TV were almost all well above 40. As becomes clear in chapter 4, supporters of 4EverRed do not fully identify themselves with the supporters from the city of Enschede. The combination might provide enough ground to not identify with the initiators, and therefore not join them.

A second reason for 4EverRed members' reluctance to join the association may lie in the sociability of 4EverRed. As noted in chapter 4, there was hardly any talk about FC Twente in the bus. In the away game to Roda JC, there were a couple of flyers on every table in the 4EverRed bus. Some people took a glance at it, but most simply ignored it and did not discuss it at all. When I asked some supporters whether they were a member of TV, they were reluctant to answer. They did not really have an idea about it. It made me feel obtrusive to further ask them about it, as they clearly did not want to talk about it. This might be explained by Giulianotti's ideas of sociability in supporters' associations (Giulianotti 2005). Sociability build around FC Twente seemed to be the association's main cause. This does not mean they did not care about the existence of the club like others do. One 4EverRed member

summed it up: ‘I think there are sensible people with Twente, Verenigt! who know how it should work⁴⁷. In other words, the general attitude of the 4EverRed members is not that they do not *want* to be part of reforming the club, they simply do not *feel like* being part of it. It is not possible to generalize these finding for the entire population of supporters, but these might be explanations of the lack of enthusiasm.



Figure 5.2: Structure of the ‘new FC Twente’⁴⁸

Despite the lack in numbers and (perhaps) representativity, TV did achieve what they fought for: voice. After intensive contact with researcher Ben Knüppe and the current board, they were able to appoint two members to the board of the foundation FC Twente ’65, thus expanding the board from three to five members (see the red figures in figure 5.2). It was presented as a great victory for the supporters. Yet, it is not the voice of all supporters which makes me question whether the members’ association is the right way to achieve ‘voice’ for the FC Twente supporters.

⁴⁷ Original: ‘Ik denk dat er wel verstandige mensen bij TV zijn die wel snappen hoe het moet.’

⁴⁸ Source: www.twenteverenigt.nl. The five in the first row represent the foundation board, the second row are the non-executive board members, or the advisory board. The third row represents the board of the club.

5.2 Twente Lives!

*Al worden we laatste
en degraderen we
Al spelen we bij de amateurs
Onze club blijft FC Twente
Onze liefde verandert nooit⁴⁹*

5.2.1 Displaying a sign of life

Where TV addressed the power structure directly, supporters' association VAK-P chose a different tactic: showing how many supporters the club had, what the club meant for its supporters and what it would mean if the club were to disappear. Where TV had a more long term view, a vision for the future of the club, VAK-P had a more short term perspective: making sure the club would keep existing.

In the first weeks of February, the supporters – with a leading role of VAK-P – thought they had a role to play in the fight against the downfall of the club. To keep the club 'alive', the supporters were to show what they and the club were worth. On Saturday the thirteenth of February the club played the away game against Roda JC Kerkrade, a club then two points ahead of FC Twente and, however painful the realization was, their rival in their fight against relegation. Five days before the match, VAK-P called for the supporters to attend the match by the masses to show their support in dark times when they were needed most⁵⁰. Many supporters answered and within a few days the 1000 tickets were sold out even though it was a trip of 240 kilometers to reach Kerkrade.

By doing so, they displayed a 'sign of life'. A sign that they were not accepting the downfall of their club without a fight. In that spirit, VAK-P wanted to organize a special

⁴⁹ The song that was invented in this period and is one of the most popular in the stadium ever since. It translates into: 'Even though we will be last and we relegate, even if we play amongst the amateurs, our club remains FC Twente, our love will never change.'

