Critical Research in Football

FOOTBALL, FANDOM AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

Edited by
Przemysław Nosal, Radosław Kossakowski
and Wojciech Woźniak

ROUTLEDGE

Football, Fandom and Collective Memory

This book examines the topic of identity and collective memory in football fandom. Drawing on global research in history, sociology and political science, the book looks at how, where and why football fans and supporters' groups introduce particular role models into their self-identity and performative narratives.

The book presents original, cutting-edge research that illustrates the complex, multidimensional nature of the (re-)formulation of collective memory and the elevation of role models. It looks at the processes by which some supporters' groups celebrate historical and contemporary figures – including political leaders, warriors, revolutionaries, or armed resistance groups – that they believe embody patriotic, regional or nationalist virtues, as well as supporters' groups who define their patriotism in opposition to these figures. The book presents cases ranging from Ukrainian football ultras in the shadow of Russian aggression and Jewish role models in Germany's collective football memory to the symbology of Che Guevara and Diego Maradona in Brazilian and Argentinian football to hero formation and the myths of national identity in Australian football.

This is fascinating reading for anybody with an interest in the sociology, culture or politics of sport, or in fandom, identity, nationalism more broadly in sociology, political science or history.

Przemysław Nosal is Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Sociology at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland. His research interests cover the sociology of sport, culture studies, sociology of gambling and social policy. He is a member of the European Sociological Association and the Polish Sociological Association.

Radosław Kossakowski is Associate Professor in sociology in the Institute of Sociology at the University of Gdańsk, Poland. His research interests are focused on the sociology of sport, football studies, qualitative methodology, and masculinities studies.

Wojciech Woźniak is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Economics and Sociology at the University of Łódź, Poland. His research interests include sociology of sport (particularly the relations between sport and politics) social inequality, public/political discourse analysis and Finnish public policies.

Critical Research in Football

The *Critical Research in Football* book series was launched in 2017 to showcase the inter- and multi-disciplinary breadth of debate relating to 'football'. The series defines 'football' as broader than association football, with research on rugby, Gaelic and gridiron codes also featured. Including monographs, edited collections, short books and textbooks, books in the series are written and/or edited by leading experts in the field whilst consciously also affording space to emerging voices in the area, and are designed to appeal to students, postgraduate students and scholars who are interested in the range of disciplines in which critical research in football connects. The series is published in association with the *Football Collective,* @FB_Collective.

Available in this series:

Football, Power, and Politics in Argentina
Eugenio Paradiso

Women's Football, Culture, and Identity
Kate Themen

Social Control and Disorder in Football
Responses, Regulation, Rupture
Edited by Mark Turner and Jan Andre Lee Ludvigsen

Football, Fandom and Collective Memory
Global Perspectives
Edited by Przemysław Nosal, Radosław Kossakowski and Wojciech Woźniak

https://www.routledge.com/Critical-Research-in-Football/book-series/CFSFC

Football, Fandom and Collective Memory

Global Perspectives

Edited by Przemysław Nosal,
Radosław Kossakowski and
Wojciech Woźniak

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2024
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-032-44920-3 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-44923-4 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-37452-7 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003374527

Typeset in Optima

by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

Contents

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, we would like to thank all the authors for their excellent collaboration. Thanks to you, our editorial work was pure pleasure. We thank Jean-Michel de Waele, who may be called "the Godfather" of this volume, as he initiated the webinar "Official Heroes and Contested guerrillas: The Role Models of Football Fans' Patriotism." This book is in large part based on the papers submitted for this event.

We also wish to thank all the people who helped us at every stage of working on this book. We are grateful to anonymous reviewers for inspiriting and constructive remarks, comments and suggestions. We have been provided with excellent support by the people of Routledge: Rebecca Connor and Simon Whitmore.

Personally, each of us would like to thank:

Przemysław – I would like to thank my family: Agnieszka, Tosia and Olek. The Faculty of Sociology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan provides me with comfortable working conditions, for which I am very grateful. Thanks to Radek and Wojtek for yet another project we worked on together.

Radosław – I am grateful to my whole family and Przemysław and Wojciech for wonderful intellectual friendship.

Wojciech – I would like to thank my wife (and a colleague) Magdalena Rek-Woźniak who is the source of constant support in all life- and work-related issues. I also thank all my friends from the terraces of Widzew Łódź, the best football club there is. And many thanks to Przemek and Radek for another fruitful cooperation.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Contributors

Pavel Brunssen is Research Associate and Alfred Landecker Lecturer at the Research Center on Antigypsyism at Heidelberg University, Germany. Brunssen's research interests include antisemitism, antigypsyism, memory cultures, European soccer and fan cultures. He received the Marshall Weinberg Prize for his dissertation on "The Making of 'Jew Clubs': Performing Jewishness and Antisemitism in European Soccer and Fan Cultures." In 2011, Pavel co-founded a magazine called *Transparent*, which focuses on the political aspects of soccer fan cultures in Germany and of which he was editor in chief until 2017.

Bernardo Buarque de Hollanda is Associate Professor at the School of Social Sciences and Researcher at the Centre for Research and Documentation on Brazilian Contemporary History at the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV/CPDOC), Brazil.

Manase Kudzai Chiweshe is Senior Lecturer in the Community and Social Development Department at the University of Zimbabwe and Research Associate in the Department of Sociology at Rhodes University, South Africa. Dr Chiweshe's research interests include the sociology of everyday life in African spaces, focusing on football, gender, social identity and livelihoods.

Michael Cole is a PhD Candidate at the University of Tartu, Estonia, and Early-Stage Researcher in the Marie Curie Horizon 2020 project "FATIGUE." His PhD dissertation examines the influence of Russia on far-right populist discourses in Georgia and Ukraine. Michael's research interests include the relationship between football and far right politics and visual expressions of nationalism and identity in popular culture.

Gerald Dandah is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. His research interests include sport sociology, sport, gender and the media, sport for development and social inclusion and sport. He is currently a practising freelance sport journalist and a FIFA certified sports manager.

Antonio Donato is a PhD Candidate in Pedagogical, Educational and Instructional Sciences at the University of Padua, Italy. His research focuses on body education in institutional, productive and social contexts, mainly in Physical Cultural Studies (PCS). He is a member of the Leib Association.

Ricardo Duarte Bajaña has a PhD in Social Anthropology from Universidad Iberoamericana CDMX, Mexico. Currently he is Professor at Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia de Colombia (UNAD) and Universidad Pedagógica Nacional de Colombia. In his research he explores the relationships between youth, clientelism and corporatist states and sociocultural diversity in university academic groups, sport groups, soccer fans, women confined in penitentiary centers and neighborhood communities.

Eduardo Galak is a PhD in Social Sciences at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina, currently working at the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET). His research focuses on the history of body education, mainly in the following areas: culture, society, sports, embodiment, media, physical education and schooling processes. He is studying the link between cinema and body education through documentary movement image.

Gheorghe Andrei is a PhD Student in Political Science at the University of Bucharest, Romania, and Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales Paris (EHESS), France. He's also an expert in Romanian communism as a Researcher at the Romanian National Council for the Study of the Archives of Securitate (CNSAS). His field of research concerns the study of post-communist transition, nationalism, populism and conspiracy theories in eastern European countries, while his thesis focuses on the comparative analysis of the rise of populism in Romania, Hungary and Poland after the 2008–2009 global crisis.

Katarzyna Herd is Researcher and Lecturer in the Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences at Lund University, Sweden. Her dissertation was entitled "We Can Make New History Here: Rituals of Producing History in Swedish Football Clubs." It was based on ethnographic fieldwork in four Swedish clubs: AIK, Djurgårdens IF, Helsingborgs IF and Malmö FF. Herd conducted a postdoc project at Åbo Akademi University concerning Swedish-speaking football clubs in Finland.

Dorna Javan has a PhD in political science from SciencesPo Lyon, University of Lyon II, France, where Dr Javan is temporary Teaching and Research Assistant.

Roger Magazine is Professor of Social Anthropology and Director of the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City, Mexico. He has published on street children, soccer fans and sociocultural alterity in Mexico.

Jorge Negroe is a PhD Student in Social Anthropology at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City, Mexico, and Research Assistant of Dr Roger Magazine. He is the author of some published papers on football fans and Barras Bravas.

Andrej Ivan Nuredinović is Assistant in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zagreb, Croatia. He works in the Faculty of Kinesiology as an External Associate for the Kinesiological Sociology and the Sports, Fans, and Youth Cultures course. His dissertation, completed in 2023, studied hooligan and ultras subcultural influence on the identity formation of a particular group of Dinamo Zagreb (Croatia) supporters.

Keith Parry is Head of Department in the Department of Sport and Event Management at Bournemouth University, UK, and Adjunct Fellow of Western Sydney University, Australia. His research interests are primarily focused on identity, sport and in/exclusion and how both traditional and newer, online media formats are used to present and discuss these subjects. His recent research has focused on media coverage and framing of a variety of topics such as mental health, LGBT inclusivity, women's football, concussion in association football and rugby and racism.

Lorenzo Pedrini has a PhD in Sociology from the University of Milan-Bicocca, Italy. His research interests address the study of collective movements, cultural practices and representations. He has conducted ethnographic inquiries on people's boxing (boxe popolare), martial arts, sports coaching and Italian football fandoms, aiming at deconstructing the micropolitics of the everyday experience concerning the situated pedagogies, power relations, collective meanings and self-transformation processes.

Raphael Rajão Ribeiro is Professor in the Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Ceará, Brazil. His main interest areas are history of sports, especially the social history of football in Belo Horizonte, urban history and cultural heritage.

Daniel Seabra is Lecturer in Social Sciences at Fernando Pessoa University, Portugal. He is a member of the Interdisciplinary Centre for Social Sciences CIC-Nova (Polo Univ. Minho) and Scientific Coordinator of the Observatory of Violence Associated with Sports, as well as a member of the Permanent Violence and Crime Observatory. Daniel is Member Co-ordinator of the Sociology of Sport section of the Portuguese Sociology Association of Sociology. He continues to research ultras groups, hooliganism, ultras and casual movement and violence in sport as well as anthropology and sport sociology.

Mehdi Hamidi Shafiq is a Freelance Journalist and Social Researcher. He graduated in sociology from the University of Tabriz, Iran.

Dino Vukušić is Higher Assistant at the Institute of Social Sciences "Ivo Pilar," Croatia. As an External Associate, he works at the Faculty of Kinesiology within the Kinesiological Sociology and the Sports, Fans and Youth Cultures courses. He is a member of the research group on the scientific project Researching Emotions in the (Re)construction of Diaspora Identity: Croats in Australia and New Zealand 1945–1991 – CROCEANIA, financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. He also participated in H2020 project CHIEF.

Chapter 1

Introduction to studies on football, fandom and collective memory

Why investigate the role models of football fans?

Przemysław Nosal and Radosław Kossakowski

Introduction

Football fans are an essential part of the football industry, accompanying the development of the sport from its modern beginnings. It is particularly evident in the numerous publications that focus on fan behaviour both from a historical perspective and in relation to the multidimensionality of fan culture that has developed over the past decades (Dunning et al., 1988). In fact, since the early days of modern football, fans have been 'knitted together' with the football culture, the footballers and the events in the stadiums. It was primarily due to the similarity – mainly in terms of class – between fans and footballers. Until the end of the twentieth century, it was possible to maintain, albeit essentially only on a mythological level, a narrative about such a class homology between the world of fans and the field of football (Giulianotti, 1999). For many decades, such an identifying symbiosis was based on the assumption that football grew out of and was specific to a working-class environment. It is remarkable that even today, when football is first and foremost a billion-dollar business, the myth of shared – working-class – roots resonate in hyper-modern stadiums (Hughson, 2009). This myth is maintained primarily by the fans, although the clubs, which are corporately managed brands (in many cases global), also appeal to this traditionalist content. The situation is paradoxical in that, due to economic pressures, the middle and upper classes have increasingly become the recipients of the commercial entertainment that football has become when we speak about the highest echelons of football on a global, European or national scale (Giulianotti, 2011).

Contemporary football is saturated with references to historical events, memorable moments, and, above all, people – legends – who are saved from oblivion by monuments erected in front of stadiums, commemorative displays or showcases in club museums (Yang, 2017). This nostalgic component in football culture, on the one hand, is a guarantee of continuity between a "golden age" in which things were "different" (implicitly: better, more authentic) and the club community formed a unique unity; and what it is now: a moment full of dilemmas about the boundaries of commercial compromises

DOI: 10.4324/9781003374527-1

made to keep up with football competition. Tradition, history and nostalgia fulfil essential functions as an identity "fuse" – they can always be invoked when economic pragmatics force, for example, the sale of the club to a foreign investor. Tradition and the myths of the past are the last weapons that fans can use in a clash with economics. It is a weapon that sometimes brings results, as evidenced by fans "defending" the club's colours, crest or name (Hayton et al., 2017), although this is not the rule (as in the cases of clubs managed by Red Bull Company). History and tradition also serve as the "opiate" of the fans – even as commercial processes tighten the noose ever tighter on modern football, identity myths help anaesthetise the unbearable feeling that "our" club is "ours" only symbolically (Cocieru et al., 2019). However, ownership rights are in the hands of "strangers": individuals and companies who originate from outside the local context (and are therefore not "one of us"); history and a sense of continuity help to maintain supporter identity. This identity, based on identification with history and tradition, is becoming even more pronounced nowadays when it opposes the business-orientated tendencies in sport (after all, everything can be bought, but not "our identity"). Another consequence of the fans' strong attachment to the non-material space of the club is the widespread – multifaceted – fans' activism in recent years, concerning, above all, the defence of tradition against commercialisation (Cleland et al., 2018; Antonowicz et al., 2015). It is somewhat of a paradox that the reflexivity from which this activism arises is the result of commercial, neoliberal forces in football (Numerato, 2015).

Football fans and social identification

The attachment to a club, its history, its colours and its traditions did not start in recent years due to economic pressures. However, the essence of this phenomenon becomes essential in the context of commercialisation and becomes an object of interest for marketing. Because football has become an attractive product, fans are perceived as consumers whose demand for 'belonging' becomes a valuable economic asset. All the more so because – unlike consumers of classic brands (e.g. food or clothing) – fans are specific consumers: their loyalty does not end when the quality of the 'product' diminishes. In other words, fans can support (also financially) their club in a situation of relegation to a lower league or a series of defeats, as described in the literature as "West Ham syndrome" (Parker & Stuart, 1997). This attitude seems invaluable from the view of commercial processes in contemporary sports. It is not surprising, therefore, that a large number of articles on fan identification with the club (brand) appear in the academic literature on sports marketing and various typologies of fan identity (Branscombe & Wann, 1991) emerge from these analyses. The knowledge from these studies can be applied to the diverse marketing campaigns that sports organisations and clubs can undertake.

Topics related to fan attachment and identification are also of interest to sociology and social psychology. In the former case, the analyses mainly focus on qualitative research, which yields – sometimes very expressively articulated – testimonies about the love for a club and the role that fan identity plays in the everyday existence of individuals (Kossakowski, 2021). Sociological studies of fan identification and "fervour" result in conceptual taxonomies of fan identity (Giulainotti, 2002). Social identity theory, used to study the identification of football fans with their groups, has also proven to be a powerful and fertile research approach. Numerous studies in this area show that in various situations (e.g. street fights or confrontations against police), the identities of individual fans become one with the social identity of the group, making fans more inclined to pro-group actions, even if these involve danger and risk (Stott et al., 2001). Interdisciplinary research employing the methodologies of sociology and social psychology shows that in the case of committed fans, a phenomenon called "identity fusion" can occur when members of fan groups experience a visceral sense of oneness with the group (Kossakowski & Besta, 2018; Besta & Kossakowski, 2018).

Areas of non-football-related social identification – state, nation, local community

The specificity of strong supporter identification goes beyond the contexts of football clubs and stadiums, although it undoubtedly grows out of them. Love for a club is very often linked at the same time to love for the local region to which the club belongs. In many instances, the club is a representative, a carrier of a symbol of local identity, often more critical to the fan than, for example, local heritage sites. The club's specific addition to the catalogue of local identity is not necessarily the result of an artificial mechanism or an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983), as many clubs and stadiums, are embedded in the historical fabric of the city or region. In addition, this unification of the club with the locality is reflected symbolically – it is not uncommon for the clubs' coats of arms to include symbols associated with the locality, such as the towers of castles or the towers of churches. This symbolic dimension underlines that the club is an equally important (for supporters more important) part of the local identity (Gómez-Bantel, 2016).

Therefore, it is unsurprising that, around the world, supporting the club crosses the sporting dimension and moves to the municipal, regional or even national level. One could say that club "patriotism" is being transmitted into regional or national patriotism. Fans of the Dutch Twente Enschede express their love for the club and the region they come from by using the phrase "Proud to be Tukker!" ("Tukker" is a term describing a member of the local community), and the emblems on the club's scarves (including its logo) feature an image of a horse, reflecting the region's agricultural character (Kossakowski, 2013). For FC Barcelona supporters, their club is not only

a source of football fascination but also a symbolic vehicle for the region's identity, Catalonia (and at the same time, a means of expressing dissent from the national capital; Shobe, 2008). Spain is also home to Athletic Bilbao, whose fans ardently support the club's policy of only recruiting players with Basque roots. The club's logo, which supporters proudly wear on scarves, caps, or shirts, includes important symbols of Basque identity, such as the oak tree symbolising Biscayan freedoms (Vaczi, 2023).

In this context, it is worth emphasising that ultras groups develop "urban patriotism" and use many communication tools, such as flags and banners, to present attachment to and love of the community and city (Ginhoux, 2012). In Italy, the concept of "campanilismo" exists, symbolising the love of one's city depicted in ultras choreographies. For example, Inter ultras displayed an impressive choreography of the Madonnina, the statue of the Madonna that sits atop Milan's cathedral, bedecked in Inter colours. Underneath bore the legend: "Ti Te Dominet Milan" ("You dominate Milan"), which comes from the city's unofficial anthem. In the context of the derby, combined with the use of Inter's colours, it gains an additional, ambiguous meaning. Likewise, ultras of AC Milan have presented many choreographies suggesting that they "rule" the city. One of the performances included a slogan declaring "Fin dall' antichita' tutta mia la citta" ("from ancient times the city is mine"). The local identity is a space of confrontation in other derby rivalries. Ultras from FK Sarajevo presented a banner reading "Jedan Grad Jedan Klub" ("One city one club") during the derby match against FK Zeljeznicar. During the Hamburg derby in 2019, Hamburg ultras displayed a banner saying "Our city and its club," while their St Pauli counterparts displayed a huge tifo stating "Hamburg is brown and white" (brown and white are the colours of St Pauli). In each case, the ultras propagated the vision that only one group can be entitled "owners" of the city (Doidge et al., 2020).

The glorification of the region is sometimes transferred to the national level when fans present topics and ideas dedicated to national heroes or events. This issue can be regarded in the broader context of the political engagement of football fans. During the Madrid derby in 2008, Ultras Sur (Real Madrid group) unveiled a choreography depicting a Nordic king seated upon a throne accompanied by two wolves and two ravens. The Nordic theme was reinforced by runic symbols surrounding the image and the legend "huestes a vencer" ("Victory to the hosts") in a Gothic font (Doidge et al., 2020). The nuance is that the use of Nordic imagery denotes far-right and nationalist sympathies, themes that feature in many of the tifos of ultras in eastern Europe and the Balkan region where the references to national heroes seem strongest. Fans from these regions are more willing to incorporate such symbols and emphasise the warlike representations in their performances. Choreographies decorated with knights, soldiers and warriors refer to an "imagined" historical order and state, but are used as references to current events. For example, the ultras of Spartak Moscow presented a huge image of an army of warriors from

the Middle Ages to celebrate the group's fifteenth anniversary. In Poland, very popular and common historical topics are choreographies dedicated to the "Cursed Soldiers" – the members of anti-communist guerrilla troops operating in Poland in the first years after World War II. As it is assumed, "Cursed Soldiers" represent typological role models for Polish ultras fans who glorify them uncritically (Nosal et al., 2021). In some cases, the glorification of historical persons as role models raises controversy due to past actions undertaken by idealised heroes, which was the case of Croatian fans' recalling of the Independent State of Croatia, a fascist World War II quisling state (Brentin, 2016).

The fans from eastern European and Balkan countries tend to commemorate mainly persons connected with the patriotic (or nationalist) side of the history of their countries/regions. This is associated with the general rightist attitudes of these fans. However, historical role models can also be found in other areas. Fans of Scottish Celtic Glasgow commemorate leaders fighting against British imperialism, for instance, during the Champions League match against AC Milan, the image of William Wallace. During the same match, they also displayed the image of Bobby Sands – the leader of the IRA. The glorification of political revolutionists is – to some extent – not only the expression of historical nostalgia and longing for "real" heroes but also the expression of the rebellious nature of fandom itself, and Celtic Glasgow fans are well known for their anti-system and anti-governmental actions (Atkinson, 2022).

For western European fans, recalling differently orientated role models is much more common. One famous example is Che Guevara as a role model for rebellious, emancipatory social identity. His image was present at Italian, Israeli, French or German stadiums. Fans of Italian Livorno refer to left thinkers and to such persons as Stalin (Doidge 2013). Similarly, ultras of Hapoel Tel Aviv performed choreographies with images of Che Guevara, Karl Marx or Gandhi. Fans from Tel Aviv cultivate their club's working-class and leftist tradition ("Hapoel" means "the worker"). The rebellious nature of ultras fandom is also symbolically demonstrated by the image of Cochise – one of the Apache leaders in resisting intrusions by Mexicans and Americans. He is perceived as a role model, a hero to follow by ultras of the French club Saint Étienne (Ginhoux, 2012). It is significant that in general – regardless of cultural differences – ultras supporters refer to role models who are of insubordinate, rebellious, and anti-system character. Very often, these are characters who have faced the need to defend their identity. The choice of such role models seems understandable in the context of the feeling expressed by ultras fans about being discriminated against and stigmatised by official agents (football organisations, state authorities) (Doidge et al., 2020). This rebellious identity is sometimes expressed by referring to illegal activities and persons. For example, ultras from the Polish club Motor Lublin displayed a giant choreography of a skull with a cowboy hat and masked face above a banner reading

"Bandit city, bandit club." One of Motor's ultras chants contains the words: "It is our habitat of lawlessness." Being "out of the system" or on the verge of the system makes fans more prone to present such criminal models as points of reference even if most fans are not engaged in illegal activities.

Football-related role models

Politicians, historical heroes or contemporary leaders do not exhaust the pantheon of figures glorified or commemorated by fans. History or politics creates additional value for identity work, but football is the most important frame of reference. In this context, fans perceive many football legends (players, coaches, managers) as role models and put much effort into maintaining social memory of them. Fans initiate actions for building monuments around stadiums. Fans call for naming stands at the stadium after legends' names. The images of legends are performed during extraordinary matches. Deciding who deserves to be called a legend (worthy of commemoration) is not based on a simple rule. However, the indisputable quality behind fans' choices is the dedication to the club or unremarkable character. Fans glorify footballers (coaches) who have spent a long period at their club (the ideal candidate for a role model in this context is an alumnus of the club who has spent his entire career at the club) because this confirms the importance of tradition and reinforces historical continuity. Footballers are worthy of being role models precisely because their example goes against the prevailing trends in commercial football, where players and coaches are for hire. Bill Shankly, Bobby Charlton, Alex Ferguson, and Maradona are figures who are connected to the club's history. Fans owe them something for spectacular and remarkable achievements (Brescia & Paz, 2023).

The role models in the collective memory of football fans'

Most of the research on fans' social identification is twofold. On the one hand, studies often focus on one specific theme – patriotism, racism, or resentment towards sexual minorities. They then analyse this element across multiple supporter groups (e.g. nationalism in Polish football fandom, racism among English supporters). On the other hand, a specific group of supporters is examined. Then, all forms of fan involvement, such as flags, banners or songs, are described. This stream also approaches the characteristics of the fans' collective (e.g. the local commitment of FC Barcelona fans).

Investigating the role models of football fans' patriotism combines these two approaches. Historical or contemporary persons praised in the stadiums play an important role to one particular group of fans (e.g. local heroes), while at the same time they are representing a set of universal values (e.g. bravery, loyalty, honour). Role models tell us what supporters have in common with each other (within one supporter group) and what they have in common with different supporters' groups (e.g. conflicting supporter groups

celebrate the same hero). In addition, they also show fans' relation to the local or national community. As a result, such research provides a wealth of information about fan activity and their sense of identity, patriotism and shared collective memory. However, adopting such a research orientation also brings many other benefits. First, it reminds us that fans attribute various cultural meanings to football matches. Many of these go far beyond football and concern politics, history, or social issues. It is an obvious thesis but emphasises that a sporting event is a cultural text (Jary et al., 1991). In turn, different operations are performed – dominant/ oppositional/ negotiated reading, acts of prosumption and cultural poaching. Fans use the match for their ends (Critcher, 1979). They attribute meanings that seem relevant to them (e.g. political manifestation, expressing opposition to situations in public life) to different aspects of football.

Second, researching the role models of football fans shows the connection between the sociology of sports and celebrity studies (Andrews & Jackson, 2001; Williams, 2006). The linking element between them is fandom. Celebrity reminds us that football is subject to the exact mechanisms of all other areas of the entertainment industry: mediatisation, individualisation, globalisation, the attention economy and the role of performance. Paradoxically, focussing on the individual allows us to see several vital processes around the individual – discussions about shared values or ways of building community.

Third, most of the studies on fans' social identification use abstract categories, like "patriotism," "freedom," "brotherhood" or "bravery." They are easy to proclaim because one does not know what they mean precisely. In contrast, honouring chosen figures in the stands provides specific examples of those abstract categories (Holt et al., 1996). The praised persons embody abstract ideas but have specific biographies, did specific things in their lives and acted in specific circumstances. For example, they show how patriotism concretely manifested during World War II. They are living symbols of essential values. Besides, their image is easy to display on banners or flags.

On the other hand, the figures show the complexity of reality, particularly concerning patriotism. The sociopolitical engagement of people is described in simplistic oppositions: patriotism vs betrayal, left vs right, conservative vs liberal and racist vs anti-racist. However, analysing the figures celebrated by fans shows the multidimensionality of human actions. Many of the supporters' role models are people who make diverse political choices; for example, they cooperate with the regime but support the local community. Fans weigh their merits and sins and decide whether they deserve respect. The case of Ludwik Sobolewski, described in one of the chapters, is illustrative. He is the legendary chairman of the football club Widzew Łódź, who was also a communist officer in the infamous military unit. Although Widzew fans hold anti-communist views, they celebrate the memory of Sobolewski.

Fourth, analysing the supporters' role models leads to discussing official and unofficial patriotic figures. It provides a map of mainstream and alternative national symbols. Investigating the "official" role models is investigating pop patriotism (Edensor, 2002) or banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). It is a dominant patriotic discourse constructed by the state and its media. "Unofficial" role models supplement or contest the dominant discourse. Many figures appearing in the stands are examples of guerrilla patriotism (Nosal et al., 2021), a particular mode of patriotism and collective memory. In this model, not the official national heroes but somewhat controversial figures are praised. Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik, in their work on political memory (Bernhard & Kubik, 2014), use the categories of "mnemonic actors" and "memory regimes." The concept of guerrilla patriotism applies those categories to study the role of individual and collective (institutional) actors (both praised and despised) who became themes in collective memories within football fandom.

Fifth, analysing the significance of role models in fans' lives can be viewed in the context of changing perceptions of history or even shifting historical narratives and attitudes towards them. Processes related to historical knowledge, the increasing and changing role of education and the emergence of new perspectives on the past influence the reformulation of ideals and heroes within the realm of fan imagination. In many cases, historical discoveries allow for uncovering new facts about previously "flawless" heroes. For instance, in recent times in Western culture, there has been a tendency to topple statues and express opposition to postcolonial history. Supporters, generally, do not participate in such large-scale political actions (at least they are rarely visible as a distinguished group); they often focus on individual heroes, frequently of local significance. The significance of these role models often changes over time, as evidenced by the fascination of Polish fans with guerrilla units like the Cursed Soldiers (Nosal et al., 2021), who have relatively recently become role models in Polish stadiums due to the changing context of memory politics in the country.

Sixth, role models in football are necessary to reinforce the identity-related message that goes beyond the consumerist nature of the sport. They legitimise the "anti-consumerist" character of the most passionate fans by connecting the fans' identity with transcendent values that elevate fandom practice. Role models often occupy normative spaces associated with qualities such as honour, loyalty and fidelity – qualities that, according to fans, are lacking in the football world. Key figures in this regard are footballers from the "golden days," such as Maradona or Cruyff, and especially local players (or coaches) from the past who were "boys from the neighbourhood." Evoking their presence represents a form of "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983), creating a sense of times that no longer exist and forging traditions that might be considered a "swan song" in the business-driven circumstances of modern football. The role of such role models may paradoxically grow over time – primarily because it is increasingly rare to encounter "boys from the

neighbourhood" in modern football, thus enhancing the iconic nature of former local and national heroes. As time passes, details of their lives may fade away, leaving what is necessary for fans' identity-related work.

Research questions asked and unasked – the book's aims and content

This book explores the complex and multidimensional sphere of role models and collective memory in the world of football fans. The identity of fans has already been analysed in the scientific literature. However, the existing literature has yet to explore implementing historical or contemporary heroes as the role of models in the world of fans. This edited volume intends to fill this gap. This book constitutes an innovative and new approach to fans' identity and (re)formulations of the collective memory, analysing the influence of role models, history and patriotism, bringing together authors from various countries and disciplines.

The book presents different kinds of role models in various geographical regions. Particular emphasis is given to the relations between role models and fans' national and local patriotism. As authors in this volume will show, some supporter groups use specific characters that they believe represent the nation, country, sometimes city or even district and embody patriotic attitudes. These include mainly recognised historical figures – former rulers, liberators or famous warriors. However, persons from more recent history also appear – e.g. revolutionaries, social movement leaders, politicians or armed resistance groups. At the same time, many supporters define their patriotism precisely by contesting these figures – by expressing opposition to them and their vision of patriotism. The works link contemporary research on the football fandom and dominant collective memory within the fandom with the historical research about the role models commemorated and contested at the football stands.

The authors discuss how, where and why fans introduce particular role models in their identity and performative narration. In their chapters, authors provide cultural, social and political context, stimulating specific characters' use in fans' narrations and performances.

The volume contains three main parts. In this Introduction, we outline the theoretical framework of the texts available in the book. It provides a broader perspective and a deeper understanding of the phenomena.

The core part of the publication consists of texts presenting the collective memory and role models' case studies. They are divided into three sections. In the "Role models, nation and patriotism" section, the authors focus on the relationship between nation, patriotism and fans' role models. Michael Cole assesses the performative patriotism of Ukrainian football ultras in the context of Russian aggression. Bernardo Buarque de Hollanda and Raphael Rajão Ribeiro consider the political and war symbolism in the universe of Brazil supporters with particular attention to the figure of Che Guevara.

Andrej Nuredinović and Dino Vukušić investigate the expression of patriotism among Bad Blue Boys. Roger Magazine and Ricardo Duarte Bajaña explore the rejection of individuals as heroes in football supporters' groups in Mexico. Finally, Keith Perry explores hero formation and the myth of national identity in Australian football.

The section "Role models and history" includes four papers. Pavel Brunssen analyses the Jewish role models in Germany's collective football memory. Wojciech Woźniak describes the case of Ludwik Sobolewski – the president of Widzew Łódź football club. Roger Magazine and Jorge Rosendo Negroe Alvarez write about Cuauhtémoc Blanco, and Antonio Donato, Eduardo Galak and Lorenzo Pedrini treat Diego Maradona.

The "Teams and their role models" section analyses the various football figures as mnemonic heroes. Gerald Dandah and Manase Kudzai Chiweshe focus on Zimbabwe's football Dream Team. Mehdi Hamidi Shafigh and Dorna Javan describe the reconstruction and publicisation of the Turkish-Azerbaijani ethnicity and identity issues through the case of the Traktor Football Club. Petrolul Ploiești and its fans are the topics of Andrei Gheorghe's paper. Daniel Seabra presents the collective memory of ultras in Portugal. The text aims to demonstrate how the two Ultra groups that support Futebol Clube do Porto emulate the club and its legendary president Pinto da Costa. Finally, Katarzyna Herd investigates how to become a local hero by analysing the career paths in modern football viewed by scouts and players.