⁵⁰ Source: <https://www.twenteinsite.nl/oproep-massaal-naar-roda-jc-fc-twente.html>

party one month after the away game in Kerkrade. The party went by the name of ‘Twente Leeft!’, which means ‘Twente Lives’. The idea of VAK-P was to organize the Twente Leeft! Party on the former stadium location ‘het Diekman’. A march to the current stadium, de Grolsch Veste, would follow thereafter. They accompanied the idea with these words:

Boxing day is two months from now, but until then we can show the whole of the Netherlands what we are worth. In times of success a full highway and parking lot at the ‘Veste’, in bad times a Twente Lives! Party on the Diekman terrain! Followed by a march from the Diekman to the Grolsch Veste. On behalf of all the supporters’ associations we call out everybody to come to the Diekman terrain for a true Twente Lives! Party. In other words, Grolsch beer, sociability and solidarity. We will walk together to the stadium. Together we will show that our pride may never be lost, but we have to show it by the masses.⁵¹

VAK-P organized a meeting with the municipality of Enschede to find out what was possible. As the effectuation of the idea of the party was on too short a notice, they could not get a permit to organize it. The start of the march from the ‘Diekman’ terrain, despite symbolic value as the site of the former stadium, was also denied in the same meeting. The final idea was to organize the march from the ‘Volkspark’ in Enschede to the current stadium.

5.2.2 The ‘Twente Leeft!’ March

As I took the bus from the city of Oldenzaal to the march, I could tell by the amount of FC Twente scarfs that nearly all other passengers – in a bus half full – went to the march as

⁵¹ As quoted from Twenteinsite. Original: ‘Over een kleine twee maanden is het echt bijltjesdag, maar tot die tijd kunnen wij als Twentse achterban aan heel Nederland laten zien wat we waard zijn. Bij succes een volle snelweg en parkeerplaats bij de Veste, in slechte tijden een Twente Leeft! Party op het Diekman terrein! Gevolgd door een mars van het Diekman naar de Grolsch Veste. Namens alle supportersverenigingen willen we iedereen, maar dan ook echt iedereen oproepen om vanaf 14.30 uur naar het Diekman terrein te komen voor een echte Twente Leeft! Party. Oftewel, Grolsch bier, gezelligheid, saamhorigheid. Om 16.00 uur lopen we daarna gezamenlijk naar het stadion. Samen kunnen we laten zien dat onze trots niet verloren mag gaan, maar dit moeten we dan wel massaal laten zien.’

well. I did not know the way to the Volkspark myself, but it was not difficult to find: I saw several people with FC Twente scarfs or shirts move towards one direction. By the time I arrived at the park, there was already a large group of people gathered. It was difficult to count, but the stream of people entering the park did not stop by the time the march started. Later I heard and saw in the news that there were roughly 4000 people who attended the march. I have not seen any members of 4EverRed until right in front of the stadium. I saw on their Facebook page that they offered transport to the march with their bus, but there was not enough interest. Instead of joining the march, the members went straight to the stadium for the upcoming match. Their attitude towards the march was just like with TV rather reluctant. As Emiel explained this attitude: 'Everyone knows that the supporters support *Twente*, the march was a bit redundant. At away games, one can already see that the supporters stand behind the club'⁵².

The 4000 who were there, were a rather diverse group. I saw a lot of parents with children, alongside the large group of 18 to 30 year old men. The occasional supporter wore a special red '*Twente Leeft*'-shirt. However, despite the call to wear red clothes, the color did not dominate the group just like it never really does in the stadium⁵³. The atmosphere was positive and not tense at all, despite the presence of police officers. People drink bottles and cans of (Grolsch) beer. The officers turn in a blind eye and even start casual conversations with people they know amongst the group. VAK-P got precisely what they called for when they wanted to organize the party: Grolsch beer, sociability and solidarity.

⁵² Original: '*Iedereen weet wel dat de supporters achter Twente staan. De mars had niet zo gehoeven, was een beetje overbodig. Met uitwedstrijden kun je wel zien dat de supporters achter de club staan.*'

⁵³ I have been in five different stadiums this year. The same is noticeable at FC Utrecht, Willem II and Roda JC in the Netherlands. In Germany at Borussia Dortmund everyone wears club colors.