In the Conclusion, Przemysław Nosal, Radosław Kossakowski, and Wojciech Woźniak synthesise the outcomes of all the articles presented in the book. This chapter discusses the similarities and differences of the specific cases, how they may or may not intersect and what more general assumptions can be drawn on their basis.

The contributors cover various topics and are diverse in terms of gender, ethnicity, and nationality. Nevertheless, they only touch on a few possible topics related to role models and football fans' patriotism. Further questions arise immediately: How do football fans choose their role models? How do role models correspond with dominant patriotic discourse? What is the role of such figures in the national discourse of football stadiums? Is looking for "controversial" symbols and figures a form of fans' distinction? Do fans use such symbols to stress their "deviant" character? Is praising local characters an act of resistance against globalised and commercialised football? The list of possible research questions shows that using role models as a theoretical framework gives space for various sociological, cultural, anthropological, political or historical research on football fans' patriotism.

References

Andrews, D. L., & Jackson, S. J. (Eds.). (2001). *Sport stars: The cultural politics of sporting celebrity*. Taylor & Francis.

Antonowicz, D., Kossakowski, R., & Szlendak, T. (2015). *Aborygeni i kosumenci. O kibicowskiej wspólnocie, komercjalizacji futbolu i stadionowym apartheidzie*. IFiS PAN.

Atkinson, C. (2022). 'Football fans are not thugs': Communication and the future of fan engagement in the policing of Scottish football. *Policing and Society*, *32*(4), 472–488. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2021.1916491

Bernhard, M., & Kubik, J. (2014). A theory of the politics of memory. In M. Bernhard & J. Kubik (Eds.), *Twenty years after communism* (pp. 7–34). Oxford University Press.

Besta, T., & Kossakowski, R. (2018). Football supporters: Group identity, perception of in-group and out-group members and pro-group action tendencies. *Revista de Psicología del Deporte/Journal of Sport Psychology*, *27*(2), 15–22.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. Sage Publications.

Branscombe, N. R., & Wann, D. L. (1991). The positive social and self concept consequences of sports team identification. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *15*(2), 115–127. https://doi.org/10.1177/019372359101500202

Brentin, D. (2016). Ready for the homeland? Ritual, remembrance, and political extremism in Croatian football. *Nationalities Papers*, *44*(6), 1–17.

Brescia, P., & Paz, M. (Eds.). (2023). *Diego Maradona: A socio-cultural study*. Routledge.

Cleland, J., Doidge, M., Millward, P., & Widdop, P. (2018). *Collective action and football fandom: A relational sociological approach*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Cocieru, O. C., Delia, E. B., & Katz, M. (2019). It's our club! From supporter psychological ownership to supporter formal ownership. *Sport Management Review*, *22*(3), 322–334. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2018.04.005

Critcher, C. (1979). Football since the war. In J. Clarke, C. Critcher, & R. Johnson (Eds.), *Working class culture: Studies in history and theory* (pp. 161–184). Hutchinson.

Doidge, M. (2013). "The birthplace of Italian Communism": Political identity and action amongst Livorno fans. *Soccer and Society*, *14*(2), 246–261.

Doidge, M., Kossakowski, R., & Mintert, S. (2020). *Ultras: The passion and performance of contemporary football fandom*. Manchester University Press.

Dunning, E., Murphy, P., & Williams, J. (1988). *The roots of football hooliganism*. Routledge.

Edensor, T. (2002). *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Routledge.

Ginhoux, B. (2012, Printemps). L'interdiction de stade: Analyse de la mise à l'épreuve de la carrière des supporters de football ultras. *Sociétés et jeunesses en difficulté*, *13*. https://journals.openedition.org/sejed/7423

Giulianotti, R. (1999). *Football: A sociology of the global game*. Polity.

Giulianotti, R. (2002). Supporters, followers, fans and flaneurs: A taxonomy of spectator identities in football. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *26*(1), 25–46.

Giulianotti, R. (2011). Sport mega-events, urban football carnivals and securitized commodification: The case of the English Premier League. *Urban Studies*, *48*(15), 3293–3310.

Gómez-Bantel, A. (2016). Football clubs as symbols of regional identities. *Soccer & Society*, *17*(5), 692–702. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2015.1100430

Hayton, J. W., Millward, P., & Petersen-Wagner, R. (2017). Chasing a tiger in a network society? Hull City's proposed name change in the pursuit of China and East Asia's new middle class consumers. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *52*(3), 279–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690215588526

Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (1983). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

Holt, R., Mangan, J., & Lanfranchi, P. (Eds.). (1996). *European heroes: Myth, identity, sport*. Routledge.

Hughson, J. (2009). The working class and the making of sport. *Sport in Society*, *12*(1), 53–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430802472293

Jary, D., Horne, J., & Bucke, T. (1991). Football 'fanzines' and football culture: A case of successful 'cultural contestation'. *The Sociological Review*, *39*(3), 581–597. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1991.tb00868.x

Kossakowski R. (2013). Proud to be tukker. A football club and the building of local identity: The case of FC twente enschede. *Sociological Review*, *62*(3), 107–127.

Kossakowski, R. (2021). *Hooligans, ultras, activists. Polish football fandom in sociological perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kossakowski, R., & Besta, T. (2018). Football, conservative values, and a feeling of oneness with the group: A study of Polish football fandom. *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, *32*(4), 866–891.

Mariann Vaczi. (2023). The fatedness of place: Basque football and national identities. *National Identities*, *25*(4), 323–338. https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2022.2161091

Nosal, P., Kossakowski, R., & Woźniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. *Sport in Society*, *24*(11), 2050–2065. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1892644

Numerato, D. (2015). Who says "no to modern football?" Italian supporters, reflexivity, and neo-liberalism. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *39*(2), 120–138. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723514530566

Parker, K., & Stuart, T. (1997). The West ham syndrome. *Market Research Society Journal*, *39*(3), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/147078539703900306

Shobe, H. (2008). Football and the politics of place: Football Club Barcelona and Catalonia, 1975–2005. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, *25*(1), 87–105. https://doi.org/10.1080/08873630701822661

Stott, C., Hutchinson, P., & Drury, J. (2001). "Hooligans" abroad? Intergroup dynamics, social identity and participation in collective "disorder" at the 1998 world cup finals. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*(3), 359–384.

Williams, J. (2006). 'Protect me from what I want': Football fandom, celebrity cultures and 'new' football in England. *Soccer & Society*, *7*(1), 96–114. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970500355637

Yang, J. (2017). Football museums: History, identity, and connection. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *34*(17–18), 1872–1882. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2018.1481048

Introduction to studies on football, fandom and collective memory

Andrews, D. L. , & Jackson, S. J. (Eds.). (2001). Sport stars: The cultural politics of sporting celebrity. Taylor & Francis.

Antonowicz, D. , Kossakowski, R. , & Szlendak, T. (2015). Aborygeni i kosumenci. O kibicowskiej wspólnocie, komercjalizacji futbolu i stadionowym apartheidzie. IFiS PAN.

Atkinson, C. (2022). 'Football fans are not thugs': Communication and the future of fan engagement in the policing of Scottish football. Policing and Society, 32(4), 472–488. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2021.1916491

Bernhard, M. , & Kubik, J. (2014). A theory of the politics of memory. In M. Bernhard & J. Kubik (Eds.), Twenty years after communism (pp. 7–34). Oxford University Press.

Besta, T. , & Kossakowski, R. (2018). Football supporters: Group identity, perception of in-group and out-group members and pro-group action tendencies. Revista de Psicología del Deporte/Journal of Sport Psychology, 27(2), 15–22.

Billig, M. (1995). Banal nationalism. Sage Publications.

Branscombe, N. R. , & Wann, D. L. (1991). The positive social and self concept consequences of sports team identification. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 15(2), 115–127. https://doi.org/10.1177/019372359101500202

Brentin, D. (2016). Ready for the homeland? Ritual, remembrance, and political extremism in Croatian football. Nationalities Papers, 44(6), 1–17.

Brescia, P. , & Paz, M. (Eds.). (2023). Diego Maradona: A socio-cultural study. Routledge.

Cleland, J. , Doidge, M. , Millward, P. , & Widdop, P. (2018). Collective action and football fandom: A relational sociological approach. Palgrave Macmillan.

Cocieru, O. C. , Delia, E. B. , & Katz, M. (2019). It's our club! From supporter psychological ownership to supporter formal ownership. Sport Management Review, 22(3), 322–334. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2018.04.005

Critcher, C. (1979). Football since the war. In J. Clarke , C. Critcher , & R. Johnson (Eds.), Working class culture: Studies in history and theory (pp. 161–184). Hutchinson.

Doidge, M. (2013). "The birthplace of Italian Communism": Political identity and action amongst Livorno fans. Soccer and Society, 14(2), 246–261.

Doidge, M. , Kossakowski, R. , & Mintert, S. (2020). Ultras: The passion and performance of contemporary football fandom. Manchester University Press.

Dunning, E. , Murphy, P. , & Williams, J. (1988). The roots of football hooliganism. Routledge.

Edensor, T. (2002). National identity, popular culture and everyday life. Routledge.

Ginhoux, B. (2012, Printemps). L'interdiction de stade: Analyse de la mise à l'épreuve de la carrière des supporters de football ultras. Sociétés et jeunesses en difficulté, 13. https://journals.openedition.org/sejed/7423

Giulianotti, R. (1999). Football: A sociology of the global game. Polity.

Giulianotti, R. (2002). Supporters, followers, fans and flaneurs: A taxonomy of spectator identities in football. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 26(1), 25–46.

Giulianotti, R. (2011). Sport mega-events, urban football carnivals and securitized commodification: The case of the English Premier League. Urban Studies, 48(15), 3293–3310.

Gómez-Bantel, A. (2016). Football clubs as symbols of regional identities. Soccer & Society, 17(5), 692–702. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2015.1100430

Hayton, J. W. , Millward, P. , & Petersen-Wagner, R. (2017). Chasing a tiger in a network society? Hull City's proposed name change in the pursuit of China and East Asia's new middle class consumers. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 52(3), 279–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690215588526

Hobsbawm, E. , & Ranger, T. (1983). The invention of tradition. Cambridge University Press.

Holt, R. , Mangan, J. , & Lanfranchi, P. (Eds.). (1996). European heroes: Myth, identity, sport. Routledge.

Hughson, J. (2009). The working class and the making of sport. Sport in Society, 12(1), 53–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430802472293

Jary, D. , Horne, J. , & Bucke, T. (1991). Football 'fanzines' and football culture: A case of successful 'cultural contestation'. The Sociological Review, 39(3), 581–597. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1991.tb00868.x

Kossakowski R. (2013). Proud to be tukker. A football club and the building of local identity: The case of FC twente enschede. Sociological Review, 62(3), 107–127.

Kossakowski, R. (2021). Hooligans, ultras, activists. Polish football fandom in sociological perspective. Palgrave Macmillan.
Kossakowski, R. , & Besta, T. (2018). Football, conservative values, and a feeling of oneness with the group: A study of Polish football fandom. East European Politics and Societies and Cultures, 32(4), 866–891.
Mariann Vaczi . (2023). The fatedness of place: Basque football and national identities. National Identities, 25(4), 323–338. https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2022.2161091
Nosal, P. , Kossakowski, R. , & Woźniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. Sport in Society, 24(11), 2050–2065. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1892644
Numerato, D. (2015). Who says “no to modern football?” Italian supporters, reflexivity, and neo-liberalism. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 39(2), 120–138. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723514530566
Parker, K. , & Stuart, T. (1997). The West ham syndrome. Market Research Society Journal, 39(3), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/147078539703900306
Shobe, H. (2008). Football and the politics of place: Football Club Barcelona and Catalonia, 1975–2005. Journal of Cultural Geography, 25(1), 87–105. https://doi.org/10.1080/08873630701822661
Stott, C. , Hutchinson, P. , & Drury, J. (2001). “Hooligans” abroad? Intergroup dynamics, social identity and participation in collective “disorder” at the 1998 world cup finals. British Journal of Social Psychology, 40(3), 359–384.
Williams, J. (2006). ‘Protect me from what I want’: Football fandom, celebrity cultures and ‘new’ football in England. Soccer & Society, 7(1), 96–114. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970500355637
Yang, J. (2017). Football museums: History, identity, and connection. The International Journal of the History of Sport, 34(17–18), 1872–1882. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2018.1481048

The evolution of Ukrainian football ultras in the context of war

Ames, N. (2022a, April 13). ‘I cry every day’: In the stands with Ukrainians as Dynamo Kyiv play again. The Guardian. Retrieved March 12, 2023, from https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/apr/13/in-the-stands-with-ukrainians-dynamo-kyiv-play-again-match-for-peace-russia
Ames, N. (2022b, August 22). Football to ‘remind what we are dying for’ as season kicks off in Ukraine. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/aug/22/football-ukraine-season-kicks-off
Associated Press . (2017, January 30). Still in exile, Shakhtar Donetsk picks new home. Associated Press. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from https://apnews.com/article/cd40d6fc42b94b20993c333dec116a2a
Barnes, J. (2022, October 26). Ukraine's football hooligans bury the hatchet to fight Russia on the front lines. The Telegraph. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2022/10/26/ukraines-football-hooligans-take-aggression-new-rival-russian/
BBC . (2014, July 23). Shakhtar Donetsk move training and games over Ukraine conflict. BBc. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/28440553
Bretan, J. (2021, March 12). Poland and Israel condemn naming of Ukraine stadium after officer linked to killing of Poles and Jews. Notes from Poland. Retrieved March 12, 2023, from https://notesfrompoland.com/2021/03/12/poland-and-israel-condemn-naming-of-ukraine-stadium-after-officer-linked-to-killing-of-poles-and-jews/
Borowski, C. , & Graham, P. (2012, June 12). Russia, Poland fans clash before Euro 2012 match. Reuters. Retrieved February 4, 2023, from https://www.reuters.com/article/soccer-euro-warsaw-march-idINDEE85B0FU20120612
Cleland, J. , Doidge, M. , Millward, P. , & Widdop, P. (2018). Collective action and football fandom: A relational sociological approach. Springer.
Cole, B. (2022, April 29). ‘Putin Huylo’ meaning as phrase becomes rallying cry for Ukraine support. Newsweek. Retrieved February 23, 2023, from https://www.newsweek.com/putin-

huylo-khuylo-explained-russia-ukraine-putin-language-1702063
Doidge, M. , & Lieser, M. (Eds.). (2020). The ultras: A global football fan phenomenon. Routledge.
Dynamo Kyiv, F. C. (2022). Match for peace #stopwarinukraine: Official website. Retrieved March 12, 2023, from https://stopwarinukraine.fcdynamo.com/
Fisun, O. (2014, July 17). Ukrainian nationalism, soccer clubs and the EuroMaidan. PonArs Eurasia Policy Memo. Retrieved March 9, 2023, from https://www.ponarseurasia.org/ukrainian-nationalism-soccer-clubs-and-the-euromaidan-d78/
Football restarts in Ukraine: Bomb shelters, soldiers & an empty stadium. (2022, August 23). BBC. Retrieved March 7, 2023, from https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/62643590#:~:text=In%20an%20empty%20Olympic%20Stadium,six%20months%20after%20it%20stopped
Gibril, S. (2015). Contentious politics and bottom-up mobilisation in revolutionary Egypt: The case of Egyptian football supporters in Cairo. In Fawaz A. Gerges (Ed.) Contentious politics in the Middle East: Popular resistance and marginalised activism beyond the Arab uprisings (pp. 305–329). Palgrave Macmillan.
Hrininchenko, D. (2021, October 4). “Геть з Києва, іржаві”: Фанати “Динамо” вивісили новий банер проти “Шахтаря” (Фото). Comments.ua. Retrieved March 15, 2023, from https://kyiv.comments.ua/ua/news/society/developments/4365-get-z-kieva-irzhavi-fanati-dinamo-vivisili-noviy-baner-proti-shahtarya-foto.html
Jerzak, C. T. (2013). Ultras in Egypt: State, revolution, and the power of public space. Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements, 5(2), 240–262.
Kaniewski, D. (2018, August 24). ‘Glory to Ukraine’ army chant invokes nationalist past. Deutsche Welle. Retrieved March 14, 2023, from https://www.dw.com/en/new-glory-to-ukraine-army-chant-invokes-nationalist-past/a-45215538
Kossakowski, R. (2023). The long shadow of communism, hooliganism and identity politics: Contemporary football fandom in Eastern Europe. In Bernardo Buarque de Hollanda & Thomas Busset (Eds.) Football fandom in Europe and Latin America: Culture, politics, and violence in the 21st century (pp. 149–171). Springer International Publishing.
Kossakowski, R. , Nosal, P. , & Woźniak, W. (2020). Politics, Ideology and Football Fandom: The Transformation of Modern Poland. Routledge.
Kossakowski, R. , Szlendak, T. , & Antonowicz, D. (2018). Polish ultras in the post-socialist transformation. Sport in Society, 21(6), 854–869.
Krugliak, M. , & Krugliak, O. (2017). The unlikely alliance of Ukrainian football ultras. In Christian Brandt, Fabian Hertal & Sean Huddleston (eds.) Football fans, rivalry and cooperation (pp. 170–184). Routledge.
Kulyk, V. (2014). Ukrainian nationalism since the outbreak of Euromaidan. Ab Imperio, 2014(3), 94–122.
Lascelles, A. (2022, March 11). Pravda Brewery invites the world to ‘brew for Ukraine.’ The Drinks Business. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from https://www.thedrinksbusiness.com/2022/03/pravda-brewery-invites-the-world-to-brew-for-ukraine/
Likhachev, V. (2014). Pravyi Sektor i Drugie. Forum Noveishei Vostochnoevropeiskoi Istorii i Kultury (Russian edition), 11(2), 75–116.
Maglovanyi, O. (2022, October 19). «Пташка» из «Азовстали» исполнила гимн Украины перед матчем «Шахтер» – «Динамо» Tribuna.ua. Retrieved March 12, 2023, from https://ua.tribuna.com/football/1000000018998-ptashka-iz-azovstali-ispolnila-gimn-ukrainy-pered-matche/
Marples, D. R. (2006). Stepan Bandera: The resurrection of a Ukrainian national hero. Europe-Asia Studies, 58(4), 555–566.
Mills, R. (2012). Commemorating a disputed past: Football club and supporters’ group war memorials in the former Yugoslavia. History, 97(328), 540–577.
Mills, R. (2018). The politics of football in Yugoslavia: Sport, nationalism and the state. Bloomsbury Publishing.
Montague, J. (2019, February 20). The age of the ultras. Delayed Gratification. Retrieved January 31, 2023, from https://www.slow-journalism.com/long-reads/age-of-the-ultras
Murphy, M. (2022, July 28). Ukraine war: Pro-Putin chants cause outrage at Turkish football match. BBc. Retrieved March 14, 2023, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-

Nosal, P. , Kossakowski, R. , & Woźniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. Sport in Society, 24(11), 2050–2065.
Orlova, A. (2022, September 22). The icon of Ukrainian resistance: Azovstal defenders released from captivity. Kyiv Post. Retrieved March 12, 2023, from https://www.kyivpost.com/post/1108
Polyakova, A. (2014). From the provinces to the parliament: How the Ukrainian radical right mobilised in Galicia. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 47(2), 211–225.
Popular Front . (2022, June 16). Frontline Hooligan: Ukraine's anti-fascist football ultras fighting Russian invasion. [YouTube Video]. Retrieved January 12, 2023, from
Portnov, A. (2016, June 22). Bandera mythologies and their traps for Ukraine. Open Democracy. Retrieved November 15, 2023, from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/bandera-mythologies-and-their-traps-for-ukraine/
Profootball Digital . (2022, September 26). How does the Karpatska Sich unit fight? / In the trenches with the ultras / Kherson counteroffensive [YouTube Video]. Retrieved March 13, 2023, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MnwxQVLGsmA
Profootball Digital . (2023, January 3). “I will liberate Crimea” Sevastopol's ultras in Azov regiment / Novynskyi's millions club [YouTube Video]. Retrieved March 13, 2023, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=arx4GADn_UM
Rek-Woźniak, M. , & Woźniak, W. (2020). BBC's documentary “stadiums of hate” and manufacturing of the news: Case study in moral panics and media manipulation. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 44(6), 515–533.
Romashko, K. (2019, February 7). Dynamo Kyiv, Blokhin, Lobanovskiy: How Ukrainian football lead the way in the Soviet Union. Ukraine World. Retrieved March 9, 2023, from https://ukraineworld.org/articles/ukraine-explained/dynamo-kyiv-blokhin-lobanovskiy-how-ukrainian-football-lead-way-soviet-union
Rossolinski-Liebe, G. (2014). Stepan Bandera: The life and afterlife of a Ukrainian nationalist. BoD–Books on Demand.
Ruzhelnyk, O. (2018). Ukraine. In Jean-Michel De Waele, Suzan Gibril, Ekaterina Gloriozova, & Ramón Spaaij (Eds.) The Palgrave International Handbook of Football and Politics (pp. 311–326). Palgrave Macmillan.
Sadzhenitsa, I. (2022, August 26). Украинские ультрас создали фонд “Трибуна Героев”, который будет помогать семьям погибших. Sport 24. Retrieved February 3, 2023, from https://sport.24tv.ua/ru/ukrainskie-ultras-sozdali-fond-tribuna-geroev-kotoryj-budet-pomogat-semjam-pogibshih_n2144982
Sands, L. (2022, April 16). Sunken Russian warship Moskva: What do we know? BBC. Retrieved March 13, 2023, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61103927
Senkiv, A. (2017, December 7). «Знаю нескольких человек, которые воюют на той стороне». Один из лидеров фанатов «Зари» – о жизни вне дома. Tribuna.com. Retrieved February 3, 2023, from https://ua.tribuna.com/tribuna/blogs/football_lemderg/1497696/
Senkiv, A. (2019, November 12). Все об ультрас в Украине: Расизм, драки, пиро и отношения с клубами. Tribuna.com. Retrieved February 3, 2023, from https://ua.tribuna.com/tribuna/blogs/football_lemderg/2613741/
Shvets, A. (2016). Legal responses to ‘football hooliganism’ in Ukraine. In Anastassia Tsoukala, Geoff Pearson, & Peter TM Coenen, (Eds.), Legal responses to Football hooliganism in Europe (pp. 147–167). Springer.
Stands of Heroes . (2022). Трибуна Героїв. Retrieved February 3, 2022, from https://www.standsofheroes.com
Tracy, J. (2022, September 15). The nomadic Ukrainian soccer club playing home games in Poland. Axios. Retrieved March 12, 2023, from https://www.axios.com/2022/09/15/ukraine-soccer-club-games-poland
Turan, Ö. , & Özçetin, B. (2019). Football fans and contentious politics: The role of Çarşı in the Gezi Park protests. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 54(2), 199–217.
UA Football . (2020, January 27). Шахтар проведе залишок сезону на Олімпійському. UA Football. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from https://www.ua-football.com/ua/ukrainian/high/1590586848-shahtar-provede-zalishok-sezonu-na-olimpiyskomu.html
Umland, A. (2020). Irregular militias and radical nationalism in post-Euromaidan Ukraine: The prehistory and emergence of the “Azov” battalion in 2014. In Jeffrey Kaplan (ed.), The 21st

century cold war (pp. 105–131). Routledge.
Veth, M. (2013a, March 30). Karpaty Lviv – The pride of galicia. In Jeffrey Kaplan (Ed.), Futbolgrad. Retrieved February 23, 2023, from http://www.futbolgrad.com/karpaty-lviv-the-pride-of-galicia/
Veth, M. (2013b, 20 July). Ukrainian Ultras – Where two wings collide. Futbolgrad. Retrieved February 23, 2023, from http://www.futbolgrad.com/ukrainian-ultras-where-two-wings-collide/
Veth, M. (2014, March 11). Crimea developments – The lonely voice of the Pro-Ukraine Tavriya ultras. Futbolgrad. Retrieved February 23, 2023, from http://www.futbolgrad.com/crimea-developments-the-lonely-voice-of-the-pro-ukraine-tavriya-ultras/
Whyte, A. (2022, May 14). Gallery: Dynamo Kyiv beats Flora 3:0 in ‘match for peace’. ERR News. Retrieved March 12, 2023, from https://news.err.ee/1608597295/gallery-dynamo-kyiv-beats-flora-3-0-in-match-for-peace
Wilson, A. (2014). Ukraine crisis: What it means for the West. Yale University Press.
Wilson, J. (2021, June 12). Ukraine's shirt maps out message that Euro 2020 is about more than just football. The Guardian. Retrieved March 14, 2023, from https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2021/jun/12/ukraines-shirt-maps-out-the-message-that-euro-2020-is-about-more-than-football
Zeller, M. (2011). “Our own internationale,” 1966: Dynamo Kiev fans between local identity and transnational imagination. Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History, 12(1), 53–82.
Zihnioğlu, Ö. (2019, October 24). The legacy of the Gezi protests in Turkey. Carnegie Europe. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from https://carnegieeurope.eu/2019/10/24/legacy-of-gezi-protests-in-turkey-pub-80142
Zhuravlev, O. , & Ishchenko, V. (2020). Exclusiveness of civic nationalism: Euromaidan eventful nationalism in Ukraine. Post-Soviet Affairs, 36(3), 226–245.

The political and war symbology in the universe of the supporters

Becker, H. S. (1977). Mundos artísticos e tipos sociais. In G. Velho (Ed.), Arte e sociedade: ensaios de sociologia da arte (pp. 9–26). Jorge Zahar.
Bromberger, C. (1995). Le match de football: ethnologie d’une passion partisane à Marseille, Naples et Turin. Éd. de la Maison des sciences de l’homme.
Bromberger, C. (1998). Football, la bagatelle la plus serieuse du monde. Bayard Editions.
Cristoffanini, P. R. (2014). Che Guevara: As significações de um ícone global. Sociedade e Discurso, Aalborg, Dinamarca, n. 26, 16–37.
https://journals.aau.dk/index.php/sd/article/view/1091
Durand, G. (2002). As estruturas antropológicas do imaginário. Martins Fontes.
Elias, N. , & Dunning, E. (1994). Sport et civilisation: la violence maîtrisée. Fayard.
Florenzano, J. P. (2010). A babel do futebol: atletas interculturais e torcedores ultras. Revista de História, 163, 149–174.
Garsia, V. P. (2004). A guardia di una fede: gli Ultras della Roma siamo noi. Castelvecchi.
Hollanda, B. B. de (2010). O clube como vontade e representação: o jornalismo esportivo e a formação das torcidas organizadas de futebol no Rio de Janeiro. 7Letras.
Hollanda, B. B. de , & Teixeira, R. da (2022). Nada do Flamengo, tudo pelo Flamengo: memórias da Torcida Jovem do Flamengo. Editora da UFRJ/Faperj.
Hourcade, N. (2014). Les ultras francais forment-ils un mouvement social? In T. Busset , C. Jaccoud , & R. Besson (Eds.), Les autres visages du supporterisme (pp. 78–93). CIES.
Leal, B. F. E. , Marçal, I. J. B. , & Bayma, M. T. V. (2018). Galoucura e Máfia Azul: A trajetória das principais Torcidas Organizadas de Belo Horizonte. Editora do autor.
Lopes, F. T. (2022). Futebol, ativismo e resistência: uma análise crítica de discurso de páginas de Facebook de torcidas antifascistas de São Paulo. Discurso y sociedad, 16, 420–441.
Napolitano, M. (2015). Recordar é vencer: dinâmicas e vicissitudes da construção da memória sobre o regime militar brasileiro. Revista Antíteses, 8(15), 9–44.
Numerato, D. (2019). Football fans, activism and social change. Routledge.
Ortiz, R. (2003). Mundialização e cultura. Brasiliense.

Silva, D. H. (2019). Na berlinda da rivalidade. Ludopédio, 120(35).
Souza, A. L. de (2018). Alianças entre torcidas organizadas: análise a partir da união estabelecida entre a Torcida Organizada Galoucura, a Mancha Alviverde e a Força Jovem (Dissertação Mestrado em Estudos do Lazer). Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.
Teixeira, R. da C. (2004). Os perigos da paixão: visitando jovens torcidas cariocas. Annablume.
Toledo, L. H. de , Souza Junior, R. , & Andrade, M. (2021). Pertencimento clubístico e pertencimento torcedor: materialidade e gênero numa torcida organizada de futebol. Revista Esporte & Sociedade, 34, 1–26.

An example of patriotism within a subcultural group

Anderson, B. (1983). Imagined communities. Verso.
Bartoluci, S. (2020). Sport as a mirror of society: The case of Croatia. In E. Rojo-Labaien , A. Rodriguez Diaz , & J. Rookwood (Eds.), Sport, statehood and transition in Europe (pp. 44–59). Routledge.
BBB top boy, Ultras-Tifo forum - Bad blue boys not welcome at Celtic, Mar 09, 2011 #22. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from http://forum.ultras-tifo.net/bad-blue-boys-not-welcome-at-celtic-t16869-s15.html
Bovan, K. , & Baketa, N. (2022). Stabilnost i/ili promjene? Povjerenje u institucije u Hrvatskoj od 1999. do 2020. Revija za sociologiju, 52(1), 31–60.
Cohen, A. K. (1955). Delinquent boys: The culture of the gang. Free Press.
Franc, R. , & Međugorac, V. (2015). Mladi i (ne) povjerenje u institucije: Moguće odrednice i posljedice. In V. Ilišin , A. Gvozdanović , & D. Potočnik (Eds.), Demokratski potencijali mladih u Hrvatskoj. Institut za društvena istraživanja ; Centar za demokraciju i pravo Miko Tripalo (pp. 47–63).
Hannerz, E. (2015). Performing Punk. Palgrave Macmillan US.
Hannerz, E. (2016). Performing punk. Springer.
Hebdige, D. (1980). Potkultura - Značenje stila. Rad.
Hodges, A. (2016). White Angels Zagreb: Combating homophobia as ‘rural primitivism’. In Bilić, B., & Kajinić, S. (Eds.), Intersectionality and LGBT activist politics: Multiple others in Croatia and Serbia, (pp. 191–212). Springer.
Hrstić, I. , Perasović, B. , & Mustapić, M. (2021). The Yugoslav secret service and Croatian football supporter groups. The International Journal of the History of Sport, 37(15), 1588–1607.
Katunarić, V. (1996). ‘Zvjezdano nebo’: Promjene i determinizam gornjeg stratuma. Revija za sociologiju, 27(3–4), 153–167.
Kossakowski, R. , Nosal, P. , & Woźniak, W. (2021). Politics, ideology and football fandom: The transformation of modern Poland. Routledge.
Lalić, D. (2017). Nogometni navijači kao ekstremni desničari u Hrvatskoj od 2012. do 2014. In V. Ilišin , A. Gvozdanović , & D. Potočnik (Eds.), Demokratski potencijali mladih u Hrvatskoj (pp. 145–167). Institut za društvena istraživanja.
Lalić, D. (2018). Nogomet i politika. Fraktura.
Lalić, D. , & Biti, O. (2008). Četverokut sporta, nasilja, politike i društva: Znanstveni uvid u Europi i u Hrvatskoj. Politička misao: časopis za politologiju, 45(3–4), 247–272.
Mills, R. (2019). Nogomet i politika u Jugoslaviji: Sport, nacionalizam i drzava. Profil Knjiga.
Montague, J. (2011, January 13). Five games that changed the world. Cnn. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from http://edition.cnn.com/2011/SPORT/football/01/05/iraq.asia.six.games/index.html
Nosal, P. , Kossakowski, R. , & Woźniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. Sport in Society, 1–16. doi:10.1080/17430437.2021.1892644
Perasović, B. , & Mustapić, M. (2013). Football supporters in the context of Croatian sociology: Research perspectives 20 years after. Kinesiology, 45(2), 262–275.
Podgorelec, S. (1998). BBB documentary film. Factum. Retrieved July 20, 2023, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t1DnjqamZRE&t=2175s
Šantek, G. P. (2020). ‘There are laws stronger than prescribed’: A contribution to research on the struggle of Dinamo Zagreb supporters for their club, and its social significance. Studia

Ethnologica Croatica, 32(1), 55–73.
Šantek, G. P. , & Vukušić, D. (2016). ‘This is Dinamo!’-the phenomenon of futsal Dinamo as an alternative fan club. Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU, 64(2), 289–302.
Smith, A. D. (1983). Nationalism and classical social theory. The British Journal of Sociology, 34(1), 19–38.
Štulhofer, A. (1999). Povratak u budućnost?: Proces privatizacije i hrvatska javnost 1996–1998. Privatizacija i javnost, Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar.
Thornton, S. (1996). Club cultures: Music, media, and subcultural capital. Wesleyan University Press.
Vrcan, S. (2003). Nogomet – Politika – Nasilje. Ogledi iz sociologije nogometa. Jesenski i Turk; Hrvatsko sociološko društvo.
Williams, J. P. (2011). Subcultural theory: Traditions and concepts. Polity.
Županov, J. (2002). Od komunističkog pakla do divljeg kapitalizma: Odabrane rasprave i eseji (1995–2001). Hrvatska sveučilišna naknada.