Figure 5.3: Picture of the march, made in front of the stadium

The march started without a starting speech or a clear sign, so far as I could tell from the back. The drummers started to drum and the supporters started to sing the same songs as in the stadium. Red torches and smoke bombs were being lit in the front. The singing spread all the way to the back. When I made my way up front, I saw a large group of young men in the first ranks singing the loudest. Where TV-members were on average above 40 years old, the ‘fanatical’ VAK-P supporters are in general 18 to 35. These young men were members of VAK-P, the initiators of the march, and I recognized one of their board members. The first row had a large red banner in their hands which depicts a heartbeat merging into the contours of a white steed (figures 5.1 and 5.3). After a while, I noticed that some songs were sung more than others. For instance, the new song – fully written down in the beginning of section 5.2 – was very popular. During the last half an hour of the march, in which they stood still in front of the stadium, they only chanted this song. The song is very modest of nature, opposed

to a song invented around five years ago when the club had its biggest successes. It translates into 'In Enschede we sing like this: Ajax has to die and AZ has to be destroyed and we will easily defeat ...' I only heard this song once on this day, and it lasted not even half a minute. The songs thus have an important role in the grammars of identity making. They seem to show the fluency of identity politics based upon success of the club.

5.3 West versus east

So far, this chapter has shown that initiatives of these FC Twente supporters seemed turned inward, their grammar was one of 'selfing' as opposed to 'othering'. Within the process, 'FC Twente' and 'Twente' were used synonymous. The same counts for 'Tukkers' and 'FC Twente supporters'. Both initiatives were aimed at uniting the supporters and create one front. The grammar of encompassing is very strong for these supporters (Baumann and Gingrich 2004). These initiatives show that the way the former board of the club has acted in recent times is not how the supporters feel they should be represented and they wanted to show what the club FC Twente really stood for. So far, the former board (consisting of only Tukkers) was their source of aversion. Considering these initiatives, it almost felt as if the supporters had to renegotiate what being a FC Twente-supporter or being a Tukker meant. When that was clear, their gaze shifted towards a more outside-oriented aversion. I noticed the first signs already in March.

One day after the report of Ben Knüppe was presented, the president of the KNVB, Bert van Oostveen, declared that he believed the chance was small that the club would still be a professional football club in the next season⁵⁴. The response of the FC Twente supporters

⁵⁴ <http://www.vi.nl/nieuws/van-oostveen-verwacht-einde-van-profbestaan-fc-twente.htm>

was incredible and with such aversion towards Van Oostveen that it seemed to set in motion a vivid discussion as to who was opposing the club and its supporters.

Supporters mentioned a battle of the west (of the Netherlands) versus the east. For instance Dik Wessels, one of the business men who together guaranteed the club 12 million Euros, saw the actions of the license committee as actions from the west against the east⁵⁵. He received support from supporters on the websites and Facebook pages of Twenteinsite and Twentefans, though his ideas were not shared by all⁵⁶. This west versus the east view became more clear to me when I spoke with supporters about the Twentse or FC Twente supporter identity. Emiel, one of the 4EverRed-members, described people from Twente as 'kind and social. I do not think you can say that from the western people.'⁵⁷ Ajax and Feyenoord are the main focus of this grammar of FC Twente supporters. Again Emiel: 'I will never go to Feyenoord again. We were on a familystand, but there were only aggressive 'scumbags.'⁵⁸ Rob said the following: 'We are a bit more down to earth, not such a big mouth. We don't have the Amsterdam's bluff.'⁵⁹ Especially Ajax has the image of an arrogant club in the eyes of the FC Twente supporters, and thus represents the perceived 'arrogance of the west'. This is the opposite of how FC Twente supporters describe themselves, as down to earth and modest people. This is a typical case of the grammar of orientaling as described by Baumann (Baumann & Gingrich, 2014). These stereotypes of the supporters are very much intertwined with the larger perspective of the west versus the east in the eyes of Tukkers in general.