The rejection of individuals as heroes in football supporters' groups

Duarte Bajaña, R. (2021). Clientelismos y amistad entre conocidos: El PRI y una barra de futbol en México. Nueva Antropología, 34(94), 26–41.
Lomnitz, L. (1982). Horizontal and Vertical Relations and the Social Structure of Urban Mexico. Latin American Research Review, 17, 51–74.
Magazine, R. (2007). Golden and blue like my heart: Masculinity, youth and power among soccer fans in Mexico City. University of Arizona Press.
Magazine, R. (2012). The village is like a wheel: Rethinking cargos, family and ethnicity in highland Mexico. University of Arizona Press.
Varela Hernández, S. (2012). ¿El club de la polémica o los hijos de Televisa? La identidad americanista a discusión. In R. Magazine , S. Martínez , & S. Varela (Eds.), Afición futbolística y rivalidades en el México contemporáneo: Una mirada nacional (pp. 43–60). Universidad Iberoamericana.

Hero formation and the myth of Australian national identity in Australian football

id . (2023). Profile areas; Greater Western Sydney region. id. http://profile.id.com.au/cws
AMAA . (2015). Newspapers. AMAA.
http://www.auditedmedia.org.au/ed/mobile/browse/type/15,7,8,9
Barthes, R. (1968). Elements of semiology. Hill and Wang.
Boorstin, D. J. (1992). The image: A guide to pseudo-events in America. Vintage Books.
Burke, P. (2009). Popular culture in early modern Europe. Ashgate.
Butler, K. J. (2009). ‘Their culture has survived’: Witnessing to (dis)possession in Bra Boys (2007). Journal of Australian Studies, 33(4), 391–404.
Campbell, J. (2004). The hero with a thousand faces (2004 ed.). Princeton University Press.
Carter, D. (2000). Past and future. In R. Nile (Ed.), The Australian legend and its discontents (pp. 59–77). University of Queensland Press.
Coakley, J. , Hallinan, C. , Jackson, S. J. , & Mewett, P. (2009). Sports in society: Issues and controversies in Australia and New Zealand. Mcgraw-Hill.
Corbin, J. M. , & Strauss, A. L. (2008). Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory. Sage Publications.
Cullen, M. (2009). Western Sydney gathers pace. AFL.
http://www.afl.com.au/news/newsarticle/tabid/208/newsid/79915/default.aspx
Curthoys, A. (1997). History and identity. In W. Hudson & G. Bolton (Eds.), Creating Australia: Changing Australian history (pp. 23–38). Allen & Unwin.

Department of Premier and Cabinet NSW . (2012). About Western Sydney: Demographics. http://www.westernsydney.nsw.gov.au/about-western-sydney/demographics/
Eddy, J. (1991). What are the origins of Australia's national identity? In F. G. Castles (Ed.), Australia compared: People, policies and politics (pp. 17–37). Allen & Unwin.
Elder, C. , & Moore, K. (2012). New voices, new visions: Challenging Australian identities and legacies. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Evers, C. (2008). The Cronulla race riots: Safety maps on an Australian beach. South Atlantic Quarterly, 107(2), 411–429.
Fisher, W. R. (1984). The narrative paradigm: In the beginning. Journal of Communication, 34(1), 74–89.
Fiske, J. , Hodge, B. , & Turner, G. (1987). Myths of Oz: Reading Australian popular culture. Allen & Unwin.
Goodman, J. R. , Duke, L. L. , & Sutherland, J. (2002). Olympic athletes and heroism in advertising: Gendered concepts of valor? Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 79(2), 374–393.
Gorman, S. , Judd, B. , Reeves, K. , Osmond, G. , Klugman, M. , & Mccarthy, G. (2015). Aboriginal rules: The black history of Australian football. The International Journal of The History of Sport, 32(16), 1947–1962.
Griggs, G. , Leflay, K. , & Groves, M. (2012). “Just watching it again now still gives me goose bumps!”: Examining the mental postcards of sport spectators. Sociology of Sport Journal, 29(1), 89–101.
Guttmann, A. (2004). From ritual to recod. Columbia University Press.
Hallinan, C. , & Judd, B. (2009). Changes in assumptions about Australian indigenous footballers: From exclusion to enlightenment. The International Journal of the History of Sport, 26(16), 2358–2375.
Hay, R. (2011). Ethnicity, structure and globalisation: An argument about Association football in Australia, 1958–2010. Sport In Society, 14(6), 833–850.
Henderson, M. (2000). Male fantasy. In R. Nile (Ed.), The Australian legend and its discontents (pp. 250–266). University of Queensland Press.
Holden, T. J. M. (2012). Media made: The reinvention of athletes as heroes, stars, and celebrities in contemporary Japan, In C. Sandvos , M. Real , & A. Bernstein (Eds.), Bodies of discourse: Sports stars, media, and the global public, (pp. 17–36). Peter Lang.
Hutchins, B. (2005). ‘The boy from Bowral’: The role of the bush in the legend of sir Donald Bradman. Journal of Australian Studies, 29(86), 29–35.
Hynes, D. , Kiernan, A. , & Parry, K. D. (2013). Introduction. In D. Hynes , A. Kiernan , & K. D. Parry (Eds.), Football and communities across codes (pp. Vii–Xii). Inter-Disciplinary Press.
Judd, B. , & Butcher, T. (2016). Beyond equality: The place of Aboriginal culture in the Australian game of football. Australian Aboriginal Studies, 1, 68–84.
Kell, P. (2000). Good sports: Australian sport and the myth of the fair go. Pluto Press.
Kelly, P. , & Hickey, C. (2008). The struggle for the body, mind and soul of AFL footballers. Australian Scholarly Publishing.
Klapp, O. E. (1949). Hero worship in America. American Sociological Review, 14(1), 53–62.
Klapp, O. E. (1954). Heroes, villains and fools, as agents of social control. American Sociological Review, 19(1), 56–62.
Knight, G. , Neverson, N. , Macneill, M. , & Donnelly, P. (2007). The weight of expectation: Cathy Freeman, legacy, reconciliation and the Sydney Olympics – A Canadian perspective. The International Journal of the History of Sport, 24(10), 1243–1263.
Kohe, G. Z. (2010). Civic representations of sport history: The New Zealand sports hall of fame. Sport in Society, 13(10), 1498–1515.
Leach, M. (1997). ‘Manly, true and white’: Masculine identity and Australian socialism. In G. Stokes (Ed.), The politics of identity in Australia (pp. 63–77). Cambridge University Press.
Lévi-Strauss, C. (1955). The structural study of myth. The Journal of American Folklore, 68(270), 428–444.
Osmond, G. , & Phillips, M. G. (2011). Reading salute: Filmic representations of sports history. The International Journal of the History of Sport, 28(10), 1463–1477.
Parramatta City Council . (2012). Summary statistics Greater Western Sydney. Parramatta City Council.

Parry, K. D. (2009). Search for the hero: An investigation into the sports heroes of British sports fans. Sport in Society, 12(1), 212–226.
Parry, K. D. (2013). Can't buy me love: The rise and fall of an AFL "hero". In D. Hynes , A. Kiernan , & K. Parry (Eds.), Football and communities across codes (pp. 15–24). Inter-Disciplinary Press.
Parry, K. D. (2021). The formation of heroes and the myth of national identity, Sport in Society, 24(6), 886–903.
Parry, K. D. , Cleland, J. , & Kavanagh, E. (2020). Racial folklore, black masculinities and the reproduction of dominant racial ideologies: The case of Israel Folau. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 55(7), 850–867.
Prior, T. (1995). Sheeds: A touch of cunning. Wilkinson Books.
Rapley, T. (2011). Some pragmatics of data analysis. In D. Silverman (Ed.), Qualitative research: Issues of theory, method and practice (pp. 273–290). Sage.
Rosenberg, B. C. (2009). The Australian football wars: Fan narratives of inter-code and intra-code conflict. Soccer & Society, 10(2), 245–260.
Rowe, D. , & Lawrence, G. (Eds). (1990). Sport and leisure: Trends in Australian popular culture. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers.
Sandercock, L. , & Turner, I. (1981). Up where, Cazaly? Paladin.
Saunders, K. (1998). 'Specimens of superb manhood': The lifesaver as national icon. Journal of Australian Studies, 22(56), 96–105.
Smart, B. (2005). The sports star: Modern sport and the cultural economy of sporting celebrity. Sage.
Stewart, B. (1990). Leisure and the changing patterns of sport and exercise. In D. Rowe & G. Lawrence (Eds.), Sport and leisure: Trends in Australian popular culture (pp. 174–188). Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers.
Stewart, B. (2005). Australian sport — Better by design?: The evolution of Australian sport policy. Taylor & Francis.
Sydney Thunder . (2013). Nick Cummins appointed to lead Sydney thunder. Cricket Australia. http://www.sydneythunder.com.au/news/2013/08/07/nick-cummins-appointed-tolead-sydney-thunder
Taylor, T. , Lock, D. , & Darcy, S. (2009). The Janus face of diversity in Australian sport. Sport in Society, 12(7), 861–875.
Wagg, S. (2007). Angels of us all? Football management, globalisation and the politics of celebrity. Soccer & Society, 8(4), 440–458.
White, L. (2012). Cathy freeman and Australia's indigenous heritage: A new beginning for an old nation at the Sydney 2000 Olympic games. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 19(2), 153–170.
White, R. (1981). Inventing Australia: Images and identity 1688–1980, the Australian experience. George Allen & Unwin.

From collective memory to collective identity

Back, L. (2006). Sounds in the crowd. In M. Bull & L. Back (Eds.), The auditory culture reader (pp. 311–327). Berg.
Baena, V. (2019). Global marketing strategy in professional sports: Lessons from FC Bayern Munich. Soccer & Society, 20(4), 660–674. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2017.1379399
Bayerischer Rundfunk (Director) . (2014a). Landauer—Gefeiert, verbannt, vergessen [Dokumentation].
Bayerischer Rundfunk . (2014b, September 23). LandauerWalk: Auf den Spuren von Kurt Landauer. Bayerischer Rundfunk. https://www.br.de/fernsehen/das-erste/sendungen/kurt-landauer-der-film/die-app100.html
Blaschke, R. (2020). Machtspieler Fußball in Propaganda, Krieg und Revolution. Die Werkstatt.
Brunssen, P. , & Claus, R. (2015). Rechtsextremismus und Fanszenen – Ein analytischer Blick auf die gesellschaftlichen Strukturen. In M. Endemann , R. Claus , G. Dembowski , & J. Gabler (Eds.), Zurück am Tatort Stadion: Diskriminierung und Antidiskriminierung in Fussball-

Fankulturen (pp. 179–194). Die Werkstatt.
Brunssen, P. , & Claus, R. (2017). Wessen Kurve? Hooligans und Ultras in den Fanszenen. In R. Claus, (Eds.), Hooligans: Eine Welt zwischen Fussball, Gewalt und Politik (pp. 156–162). Die Werkstatt.
Burke, P. (2011). From ‘history as social memory’. In J. K. Olick , V. Vinitzky-Seroussi , & D. Levy (Eds.), The collective memory reader (pp. 188–192). Oxford University Press.
Club Nr. 12 . (2021, February 8). Infos zum aktuellen Geschehen in Katar—Club Nr. 12. https://clubnr12.org/news/206-infos-zum-aktuellen-geschehen-in-katar
Doidge, M. , Kossakowski, R. , & Mintert, S. (2020). Ultras: The passion and performance of contemporary football fandom. Manchester University Press.
Erlebnis Fussball . (2008, August). Interview Schickeria München. Erlebnis Fussball, 39, 26–29.
Faszination Fankurve . (2022). 20 Jahre Schickeria München: Choreografie & Zaunfahnen-Comeback. Faszination Fankurve. https://www.faszination-fankurve.de/news/48366/20-jahre-schickeria-muenchen-choreografie-zaunfahnen-comeback
FC Bayern München . (n.d.). Sweatshirt Heimat. FC Bayern Store. Retrieved 28 April 2021, from https://fcbayern.com/shop/de/sweatshirt-heimat/24967/
Fischer, G. , & Lindner, U. (1999). Stürmer für Hitler: Vom Zusammenspiel zwischen Fussball und Nationalsozialismus. Die Werkstatt.
Fleckenstein, J. , & Salamander, R. (2021). Kurt Landauer—Der Präsident des FC Bayern Lebensbericht und Briefwechsel mit Maria Baumann. Insel Verlag.
Giulianotti, R. , & Robertson, R. (2009). Globalization and football. SAGE.
Havemann, N. (2005). Fussball unterm Hakenkreuz: Der DFB zwischen Sport, Politik und Kommerz. Campus.
Heinrich, A. (2000). Der Deutsche Fussballbund: Eine politische Geschichte. PapyRossa.
Herzog, M. (2021). FC Bayern Munich as a ‘victim’ of National Socialism? Construction and critique of a ‘heroic myth’. Sport in History, 41(1), 131–152. https://doi.org/10.1080/17460263.2020.1766548
Hofmann, G. (2022). Mitspieler der ‘Volksgemeinschaft’: Der FC Bayern und der Nationalsozialismus. Wallstein.
Jonas, F. (2007, June 13). Die Süd schweigt—Grabesstimmung in Fröttmaning. 11FREUNDE. https://11freunde.de/artikel/die-süd-schweigt/358149
Jureit, U. , & Schneider, C. (2010). Gefühlte Opfer: Illusionen der Vergangenheitsbe-wältigung. Klett-Cotta.
Kämper, D. (2014). Kurt Landauer: Der Mann, der den FC Bayern erfand (2nd ed.). Orell Füssli Verlag.
Kinast, F. (2021, February 11). FC Bayern München und Katar: Eine problematische Partnerschaft. Der Spiegel. https://www.spiegel.de/sport/fussball/fc-bayern-muenchen-und-katar-eine-problematische-partnerschaft-a-7889d38d-3c82-4d8c-9aea-e4b259861846
Koppehel, C. (1954). Geschichte des deutschen Fussballsports. Herausgegeben in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Deutschen Fussballbund. W. Limpert.
Kratzer, H. (n.d.). Ursprung des FC Bayern-Mottos: Woher das Mia san Mia stammt. Süddeutsche.de. Retrieved 15 April 2021, from https://www.sueddeutsche.de/bayern/ursprung-des-fc-bayern-mottos-wer-san-mia-1.1742394
Kreisjugendring München-Stadt (Director) . (2010). ‘Kick it like Kurt’: Eine Erinnerung an den legendären Fußballfunktionär Kurt Landauer.
Krügel, C. (2011, May 26). Stolz auf die jüdische Vergangenheit. Süddeutsche.de. https://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/fc-bayern-muenchen-stolz-auf-die-juedische-vergangenheit-1.1101845
Lahm, P. (2014). Vorwort. In D. Kämper (Eds.), Kurt Landauer: Der Mann, der den FC Bayern erfand (pp. 7–8). Orell Füssli Verlag.
Löffelmeier, A. (1997). Grandioser Aufschwung und Krise: Der Münchner Fußball von 1919 bis 1945. In S. München (Eds.), München und der Fußball: Von den Anfängen 1896 bis zur Gegenwart (pp. 51–96). Buchendorfer Verlag.
Meyhoff, A. , & Pfeil, G. (2016, May 20). Münchner Protokolle. Der Spiegel. https://www.spiegel.de/sport/muenchner-protokolle-a-74482b35-0002-0001-0000-000144886593
Nerdinger, W. (2001, November 17). München—Hauptstadt der Verdrängung: Gedenken auf Sparflamme: Wie in der bayerischen Landeshauptstadt mit den Bauten aus der Zeit des

Nationalsozialismus umgegangen wird. Süddeutsche Zeitung, 65.
Olick, J. K. , Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. , & Levy, D. (Eds.). (2011). The collective memory reader. Oxford University Press.
Rosenfeld, G. D. (2000). Munich and memory: Architecture, monuments, and the legacy of the Third Reich. University of California Press.
Rosenfeld, G. D. (2004). Architektur und Gedächtnis: München und Nationalsozialismus. Strategien des Vergessens (U. Nickel & B. Ott , Trans.). Dölling und Galitz.
Roth, L. M. (2018). Understanding architecture: Its elements, history, and meaning (3rd ed.). Routledge.
Schediwy, D. (2012). Ganz entspannt in Schwarz-Rot-Gold? Der neue deutsche Fußballpatriotismus aus sozialpsychologischer Perspektive. In Sozialpsychologie 1. Lit. http://d-nb.info/102007387X/04
Schickeria München . (n.d.). Wer wir sind. Schickeria München. Retrieved 6 February 2023, from https://schickeria-muenchen.org/pico/infos/ueber_uns/wer_wir_sind
Schickeria München . (2005, June). Cover. Gegen den Strom, 2005/6(2), cover. Archiv der Jugendkulturen.
Schickeria München . (2007, December). Quo vadis Ultras? Über die Zukunft der deutschen Ultrà-Gruppen. Blickfang Ultra, 5, 80–81.
Schickeria München . (2008, September). Südkurve 72: Symbolik der Gruppe. Gegen den Strom, 7, 4.Archiv der Jugendkulturen.
Schöffel, R. , & Köppen, U. (2014). Landauerwalk: Das making-of zur augmented-reality-app. https://www.br.de/fernsehen/das-erste/sendungen/kurt-landauer-der-film/die-app-making-of-100.html
Schulze-Marmeling, D. (1997). Die Bayern: Vom Klub zum Konzern; die Geschichte eines Rekordmeisters. Die Werkstatt.
Schulze-Marmeling, D. (2013). Der FC Bayern und seine Juden: Aufstieg und Zerschlagung einer liberalen Fußballkultur (2., erweiterte Auflage). Die Werkstatt.
Schulze-Marmeling, D. (2017). Der FC Bayern, seine Juden und die Nazis (3., erweiterte Auflage). Die Werkstatt.
Schulze-Marmeling, D. (2018). Kurt Landauer: Der Vater des modernen FC Bayern. Hentrich & Hentrich.
Statista . (2023). FC Bayern München AG: Konzernumsatz. Statista. https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/246557/umfrage/umsatz-fc-bayern-muenchen-ag-konzern/
Steinbichler, H. (Director). (2014). Landauer—Der Präsident [Feature film]. ARD.
Verhoeven, S. , & Fischer, N. V. (Directors). (2021). FC Bayern—Behind the legend. Amazon Prime.

On the ambivalences of fandom's collective memory

Anderson, M. C. , & Levy, B. J. (2009). Suppressing unwanted memories. Current Directions in Psychological Science, 18(4), 189–194. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2009.01634.x
Assmann, J. (2011). Cultural memory and early civilisation: Writing, remembrance, and political imagination. Cambridge University Press.
Bernhard, M. , & Kubik, J. (2014). A theory of the politics of memory. In M. Bernhard & J. Kubik (Eds.), Twenty years after communism (pp. 7–34). New York: Oxford University Press.
Billig, M. (1995). Banal nationalism. London: Sage Publications.
Bińczyk, J. (2017, June 30). Stadion Widzewa. Budowa pomnika Ludwika Sobolewskiego zostanie zablokowana? [Widzew's stadium: Will the erection of Sobolewski's monument be blocked?]. Gazeta Wyborcza. https://lodz.wyborcza.pl/lodz/7,35136,22032748,stadion-widzewa-budowa-pomnika-ludwika-sobolewskiego-zostanie.html
Bucholc, M. (2019). Commemorative law-making: Memory frames of the democratic backsliding in Poland after 2015. Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, 11(1), 85–110. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40803-018-0080-70

Burski, J. , & Woźniak, W. (2021). The sociopolitical roots of antisemitism among football fandom: The real absence and imagined presence of Jews in polish football. In S. Schüler-Springorum , & P. Brunssen (Eds.), Discrimination in football: Antisemitism and beyond (pp. 47–64). Routledge.

Connerton, P. (2008). Seven types of forgetting. Memory Studies, 1(1), 59–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698007083889

EmaPob . (2017, January 9). Zygmunt Bauman zmarł w wieku 92 lat. [Zygmunt Bauman died, aged 92]. Telewizja Republika. https://tvrepublika.pl/nie-zyje-zygmunt-bauman-zmarl-w-wieku-92-lat,43033.html

Głowacka-Grajper, M. (2018). Memory in post-communist Europe: Controversies over identity, conflicts, and nostalgia. East European Politics and Societies: And Cultures, 32(4), 924–935. https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325418757891

Grodecki, M. (2023). Performative nationalism in Polish football stadiums and fans' views and attitudes: Evidence from quantitative research. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 58(5), 783–808. https://doi.org/10.1177/10126902221121499

Jaskulowski, K. , & Majewski, P. (2023). The memory politics of cursed soldiers, antisemitism and racialisation. Nations and Nationalism, online ahead of print. https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12937

Kamil . (2018a, January 20). Co słychać w temacie pomnika? [What about the monument?]. Widzew To My. Oficjalny Portal Kibiców Widzewa. https://www.widzewtomy.net/slychac-temacie-pomnika/

Kamil . (2018b, August 28) Dziś poznamy projekt pomnika! [Today we will see the design of the monument]. Widzew To My. Oficjalny Portal Kibiców Widzewa. https://www.widzewtomy.net/dzis-poznamy-projekt-pomnika-w-czwartek-glosowanie-w-rm/

Kołtoń, R. (2020). Zibi, czyli Boniek. Biografia Zbigniewa Bońka. [Zibi means Boniek. Zbigniew Boniek's biography]. Poznań: Zysk i S-ka.

Koposov, N. (2018). Memory laws, memory wars: The politics of the past in Europe and Russia. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Korkuć, M. (2020). KBW. Partyjne wojsko według sowieckiego wzoru. KBW [Party army Soviet style]. IPN. https://krakow.ipn.gov.pl/pl4/edukacja/przystanek-historia/93804,KBW-Partyjne-wojsko-wedlug-sowieckiego-wzoru.html

Kossakowski, R. , Nosal, P. , & Woźniak, W. (2020). Politics, ideology and football fandom: The transformation of modern Poland. Routledge.

Lesiakowski, K. (2017). Centralna Szkoła Ministerstwa Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego 1945–1947 [Central school of the ministry for public security]. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.

Lesiakowski, K. (2022). Przez getto warszawskie, bezpiekę wojskową do sportu. Meandry życia prezesa RTS Widzew Łódź Ludwika Sobolewskiego (1925–2008). Dzieje Najnowsze, LIV (3), 191–208. http://dx.doi.org/10.12775/DN.2022.3.10

Molden, B. (2016). Resistant pasts versus mnemonic hegemony: On the power relations of collective memory. Memory Studies, 9(2), 125–142. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015596014

Nosal, P. , Kossakowski, R. , & Woźniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. Sport in Society, 24(11), 2050–2065. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1892644

Numerato, D. , & Svoboda, A. (2022). Collective memory and social movements: Football sites of memory in supporters' activism. Sociology of Sport Journal, 39(1), 99–107. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.2020-0200

Ryan . (2016a, November 11). To już osiem lat, jak Cię z nami nie ma Prezesie! [It's eight years since you're gone, chairman]. Widzew To My. Oficjalny Portal Kibiców Widzewa. https://www.widzewtomy.net/juz-oiedem-cie-nami-prezesie/

Ryan . (2016b, October 15). Są wyniki budżetu obywatelskiego! [We got the results of the participatory budgeting!]. Widzew To My. Oficjalny Portal Kibiców Widzewa. https://www.widzewtomy.net/sa-wyniki-budzetu-obywatelskiego-stanie-pomnik-sp-sobola/

Ryan . (2017, July 17). Temat pomnika Ludwika Sobolewskiego powraca [The topic of Ludwik Sobolewski's monument is back]. Widzew To My. Oficjalny Portal Kibiców Widzewa. https://www.widzewtomy.net/temat-pomnika-ludwika-sobolewskiego-powraca/

Ryan . (2018a, August 28). Klub przedstawił projekt pomnika [Club presented the design of the monument]. Widzew To My. Oficjalny Portal Kibiców Widzewa.

https://www.widzewtomy.net/klub-przedstawil-projekt-pomnika/
Ryan . (2018b, November 21). Na dniach pomnik stanie pod stadionem [Within days, the monument will be unveiled]. Widzew To My. Oficjalny Portal Kibiców Widzewa. https://www.widzewtomy.net/na-dniach-pomnik-stanie-pod-stadionem/
Ryan . (2022, November 11). Rocznica śmierci Ludwika Sobolewskiego i Marka Pięty [Anniversary of death of Ludwik Sobolewski and Marek Pięta]. Widzew To My. Oficjalny Portal Kibiców Widzewa. https://www.widzewtomy.net/rocznica-smierci-ludwika-sobolewskiego-i-marka-piety/
Tannock, S. (1995). Nostalgia critique. Cultural Studies, 9(3), 453–464. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502389500490511
Wagner, I. (2020). Bauman: A biography. Polity.
Wawrzynowski, M. (2014). Wielki Widzew [The mighty widzew]. Kopalnia.
Wawrzynowski, M. (2018, November 10). Rysa na pomniku Ludwika Sobolewskiego. Scratch on a monument of Ludwik Sobolewski. Sportowe Fakty. https://sportowefakty.wp.pl/pilka-nozna/787532/ludwik-sobolewski-wizjoner-ze-skaza
Wnuk, R. (2016). Wokół mitu żołnierzy wyklętych [On the myth of cursed soldiers]. Przegląd polityczny. http://przegladpolityczny.pl/wokol-mitu-zolnierzy-wykletych-rafal-wnuk/
Woźniak, W. (2013). Zawodowe amatorstwo? Futbol w okresie PRL w relacjach polskich piłkarzy [Professional amateurism? Football during polish people's republic as recalled by polish footballers]. In M. Kazimierczak & J. Kosiewicz (Eds.), Sport i turystyka. Uwarunkowania historyczne i wyzwania współczesności. Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego im. Eugeniusza Piaseckiego w Poznaniu.
Woźniak, W. (2017). Bieganie Jako Deklaracja Ideowa, Biegi Masowe Jako Element Polityki Pamięci [Running as an ideological declaration, mass running events as an element of memory politics]. In J. R. Stempień (Ed.), Polska Moda na Bieganie – Zapiski Socjologiczne. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu medycznego w Łodzi.
Woźniak, W. , Kossakowski, R. , & Nosal, P. (2020). A squad with no left wingers: The roots and structure of right-wing and nationalist attitudes among polish football fans. Problems of Post-Communism, 67(6), 511–524. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2019.1673177

Cuauhtémoc Blanco

Allison, S.T. , & Ho, T. L. (2020). Tales of the Flawed: An Examination of anti-heroism across media. In S. T. Allison (Eds.), Core Concepts in Heroism Science, Volume Two (pp. 100–115). Independently Published.
Alabarces, P. (2018). De Maradona a Messi: viejos y nuevos argumentos sobre el héroe deportivo y la patria. Imago: A Journal of the Social Imaginary, 7(2), 26–43.
Araújo de Freitas, G. (2014). Garrincha: O (anti-)herói pelo olhar dos cronistas. Belo Horizonte, 20(1), 86–105.
Archetti, E. (2017). The spectacle of a heroic life: The case of Diego Maradona. In J. Bengoa (Ed.), Eduardo Archetti: Antología Esencial (pp. 691–706). CLACSO.
Bakhtín, M. (2007). La cultura popular en la Edad Media y en el Renacimiento. El contexto de François Rabelais. Alianza Editorial.
Bassil-Morozow, H. (2015). The trickster and the system: Identity and agency in contemporary society. Routledge.
Bello, T. (2015, May 26). Corrido a Cuauhtémoc Blanco [Video File]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mn8nYrIkx2Q
Bourdieu, P. (2016). La distinción. Criterio y bases sociales del gusto. Taurus.
Elias, N. (2009). El proceso de la civilización: Investigaciones sociogenéticas y psicogenéticas. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
Giddens, A. (1995). Modernidad e identidad del yo: El yo y la sociedad en la época contemporánea. Península Editions.
González de la Rocha, M. (1994). The resources of poverty: Women and survival in a Mexican city. Blackwell.
Gutmann, M. C. (1996). The meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City. University of California Press.

Lopes, J. (2009). The people's joy vanishes: Considerations on the death of a soccer player. Vibrant, 6(2), 122–153.
Magazine, R. (2008). Azul y oro como mi corazón: Masculinidad, juventud y poder en una porra de los Pumas de la UNAM. Universidad Iberoamericana/Afinita.
Melhuus, M. (1998). Configuring gender: Male and female in Mexican heterosexual relations. Ethnos, 63(3), 353–382.
Prusa, I. , & Brummer, M. (2022). Myth, fiction and politics in the age of antiheroes: A case study of Donald Trump. Heroism Science: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 7(1), 1–39.
Saenz, J. (January 23, 2018). Corrido de cuauhtemoc blanco [Video File]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xoiIC2ZbXvs
Segura Millan, F. , & Williams, J. (2019). 'One hell of a player'. The social construction of the early career of Lionel Messi: Towards a sociological analysis. Soccer & Society, 21(3), 1–15.
TUDN México . (June 13, 2014). Piojo Herrera pone a prueba al "Cuau" para jugar en el Mundial 2014 [Video File]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-duou956MJQ
Vaage, M. B. (2016). The Antihero in American Television. Routledge.
Varela Hernández, S. (2012). "Al América se le odia o se le ama": Afición futbolera, melodrama, aguante, identidad y clientelismo en México [PhD thesis in social anthropology]. Universidad Iberoamericana.

Collective memory and charismatic affect

Alabarces, P. (2008). Fútbol y patria: El fútbol y las narrativas de la nación en la Argentina. Prometeo.
Archetti, E. (1998). The potrero and the pibe: Territory and belonging in the mythical account of Argentinean football. In N. Novell (Ed.), Territory and Belonging (pp. 183–203). Routledge.
Archetti, E. (2001). The spectacle of a heroic Life: The case of Diego Maradona. In D. L. Andrews & S. J. Jackson (Eds.), Sport Stars: The Cultural Politics of Sporting Celebrity (pp. 151–163). Routledge.
Barba, B. (2021). Il corpo, il rito, il mito. Einaudi.
Bifulco, L. (2021). Tra eroismo calcistico, identità e comunità. Maradona, Napoli e il tifo partenopeo. Bibliomanie. Letterature, storiografie, semiotiche, 52(1), 1–14.
Bifulco, L. (2022). Deifying Diego: The church of Maradona and beyond. In P. Brescia & M. Paz (Eds.), Maradona: A socio-cultural study (pp. 218–230). Routledge.
Bifulco, L. , & Dini, V. (Eds.). (2014). Maradona. Sociologia di un mito globale. S. Ipermedium libri.
Bifulco, L. , & Tirino, M. (2018). The sports hero in the social imaginary: Identity, community, ritual and myth. Im@go. Rivista di Studi Sociali sull'Immaginario, 7(11), 9–25.
Bourdieu, P. (1987). Legitimation and structured interests in Weber's theory of religion. In S. Lash & S. Whimster (Eds.), Max Weber, rationality and modernity (pp. 119–136). Allen.
Brescia, P. , & Paz, M. (2022). Introduction: The cultural significance of Maradona. In P. Brescia & M. Paz (Eds.), Maradona: A socio-cultural study (pp. 1–9). Routledge.
Brown, D. H. K. (2020). Embodying charismatic affect(if): The example of Bruce Lee. Corpus Mundi, 1(3), 14–52.
Cialdini, R. B. , Borden, R. J. , Thorne, A. , Walker, M. R. , Freeman, S. & Sloan, L. R. (1976). Basking in reflected glory: Three (football) field studies. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 34(3), 366–375.
Collins, R. (2020). Charisma: Micro-sociology of power and influence. Routledge.
Dini, V. (1991). Te Diegum: genio, sregolatezza e bacchettoni. Leonardo.
Dini, V. (1994). Maradona, héros napolitain. Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales, 103 (3), 75–78.
Ferraz, L. (2020, November 19). Maradona renasceu em Nápoles: Encontro do jogador com cidade fez dele um mito planetário. https://ge.globo.com/futebol/futebol-internacional/noticia/maradona-renasceu-em-napoles-encontro-do-jogador-com-cidade-fez-dele-um-mito-planetario.ghtml