⁵⁵ <http://www.tubantia.nl/sport/fc-twente/dik-wessels-ik-zie-dit-als-het-westen-tegen-het-oosten-1.6027943>

⁵⁶ For instance here: <https://www.facebook.com/twenteinsite/?fref=ts>.

⁵⁷ Original: '*Vriendelijk en sociaal. Dat kun je van lui uit het westen denk ik niet zeggen.*'

⁵⁸ Original: '*Feyenoord doe ik nooit weer. We stonden op een familievak, maar daar stond alleen maar agressief 'tuigvolk.'*'

⁵⁹ Original: '*We zijn iets nuchterder, niet zo'n grote bek. Geen Amsterdamse bluf.*'

5.4 'Us against everybody'

Over the months the perspective of west versus the east has partly shifted towards a more extreme view. It is the image of 'wij tegen iedereen', meaning 'us against everybody'. The origin of this slogan is from the book that was published in 2011 by VAK-P in honor of their 20th anniversary. This supporters' association felt like they always had to fight against prejudices from different groups: the press, police, own supporters, other supporters and the FC Twente board⁶⁰. A point of view not unique to these supporters according to Giulianotti (2007, 261):

The popular self-description, 'No One Likes Us, We Don't Care,' crystallizes the perception that Rangers have an 'unloved' identity within Scottish football, and among governing bodies, the national media, and the followers of rival clubs.

What is interesting is that this point of view seemed to be shared by more than just the supporters' association VAK-P. It received more support after the official complaint of the ECV (Eredivisie limited partnership) with the KNVB on March the 30th. Supporters website Twenteinsite headlined their covering article with the words: 'New party opens the attack on FC Twente'⁶¹. The headline creates the imagery of FC Twente being a victim of an attack and secondly, that more parties take part of that attack. For those who adapted the 'us against everyone'-perspective, their perspective even worsened after the combined clubs in the Jupiler League (the second highest national league) declared they did not want to have FC

⁶⁰ Source : www.vakp.nl. Accessed on 05-08-2016.

⁶¹ Source: <https://www.twenteinsite.nl/nieuwe-partij-opent-de-aanval-op-fc-twente.html>

Twente in their league⁶². On top of that, when FC Twente filed a law suit against the decision of the license committee, the ECV asked FC Twente to drop the suit. The ‘us against everybody’-perspective thus became a very likely feeling for the supporters as all other professional Dutch clubs did not seem to want to play against the club next season.

The perspective of othering towards everyone else (in the Netherlands) may lead to a new or enhanced sense of shared identity for FC Twente supporters or Tukkers in general in the near future. Gellner’s explanation of high and low culture provides some support for this point of view. He noted that high culture – that of central education and a shared language – became dominant during the industrialization of nation states (Gellner 2006). I argue that the high culture loses its power under influence of globalization and the insecurity it brings. In line with Tilley’s analysis, people start to look for a new – or old – source for identity (Tilley 2006). The local dialect, traditions, and other features of the low culture are in some areas still intact and may even be reinforced. If FC Twente supporters truly believe that the KNVB represents the western Dutch clubs, and the western Dutch clubs are the representation of western Dutch people – who are considered as the other – it is not unthinkable that they do not want to be part of the association anymore. Their view then might cross current boundaries.

On the 4th of April, supporters’ association ‘Bagpipe’ suggested on their Facebook page to join the German football association⁶³. The writer even goes as far as to completely separate the region of Twente from the Netherlands and to join Germany. This can be seen as a symptom of the reemergence of the low culture. He points to the fact that North Rhine

⁶² Source : <http://www.twentefans.nl/nieuws/21362/officieel-jupiler-league-clubs-maken-bezwaar-tegen-komst-fc-twente.html#KwIliBM7JZHuQ0jF.97>

⁶³ Source: <https://www.facebook.com/bagpipeenschede/posts>. Accessed on 09-08-2016.