Free, M. (2014). Diego Maradona and the psychodynamics of football fandom in international cinema. Celebrity Studies, 5(1–2), 197–212.
Freund, P. (2009). Social synaesthesia: Expressive bodies, embodied charisma. Body & Society, 15(4), 21–31.
Galeano, E. (2017). Cerrado por fútbol. Siglo XXI editores.
Giddens, A. (1971). Capitalism and modern social theory: An analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber. Cambridge University Press.
Gupta, A. (2021). Diego Armando Maradona: Globalization's first sports superstar. Funes: Journal of Narratives and Social Science, 5, 31–42.
Junker, A. (2014). Follower agency and charismatic mobilisation in Falun Gong. Sociology of Religion, 75(3), 418–441.
Marchi, V. (2015). Ultrà: Le sottoculture sportive negli stadi d'Europa. Hellnation.
Mullan, M. L. (1995). Sport as institutionalised charisma. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 19(3), 285–306.
Nosal, P. , Kossakowski, R. , & Woźniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. Sport in Society, 24(11), 2050–2065.
Parkin, F. (2002). Max Weber. Routledge.
Paz, M. (2021). Maradona and Utopia: Social dreaming and the left (foot). Funes: Journal of Narratives and Social Sciences, 5, 55–68.
Pecchinedda, G. (2014). Io l'ho visto! Tracce del sacro nel mito di Maradona. In L. Bifulco & V. Dini (Eds.), Maradona. Sociologia di un mito globale (pp. 59–74). Ipermedium libri.
Rial, C. (2021). 'El Diego de la gente': The most human of the football gods. Eracle: Journal of Sport and Social Sciences, 5(1), 15–36.
Russo, P. (2022). Maradona in Italy. In P. Brescia & M. Paz (Eds.), Maradona: A socio-cultural study (pp. 56–71). Routledge.
Schultz, B. , & Sheffer, M. L. (Eds.). (2016). Sport and religion in the twenty-first century. Lexington Books.
Seyfert, R. (2012). Beyond personal feelings and collective emotions: A theory of social affect. Theory, Culture & Society, 29(6), 27–46.
Sennett, R. (1977). The fall of public man. Penguin.
Shils, E. (1965). Charisma, order, and status. American Sociological Review, 30(2), 199–213.
Virgili, M. (2022). Maradona and music. In P. Brescia & M. Paz (Eds.), Maradona: A socio-cultural study (pp. 152–166). Routledge.
Wallis, R. (1982). The social construction of charisma. Social Compass, 29(1), 25–39.
Weber, M. , & Eisenstadt, S. N. (1968). Max Weber on charisma and institution building. University of Chicago Press.

Deconstructing the sociopolitical, ethnic and racial dimensions of Zimbabwe's Dream Team (1992–1995)

Alegi, P. (2010). African soccerscapes: How a continent changed the world's game. Hurst & Company.
Awad, E. (2012). What is a nickname? Nicknames and identity in the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa. Cross Cultural Communication, 8, 72–72.
Baeller, S. (2006). The other game: The politics of football in Africa. Africa Spectrum, 41(3), 325–330.
Barclay, P. (2010). Zimbabwe: Years of hope and despair. Bloomsbury.
Bairner, A. , & Shirlow, P. (2000). Territory, politics and soccer fandom in Northern Ireland and Sweden. Football Studies, 3(1), 5–26.
Bogdanov, D. (2011). Influence of National Sport Team Identity on National Identity. Unpublished PhD Thesis. The Florida State University, USA..
Bolsmann, C. , & Parker, A. (2007). Soccer, South Africa and celebrity status: Mark Fish, popular culture and the post-apartheid state. Soccer & Society, 8(1), 109–124.
Burdsey, D. , & Chappell, R. (2003). Soldiers, sashes and shamrocks: Football and social identity in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Sociology of Sport Online-SOSOL, 6(1).

http://physed.otago.ac.nz/sosol/v6i1/v6i1_1.html
Cashmore, E. , & Cleland, J. (2014). Football's dark side: Corruption, homophobia, violence and racism in the beautiful game. Palgrave Macmillan.
Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) . (1997). Breaking the silence, building true peace: A report on the 1980s disturbances in Matabeleland and the midlands. CCJP.
Chingwaro, W. (2021). The Zimbabwe dream team: So near yet so far. London: Nielsen.
Chitakasha, L. (2016 December 1). Zimbabwe football- The fans and the curse of hooliganism. Nehanda Radio. https://nehandaradio.com/2016/12/01/zimbabwe-football-fans-curse-hooliganism/
Chiweshe, M. K. (2017). Zimbabwe United?: Exploring cooperation and contestations in the context of national football team fandom in Zimbabwe. In C. Brandt , F. Hertel , & S. Huddleston (Eds), Football fans, rivalry and cooperation (pp. 142–157). Routledge.
Choto, T. , Chiweshe, M. K. , & Muparamoto, N. (2019). Football fandom, ethno-regionalism and rivalry in post-colonial Zimbabwe: A case study of highlanders and dynamos. Soccer & Society, 20(1), 153–167.
Darby, P. (2002). Africa, football and FIFA: Politics, colonialism and resistance. Frank Cass.
Depetris-Chauvin, E. , & Durante, R. (2017). One team, one nation: Football, ethnic identity and conflict in Africa. Working Paper No 177, Afrobarometer.
Fenton, A. , Keegan, B. J. , & Parry, K. D. (2023). Understanding sporting social media brand communities, place and social capital: A netnography of football fans. Communication and Sport, 11(2), 313–333.
Giulianotti, R. , & Armstrong, G. (1997). Reclaiming the game – An introduction to the anthropology of football. In G. Armstrong & R. Giulianotti (Eds.), Entering the field: New perspectives on World football (pp. 1–29). Berg.
Giulianotti, R. , Bonney, N. , & Hepworth, M. (Eds.). (1994). Football, violence and social identity. Routledge.
Giulianotti, R. (2004). Between colonialism, independence and globalization: Football in Zimbabwe. In R. Giulianotti & G. Armstrong (Ed.), Football in Africa: Conflict, conciliation and community (pp. 80–102). Palgrave Macmillan.
Guzura, T. , & Ndimande, J. (2015). Highlander's football club and Ndebele identity amongst fans in Zimbabwe. Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences, 6(4), 1–23.
Hawkey, I. (2015, August 19). When Peter Ndlovu and Bruce Grobbelaar made Zimbabwe dare to dream. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/aug/19/peter-ndlovu-bruce-grobbelaar-zimbabwe
Holland, H. (2008). Dinner with Mugabe: The untold story of a freedom fighter who became a tyrant. Penguin.
Kotowski, J. (2014). Relections on football, nationalism, and national identity. H-Net: Humanities & Social Sicences. https://networks.h-net.org/node/3911/discussions/31304/reflections-football-nationalism-and-national-identity
Kozinets, R. V. (2010). Netnography: Doing ethnographic research online (1st ed.). Sage.
Kozinets, R. V. (2020). Netnography: The essential guide to qualitative social media research (3rd ed.). Sage.
Machirori, F. (2017, February 14). The dream within the dream team: Football as a Zimbabwean metaphor (Media release). https://thisisafrica.me/lifestyle/dream-within-dream-team-football-zimbabwean-metaphor/
Madyira, M. (2015, March 1). Carelse-Juul's ‘dream team’ memories. The Standard. https://thestandard.newsday.co.zw/2015/03/01/carelse-juuls-dream-team-memories.
McDowell, M. L. (2017). Scottish football and colonial Zimbabwe: Sport, The Scottish diaspora and “White Africa”. Journal of Scottish Historical Studies, 37(1), 73–99.
McRae, D. (2018, October 2). Bruce Grobbelaar: ‘How many people did I kill? I couldn’t tell you. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/football/2018/oct/01/bruce-grobbelaar-interview-donald-mcrae
Moyo, S. (2019, February 21). Rush ended Chunga's career. Chronicle. https://www.chronicle.co.zw/rush-ended-chungas-career/
Mullock, S. (2020, December 27). Bruce Grobbelaar on tackling racism, fighting for his life and how football saved him. The Mirror. https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/bruce-grobbelaar-liverpool-war-fighting-23223941

Muzondidya, J. , & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2007). ‘Echoing silences\‘: Ethnicity in post-colonial Zimbabwe, 1980–2007. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, 7(2), 275–297.
Ncube, L. (2014). The interface between football and ethnic identity discourses in Zimbabwe. Critical African Studies, 6(2–3), 192–210.
Ncube, L. (2016). ‘Bhora Mugedhi versus Bhora musango’: The interface between football discourse and Zimbabwean politics. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 51(2), 201–218.
Ncube, L. , & Moyo, R. (2017). Can highlanders FC break the jinx? Contesting press discourses on highlanders FC's nine-year failure in the “Battle of Zimbabwe”. African Identities, 5(4): 387–397.
Ndlovu, B. (2017, February 5). Was the dream team really that great? Sunday News. https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/was-the-dream-team-really-that-great/
Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2008). For the nation to live, the tribe must die: The politics of Ndebele identity and belonging in Zimbabwe. In B. Zewde (Ed.), Society, State and Identity in African History (pp. 167–200). Association of Historians.
Novak, A. (2012). Sport and racial discrimination in colonial Zimbabwe: A reanalysis. International Journal of the History of Sport, 29(6), 850–867.
Nyambi, O. (2018). “Warriors” and “mighty warriors”: National football team nicknames and the politics and politicisation of national identity in Zimbabwe. National Identities, 20(3), 259–276.
Nyambi, O. (2020). A divided nation? Ethnicity, name-calling and nicknames in cyber Ndebele soccer discourse in Zimbabwe. National Identities, 22(1), 23–40.
Pannenborg, A. (2010). Football in Africa: Observations about political, financial, cultural and religious influences. A Ph.D. pre-publication dealing with power, money and politics in African football. NCDO Publication Series Sport and Development
Pilger, S. (2021, December 10). Erik Ten Hag says Cristiano Ronaldo had to leave Manchester united. Forbes. https://www.forbes.com/sites/sampilger/2022/12/10/erik-ten-hag-says-cristiano-ronaldo-had-to-leave-manchester-united/?sh=26d2d79a14ac
Rubio, K. (2018). Sports and Myth. Képos.
Rwodzi, A. (2020). Reconciliation: A false start in Zimbabwe? (1980–1990). Cogent Arts and Humanities, 7(1), 1–18.
Schreiner, E. (2013). Development and execution of coaching philosophies among competitive youth Sport coaches. Master's thesis, Clemson University.
Sharuko, R. (2013a, June 7). For some of us who walked with the Warriors 20 years ago, the Willard Katsande question is not a new one and reminds us of Fabisch and Chunga. Herald. https://www.herald.co.zw/for-some-of-us-who-walked-with-the-warriors-20-years-ago-the-willard-katsande-question-is-not-a-new-one-and-reminds-us-of-fabisch-and-chunga/
Sharuko, R. (2013b, October 11). What a sick, racist lot. The Herald. https://www.herald.co.zw/what-a-sick-racist-lot/
Storey, D. (2020, May 31). How African Diaspora footballers juggle the identity question. The Conversation. https://theconversation.com/how-african-diaspora-footballers-juggle-the-identity-question-138646
Stuart, O. (1995). The lions stir football in African society. In S. Wagg (Ed.), Giving the game away: Football, politics and culture on five continents (pp. 24–51). Leicester University Press.
Tuñón, J. , & Brey, E. (2012). Sports and politics in Spain–football and nationalist attitudes within the Basque country and Catalonia. European Journal for Sport and Society, 9(1–2): 7–32.
Viner, B. (2009, April 10). Growing up, you needed thick skin to be a Grobbelaar. The Independent. https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/news/growing-up-you-needed-thick-skin-to-be-a-grobbelaar-1666734.html
Xavier, B. L. (2019). Netnography on football: Fans online attitudes towards football. Unpublished MSc Dissertation, Universidade Católica Portuguesa.
Zenenga, P. (2011). Aesthetics and performance in Zimbabwean soccer. African Identities, 9(3), 323–336.
Zimbabwe Mail . (2020, September 12). Bruce Grobbelaar endured war, doubt and disaster to become a hero. Zimbabwe Mail Online. https://www.thezimbabwemail.com/sports/bruce-grobbelaar-endured-war-doubt-and-disaster-to-become-a-hero/
Zindoga, T. (2016, October 12). Tribalism and small-minded men. The Herald. https://www.herald.co.zw/tribalism-and-small-minded-men/

Claiming, space and identity

Alizadeh, N. (2017). The impact fo ethnic, religious, géographic and economic factors on th income inequality in Iran. Iran Special Issue, 1(2), 245–263.

Amarbook . (n.d.). Portarafdartarin timhaye football bashgahi iran [The most popular football club teams in Iran]. https://amarbook.ir/sport/iran-football-club-fans-ranking/.

Bairner, A. (2008). Sport nationalism and globalisation: Relevance, impact, consequences. Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences, 49, 43–53.

Banihashem, M. (2020). Olguhaye sakhte markaz va ravandhhaye toseeye mantagheie (negahi be tajrobeye Iran) [The model of the construction of the center and the process of regional development in Iran]. Revue des études stratégique, 2, 57–93.

Akhundan, A. (2022, November 30). Vakonesha be hazfe iran dar jame Jahani: az time melli ta tim molla [Reactions to the elimination of Iran in the World Cup; From “National Team” to “Mola Team”] [Media release] https://www.bbc.com/persian/articles/cg38yqn1v4lo.

Balzacq, T. (2003). «Qu'est-ce que la sécurité nationale ?», Revue internationale et stratégique, 4(52), 33–50.

Blanchet, Ph (2003). «Glottophobie», dans Langage et société 2021/HS1 (Hors-série), pp.155–159.

Bromberger, C. et al. (1996).Le match de football: Ethnologie d’une passion partisane à Marseille, Naples Et Turin. Maison Des Sciences De L’homme.

Bromberger, C. (2016). Le football en Iran. Sentiment national et revendications identitaires. In. J.-M. De Waele & F. Louault (Eds.), Soutenir l’équipe nationale de football. Enjeux politiques et identitaires (pp. 73–81). De l’université de Bruxelles.

Buzan, B. Weaver, O. , & De Wilde, J. (1998). Security - A new framework for analysis (pp. 23–26). Lynne Rienner.

Chehabi, H. (2007). A political history of football in Iran. Iranian Studies, 35(4), 371–402.

Chehabi, H. , & Linz, J. J. (1998). Sultanistic Regimes. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

FARE . (2017). Global guide on discriminatory practices in football. FARE.

Fazeli, H. , & Asadollahi, R. (2020). Varzesh va siyasate dar iran: revayati az qomgrayi nejadgra dar bastare varzesh. Journal of Law and Political Science, 2(50), 669–683.

Gerhardt, M. (2004). Varzesh va jamea madani dar iran. Goftogu, 42, 27–48.

Ginhoux, B. (2014). Est-ce la fin du mouvement ultra en France? Mouvements, 78(2), 103–109.

Giulianotti, R. (2002). Supporters, followers, fans, and flaneurs: A taxonomy of spectator identities in football. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 26(1), 25–46.

Hamidi Shafigh, M. (2018). Nagshe varzesh ghahremani va herfeyee dar hamgaraee melli :motaleye bashgahe foutbal teraktorsazi. []. Tabriz.

Haqparast Qaramelki, H. (2010). Iran Turklerinin Ekonomik gelismeleri (Dogu Azerbaycan ili Ornegi). Iran Turkologisi Semposiyomu, Ankara Universitesi.

Hassenteufel, P. (2008). Sociologie politique de l’action publique. Armand Colin.

Hassenteufel, P. (2010). Les processus de mise sur agenda : sélection et construction des problèmes publics. Informations sociales, 157(1), 50–58.

Henry, E. (2021). La fabrique des non-problèmes Ou comment éviter que la politique s’en mêle. Presses de Sciences.

Iranwire . (2018a). Baraye avalin bar shoar aleyhe sepah roye sakohaye varzeshgah [For the first time, chanting against the IRGC on the stands of the stadium] [Media release]. https://iranwire.com/fa/features/24443/.

Iranwir . (2018b). Mohamadreza zunuzi; mardi ke baraye sepah qabel etemad shod [Mohammad Reza Zenozi; A man who became reliable for the IRGC] [Media release]. https://iranwire.com/fa/features/26721/.