Westphalia, the region just over the border, also uses the white steed in their flag.⁶⁴ On the 13th of June, Twentefans produced an article headlining ‘external experts research option to play in Bundesliga’, meaning the idea became more serious. The article also referred to the call from Bagpipe in April. As supporters felt disappointed by the KNVB, many felt sympathy for the idea. As one supporter – in response on Facebook – framed it: ‘Twente connects in terms of culture more to Germany than to the rest of the Netherlands. Especially to the west.’⁶⁵ Though this idea was not developed – as FC Twente could stay in the Eredivisie – it makes me curious what would happen if the appeals committee would have decided otherwise.

This chapter illustrates that in times of crisis of their club, supporters renegotiate their sense of identity and use it to create a stronger sense of shared identity which is embedded, in this case, in their region. It has even come up to the point that supporters were willing to swap the Dutch football association with the German football association and perhaps even change nationality. It is a sign that identity through the current social organization of the nation state is perhaps breaking down (Bendle 2002; Tilley 2006). An important side note is that it is also a sign that these supporters see citizenship highly connected to being part of a nation state: they choose either the Netherlands or Germany, not something else. Most importantly for this thesis, it shows the impact that professional football clubs can have in these negotiations of identity and citizenship.

⁶⁴ The region of the before mentioned clubs Schalke '04 and Borussia Dortmund.

⁶⁵ Original: ‘*Twente sluit qua culture meer aan bij Duitsland dan bij de rest van Nederland hoor. En al helemaal ten opzichte van het westen.*’

6. Conclusion and reflection

In the era of globalization, in which the current notion of citizenship loses strength, people look for new sources for security and identity (Tilley 2006). Professional football clubs provide a source for a 'new' strong sense of identity. Simultaneously, many supporters have noticed a period of commodification and distancing of 'their' club which is not appreciated (Giulianotti 2007; Porter 2011). Both phenomena apply to the supporters of FC Twente. The process of commodifying FC Twente led to the initiative of 'Twente, Verenigt!' in order to give the club back to its supporters. Concerning the identity politics of supporters, these prove to be more difficult than presented in other research (Giulianotti 2002; 2007; Spaaij 2008).

FC Twente is a club strongly embedded in a 'strong' region. This is clear in several ways. Firstly, through its structure of supporters' associations, which spreads all over the region. Secondly, the imagery the club and its supporters' associations use are embedded in the region. Thirdly, the notion of being a Tukker is closely related to being a supporter of the club. The club thus represents the culture of this region and in a sense also the competency of the region (Carter 2002, 408; Cialdini 2009, 167).

The embeddedness of the club in its region has several implications for the identity politics for its supporters. I have observed all three grammars as proposed by Bauman (Bauman and Gingrich 2004), meaning that a weak notion of identity is highly plausible.

The grammar of orientalizing is strong for FC Twente-supporters, with the 'other' being western Dutch clubs, its supporters, and the vague notion of the 'west' in general. There is hardly any nuance between supporters and people in their grammar, in the sense that clubs and supporters represent the identity of the larger 'region'.

The grammar of encompassing were displayed by the initiatives of ‘Twente, Verenigt!’ and ‘Twente, Leeft!’. It might explain why they were unsuccessful in speaking for all supporters. It became clear that members of supporters’ association 4EverRed did not feel part of these initiatives and had a different image of what being a FC Twente-supporter means: Showing your support when you are expected to show support: In the stadium.

The grammar of segmentation becomes apparent in the stadium, in which the members of 4EverRed take the higher leveled identity of the FC Twente-supporter. Up until then, these members of 4EverRed are a segment of the larger population of FC Twente supporters. Thus, the context of the stadium – and only the context of the stadium – provides the sense of identity on a higher level.

This thesis has shown the need for an anthropological approach to sports, and football in particular. This is what Carter pleaded for fourteen years ago (Carter 2002). There is still much more to research for the anthropologist in professional football, and at the same time professional football can learn much from anthropological insights.

This research was focused on identity politics grounded in locality and football supporters, but a football club has a much larger group of followers (like me) who may experience the same feelings, be it in a less expressive manner. If the club would have entered the German football association, the feeling may become stronger for a large group of Tukkens that the ‘Twentse’ culture has more in common with the German culture than with the rest of the Netherlands. In time, they may even think: Why not become German citizens instead of Dutch citizens? I am aware that this is a rather simple view, but it merely shows the impact football clubs may have in the negotiation of identity and citizenship for people.

Though not addressed in this thesis, identity politics of the football players in their commodified world are equally interesting. Opposite to the grounded supporter, they live nomadic, star-like lives, which can be seen as an alternative articulation of the ‘elites’ that

Castells describes (Castells 2011, 442). Despite their nomadic lifestyle, players are still bound to nationalities. Players with double nationalities might choose strategically, instead of based on sentiment, to play for one or the other national squad. Their decision then might define their citizenship in the eyes of the football followers.

Simultaneously, the anthropological approach may prove useful to the world of football, and thus society at large. This thesis may attribute to a process of “decommodification” of football (clubs) towards a more sustainable environment for club and supporter. FC Twente has been run like a company, following the trend of commodification of the world of football. Though professional football clubs have outgrown being pure associations, this does not mean clubs have to be run as a company. Unlike other companies, football clubs represent the identity of its city (district) or region. In a time of transition from ‘business as usual’ towards a more sustainable business model, professional football should move with this transition. This would mean more transparency from the club and more involvement and voice for its people: the supporters. I argue that by doing so, the community of supporters will grow. And this would create a more sustainable environment which is less dependent on success of the club. For many clubs, embedded in a city, a members’ association might prove the best option for governance. FC Twente is unique in the fact that there is already a structure of supporters’ associations, which all represent their own village or city. This complicates the identity politics and needs of the different supporters. The initiators of ‘Twente, Verenigt!’ should keep that in mind.

To conclude, I would like to come back on my position within the fieldwork: As someone who grew up amongst his research subjects. If it was not clear yet, despite being native to the region, I am not native to the research population of supporters. I obtained a lot of insight in the identity politics and dynamics of football supporters, dynamics I was unaware of. In a way, being native to the region gave me easier understanding to the

grammars of identity making that were used as well as the sentiments the supporters felt. I realize that the pitfall was that I did not pursue vague notions like ‘the west’, which is a common pitfall for ‘native’ researchers (Kanuha 2000, 442). A non-native researcher would probably try to dig deeper into these sentiments, whereas I took them for granted. Then again, the non-native researcher would probably not even find the dynamics of supporters I found for two reasons. Firstly, there seems to be a tendency of research with supporters in the city the football club is situated (Giulianotti 2007; Spaaij 2008; Porter 2011). Secondly, a non-native researcher would not be able to see these supporters in their natural behavior in such a short time period. Just think of the incident in the 4EverRed bus with the two ‘outsiders’. Therefore, I am glad that I answered to the call of Nader and Scheper-Hughes. I can only agree to Scheper-Hughes’ idea that ‘anthropologists have an alarming role and are to identify power problems that infected society’ (Scheper-Hughes 1995, 417). I have done just that, which may not have occurred if I did not think indignation can be used as a motive for anthropological research.

Bibliography

- Baumann, Gerd and Andre Gingrich. 2005. *Grammars of identity/alterity: A Structural Approach*. Vol. 3 Berghahn Books.
- Bendle, Mervyn F. 2002. "The Crisis of 'identity' in High Modernity." *The British Journal of Sociology* 53 (1): 1. doi:10.1080/00071310120109302.
- Besnier, Niko. 2015. "Sports Mobilities Across Borders: Postcolonial Perspectives." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32 (7): 849-861. doi:10.1080/09523367.2015.1023713.
- Carter, Thomas. 2002. "On the Need for an Anthropological Approach to Sport." *Identities* 9 (3): 405. doi:10.1080/10702890213968.
- Castells, Manuel. 2011. *The Rise of the Network Society : The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture Volume I*. Somerset: Wiley.
- Cialdini, Robert B. 1976. "Basking in Reflected Glory: Three (Football) Field Studies." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 34 (3): 366. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.34.3.366.
- Cialdini, Robert B. 2009. *Influence: Science and Practice*. Vol. 5 Pearson Education.
- Delia, Elizabeth. 2015. "The Exclusiveness of Group Identity in Celebrations of Team Success." *Sport Management Review* 18 (3): 396-406. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2014.10.006.
- DeWalt, Kathleen M. and Billie R. DeWalt. 2010. *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers* Rowman Altamira.
- Gellner, Ernest and John Breuilly. 2008. *Nations and Nationalism*. Cornell University Press.
- Giulianotti, Richard. 1995. "Participant Observation and Research into Football Hooliganism: Reflections on the Problems of Entree and Everyday Risks." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 12 (1): 1-20. <https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/2134/15509>.

- . 2007. "Popular Culture, Social Identities, and internal/external Cultural Politics: The Case of Rangers Supporters in Scottish Football." *Identities* 14 (3): 257-284.
doi:10.1080/10702890601162732.
- . 2005. "The Sociability of Sport Scotland Football Supporters as Interpreted through the Sociology of Georg Simmel." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 40 (3): 289. doi:10.1177/1012690205060095.
- . 2002. "Supporters, Followers, Fans, and Flaneurs A Taxonomy of Spectator Identities in Football." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26 (1): 25.
doi:10.1177/0193723502261003.
- Giulianotti, Richard and Roland Robertson. 2004. "The Globalization of Football: A Study in the Glocalization of the 'serious Life'." *The British Journal of Sociology* 55 (4): 545.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2004.00037.x.
- Hamil, Sean, Stephen Morrow, Catherine Idle, Giambattista Rossi, and Stefano Faccendini. 2010. "The Governance and Regulation of Italian Football." *Soccer and Society* 11 (4): 373. doi:10.1080/14660971003780297.
- Hine, Christine. 2008. "Virtual Ethnography: Modes, Varieties, Affordances." *The SAGE Handbook of Online Research Methods*, edited by Fielding, Nigel G., Raymond M. Lee, and Grant Blank:257-270.
- Ho, Karen. 2005. "Situating Global Capitalisms: A View from Wall Street Investment Banks." *Cultural Anthropology* 20 (1): 68. doi:10.1525/can.2005.20.1.068.
- Kanuha, Valli. K. 2000. ""being" Native Versus "Going Native": Conducting Social Work Research as an Insider." *Social Work* 45 (5): 439-447.
<http://sw.oxfordjournals.org/content/45/5/439.full.pdf+html>.
- Nader, Laura. 1972. "Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up." <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED065375.pdf>.

Porter, Christopher. "Cultures of Resistance and Compliance: Football Fandom and Political Engagement in Manchester." PhD thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2011. EThOS (uk.bl.ethos.555830).

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1995. "The Primacy of the Ethical: Propositions for a Militant Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 36 (3): 409. doi:10.1086/204378.

Spaaij, Ramon. 2008. "Men Like Us, Boys Like them: Violence, Masculinity, and Collective Identity in Football Hooliganism." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 32 (4): 369. doi:10.1177/0193723508324082.

Tilley, Christopher. 2006. "Introduction Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage." *Journal of Material Culture* 11 (1-2): 7. doi:10.1177/1359183506062990.

Tsing, Anna L. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton University Press.

Uden, Jacco van. 2005. "Transforming a Football Club into a 'total experience' entertainment Company: Implications for Management." *Managing Leisure* 10 (3): 184. doi:10.1080/13606710500239087.