Javan, D. (2024). Écologie en eaux troubles. Les dynamiques d'invisibilisation, politisation et publicisation d'un désastre écologique en Iran : le cas de l'assèchement du lac d'Ourmia. [Ecology in troubled waters. The dynamics of invisibilization, politicization and publicization of an ecological disaster in Iran: the case of the drying up of Lake Urmia]. These en science politique. Sciences Po Lyon, Université Lyon 2.

Karimi, B. (2004). Asibshenasi nehzete demokratik mardome iran (1320–1325), [Pathology of the democratic disaffiliation of the people of Iran, 1941–1946]. Abi.

Kingdon, J. W. (1995). Agendas, alternatives and public policies. Longman.

Maldjou, M. , “ kouch dar peye kar o nan : 1327–1329 “, [Migration in search of work and bread 1948-1950], Akhtaran, Téhéran, 2021, pp. 60–61.
Martinez-Alier, J. (2014). L’écologisme des pauvres. Une étude des conflits environnementaux dans le monde, Trad in fr. d’André Verkaeren, Institut Veblen/Les Petits Matins.
Mignon, P. (2000). Footbolisation de la politique. Politix: sport et politique, 50(13), 49–71.
Nahidi Azar, A. (2000). Jonbeshe azadistan Chykh Mohammad Khyabani: Engelabe sevome mashrutiyat [The Azadiistan movement Sheikh Mohammad Khayani :the third constitutional revolution]. Tabriz, Akhtar.
Radiozamaneh, V. P. (2022). Iran Etnik nadarad [Iran has no Ethnicity], [Media release]. https://www.radiozamaneh.com/740231/
Riaux, G. (2012). Ethnicité et nationalisme en Iran, La cause azerbaïdjanaise. Karthala.
Shaffer, B. (2002). Borders and Brethren: Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity, MIT Press.
Shaffer, B. (2021). Iran is more than Persia ethnic politics in the Islamic republic. FDD Press.
Sheppard-Sellam, E. (2019). Problème public, dans Dictionnaire des politiques publiques. In L. Boussaguet , Jacquot, S. , & Ravinet, P. (Eds.), Dictionnaire des politiques publiques. 5e édition entièrement revue et corrigée (pp. 504–510). Presses de Science Pro.
Soleimani Amiri, M. (2020). Azerbaijan Democratic Party: Ups and Downs (1945–1946). Revista Humanidades, 10(1), 156–168.
Souleimanov, E. (2015). Football nationalism among Iran's azeris. Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst, 17(12), 7–10.
Tarrow, S. (2015). Tilly, Charles., Politique(s) du conflit: de la grève à la révolution. Sciences Po.
Tilly, C. (1986). La France conteste. De 1600 à nos jours. Fayard.
Zia-Ebrahimi, R. (2017). European racial thought, Iranian nationalists, and Arab invasion and decline theory. Iran Namag, 2(3), 97–122.

Between a historical moment and the brand of a football fan group

Adam, R. (2022). The golden generation and the wasted generations: Romania and the world cup. Soccer & Society, 23(7), 694–703. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2022.2108237
Brentin, D. , & Cooley, L. (2015). Sport and nationalism. A review of the literature. Studies on National Movements, 3, 1–33.
Ciutacu, B. (2021, December 14). Suporterii Rapidului aprind meciul cu FCSB: “Derby-urile noastre sunt cu echipele de tradiție, nu cu clonele comuniste Dinamo și Steaua”. Fanatik. https://www.fanatik.ro/suporteri-rapid-fcsb-bilete-derby-gigi-corsicanu-dinamo-steaua-19841381
De Waele, J.-M. (Ed.). (2004). Les clivages politiques en Europe centrale et orientale. Editions de l’Universite de Bruxelles.
De Waele, J.-M. , Gibril, S. , Gloriozova, E. , & Spaaij, R. (Eds.). (2018). The Palgrave international handbook of football and politics. Palgrave Macmillan.
Dima, M. (2009, February 25). Vivi Răchită s-a angajat la primăria Ploiești!. Liga 2. https://liga2.prosport.ro/special/vivi-rachita-s-a-angajat-la-primaria-Ploiești-3998154.
Dobrescu, P. (2006, November 25). Un nou FC Petrolul Ploiesti. Libertatea. https://www.libertatea.ro/sport/un-nou-fc-petrolul-ploiesti-166386
Doidge, M. (2013). ‘The birthplace of Italian communism’: Political identity and action amongst Livorno fans. Soccer & Society, 14(2), 246–261.
Faje, F. (2015). Playing for and against the nation: Football in interwar Romania. Nationalities Papers, 43(1), 160–177. https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2014.937684
Frățilă, R. V. (2013). Petrolul Ploiești, istorie și tradiție. Karta Graphic.
Gafa, D. (2014). The global game. Why is football so popular? University of Malta.
Gafiuc, J. (2011, August 14). 4 Titluri! Petrolul își trece în palmares și titlul câștigat în 1930 de Juventus București. Gazeta Sporturilor. https://www.gsp.ro/fotbal/liga-1/4-titluri-petrolul-isi-trece-in-palmares-si-campionatul-cistigat-in-1930-de-juventus-bucuresti-252917.html
Giulianotti, R. (2016). Supporters, followers, fans, and flaneurs: A taxonomy of spectator identities in football. Journal of Sports and Social Issues, 26(1), 25–46.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723502261003
Giulianotti, R. (2019). Football events, memories and globalisation. Soccer & Society, 20(7–8), 903–911. doi: 10.1080/14660970.2019.1680490
Guțu, D. (2017). World going one way, people another: Ultras football gangs' survival networks and clientelism in post-socialist Romania. Soccer & Society, 19(3), 337–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2017.1333677
Hognestad, H. K. (2012). What is a football fan? In R. Krovel & T. Roksvold (Eds.), We love to hate each other: Mediated football fan culture (pp. 25–44). Nordicom University of Goteborg.
Ibra, F. , & El Negro, B. (2013, August 13). Noi suntem lupii [Video]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WZTRJc8D3bc
Kissoudi, P. (2009). The Balkan games and Balkan politics in interwar years 1929–1939: Politicians in pursuit of peace. Routledge.
Kossakovski, R. , Nosal, P. , & Wozniak, W. (2020). Politics, ideology and football fandom: The transformation of modern Poland. Routledge.
Lewis, P. G. (2000). Political parties in post-communist Eastern Europe. Routledge.
Light, D. , & Phinnemore, D. (Eds.). (2001). Post-communist Romania: Coming to terms with transition. Palgrave Macmillan.
Marton, S. (2016). "Republica de la Ploiești" și începuturile parlamentarismului în România. Humanitas.
McDonald, M. (2014). How regimes dictate oligarchs & their football clubs: Case studies comparison of oligarch football club ownership in Dagestan, Romania, & Transnistria from 1990–2014. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
Mills, R. (2009). 'It all ended in an unsporting way': Serbian football and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, 1989–2006. The International Journal of the History of Sport, 26(9), 1187–1217. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523360902941829
Mills, R. (2012). Commemorating a disputed past: football club and supporters' group war memorials in the former Yugoslavia. History, 97(328), 540–577. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-229X.2012.00564
Nora, P. (1997). Les lieux de mémoire. Gallimard.
Nosal, P. , Kossakovski, R. , & Wozniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. Sport in society. Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics, 24(11), 2050–2065. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1892644
Parfene, C. (2019). The crusade against 'foreigners': The Romanian national football through the eyes of a modernist writer. Sport in Society, 22(5), 861–870. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2018.1430486
Peter, L. (2014). The genesis of Romanian football: Social factors and processes behind the game. Belvedere Meridionale, 26(4), 81–94. https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2014.4.6
Petracovschi, S. (2016). Propaganda and censorship for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games: The internal politics of Ceausescu. The International Journal of the History of Sport, 33(16), 2046–2058. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2017.1355305
Pifer, D. N. , Wang, Y. , Scremin, G. , Pitts, B. G. , & Zhang, J. J. (2018). Contemporary global football industry: An introduction. In J. J. Zhang & B. G. Pitts (Eds.), The global football industry: Marketing perspectives (pp. 3–35). Routledge.
Popescu, M. (2013, August 21). Dați-ne Petrolul înapoi! Manifestul unui suporter. Observatorul Prahovean. https://www.observatorulph.ro/sport/28999-dati-ne-petrolul-inapoi-manifestul-unui-suporter
Purice, O. (Ed.). (2019). Cel mai frumos Ploiești. AEDU.
Quiroga, A. (2015). Spanish Fury: Football and National Identities under Franco. European History Quarterly, 45(3), 506–529. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265691415587686
Rostotschi, A. (2011, January 1). Lupii Galbeni – Petrolul Ploiești [Blog post]. Retrieved from https://intribuna.wordpress.com/2011/01/01/lupii-galbeni-petrolul-Ploiești/
Sandvoss, C. (2003). A game of two halves: Football fandom, television and globalisation. Routledge.
Stănescu, D. (2016). Republica de la Ploiești. Ploiești-Mileniul III.
Sindbaek, T. (2013). 'A Croatian champion with a Croatian name': National identity and uses of history in Croatian football culture – The case of Dinamo Zagreb. Sport in Society, 16(8), 1009–1024. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2013.801222

Stroeken, K. (2002). Why ‘the world’ loves watching football (and ‘the Americans’ don’t). Anthropology Today, 18(2), 9–13.
Tatar, M. I. (2016). Democratisation and political alienation: The legacies of post-communist transition in Romania. Journal of Identity and Migration Studies, 10(2), 85–108.
Trégourès, L. (2018). Violences sportives, violences politiques. Les supporters comme acteurs politiques, une comparaison Serbie-Croatie. Revue d’Etudes Comparatives Est-Ouest, 3(3), 5–32.
Vaczi, M. (2016). Soccer, culture and society in Spain: An ethnography of Basque fandom. Routledge.
Vasile, L. (Ed.). (2019). Din vechiul Ploiești. AEDU.
Veth, M. K. (2014). The Berlusconization of post-soviet football in Russia and the Ukraine: Money scores goals, goals win titles, and titles win popularity. Journal of Sport History, 41(1), 55–72. https://doi.org/10.5406/jsporthistory.41.1.55
Vignoles, V. L. (2011). Identity motives. In K. Luycke , S. J. Schwartz , & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), Handbook of identity theory and research (pp. 403–432). Springer.
Vignoles, V. L. , Regalia, C. , Manzi, C. , Golledge, J. , & Scabini, E. (2006). Beyond self-esteem: Influence of multiple motives on identity construction. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90(2), 308–333. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.2.308
Vrabie, V. (2013, June 1). Petrolul, deplasare aproape imposibil de egalat în România: 30.000 de fani! Cum stă față de recordul mondial. Prosport. https://www.prosport.ro/cupa-romaniei/petrolul-deplasare-aproape-imposibil-de-egalat-in-romania-30000-de-fani-cum-sta-fata-de-recordul-mondial-10916493

History, collective memory and social representations associated with Futebol Clube do Porto

Ansart, P. (1999). Identification. In A. Akoun & P. Ansart (Eds.), Dictionnaire de Sociologie (pp. 263–264). Robert/Seuil.
Barbosa, A. (2006). Pinto da Costa. A Biografia. 40 Anos de Dirigente do F. C. Porto. O Mundo de AB.
Barth, F. (1982). Introduction. In F. Barth (Ed.), Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organisation of culture difference (pp. 9–38). Universitetsforlaget.
Bourdieu, P. (1989). O poder simbólico. Difel.
Bromberger, C. (1995). Le match de Football. Ethnologie d’une passion partisane à Marseille, Naples et Turin. Editions de la Maison dês Sciences de L’Homme.
Candau, J. (2013). Antropologia da Memória. Instituto Piaget.
Connerton, P. (1993). Como as Sociedades Recordam. Celta Editora.
Costa, P. (2004). Largos Dias Tem 100 Anos. Ideias & Rumos.
Dias, M. (2001). O Futebol no Porto. Campo das Letras.
Dortier, J. (2006). Dicionário das Ciências Humanas. Climpsei Editores.
Erikson, R. , & Goldthorpe, H. (1993). The constant flux: A study of class mobility in industrial societies. Clarendon Press.
Foucault, M. (1997). A Ordem do Discurso. Relógio d’ Água.
Friedl, E. (1964). Lagging emulation in post-peasant society. American Anthropologist, 66(3), part 1, 569–586.
Halbwachs, M. (1990). A Memória Coletiva. Edições Vértice.
Halbwachs, M. (1994). Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire. Albin Michel.
Jenkins, R. (1996). Social identity. Routledge.
Jodelet, D. (1997). Les Representations Sociales. Presses Universitaires de France.
Lago, A. , & Biasi, R. (1994). Italian football fans: Culture and organisation. In R. Giulianotti , N. Bonney , & M. Hepworth (Eds.), Football, violence and social identity (pp. 73–89). Routledge.
Magalhães, A. , & Dias, M. (1995). F.C. Porto. 100 Anos de História. 1893–1993. Edições Asa.
Marques, A. (1998). Breve História de Portugal. Editorial Presença.
Marques, M. et al. (1988). O envolvimento juvenil nas claques do futebol. O caso da Juve Leo. Ministério da Educação. Direcção – Geral dos Desportos.

Mead, G. (1973). Espiritu, Persona y Sociedad. Editorial Paidos.
O'Neill, B. (1995). Emular de longe: o povo português em Malaca. Revista Lusitana, 13–14, 19–67.
Pereira, L. (2002). Dicionário do Futebol. Manual do Adepto. Booktree.
Queiroz, J. (2009). O Caso Calabote. Quidnovi.
Ramos. L. (1995). História do Porto. Porto Editora.
Smith, A. (1997). A identidade Nacional. Gradiva.
Sobral. J. (2004). O Norte, o Sul a raça, a nação – representações da identidade nacional portuguesa (séculos XIX-XX). Análise Social, XXXIX (171), 255–284.
Sobral, J. (2012). Portugal, Portugueses: Uma Identidade Nacional. Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos.
Sobral, J. , & Vala, J. (2022). Portuguese national identity: Historical constructions and contemporary expressions. In J. Fernandes , P. C. Magalhães , & A. C. Pinto (Eds.), The Oxford handbook of Portuguese politics (pp. 227–245). Oxford University Press.
Sousa, C. (2008). Emoções e eventos desportivos. In C. Sousa & J. Jesuino (Eds.), Identidade e Emoções em Eventos Desportivos (pp. 53–68). Instituto Piaget.
Teles, R. (1933). História do Foot-Ball Club do Porto. 1906–1933. O Porto Desportivo.
Vala, J. (2004). Representações Sociais e Psicologia Social do Conhecimento Quotidiano. In J. Vala & B. Monteiro (Eds.), Psicologia Social (pp. 457–502). Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
Weber, M. (1993). Economia y sociedad. Esbozo de Sociologia compreensiva. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
Woodward, K. (2000). Identidade e diferença: uma introdução teórica e conceitual. In T. Silva (Ed.), Identidade e Diferença (pp. 7–72). Editora Vozes.

Folktale patterns and memory-building processes in Swedish football

Akindes, G. A. (2013). South Asia and South-East Asia: New paths of African footballer Migration. Soccer and Society, 14(5), 684–701. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2013.792486
Andersson, R. , & Barker-Ruchti, N. (2019). Career paths of Swedish top-level women soccer players. Soccer and Society, 20(6), 857–871. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2018.1431775
Andersson, T. (2002). Kung Fotboll: Den Svenska fotbollens kulturhistoria från 1800-talets slut till 1950. ARX Förlag.
Andersson, T. (2011). Spela fotboll bondjävlar! En studie av svensk klubbkultur och lokal identitet från 1950 till 2000-talet. Del 1. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion.
Andersson, T. (2016). Spela fotboll bondjävlar! En studie av svensk klubbkultur och lokal identitet från 1950 till 2000-talet. Del 2. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion.
Andersson, T. , & Carlsson, B. (2009). Football in Scandinavia: A fusion of welfare policy and the market. Soccer and Society, 10(3–4), 299–304. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970902771365
Antonioni, P. , & Cubbin, J. (2000). The Bosman ruling and the emergence of a single market in soccer talent. European Journal of Law and Economics, 9(2), 157–173. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018778718514
Assmann, A. (2011). Cultural memory and western civilization. Functions, media, archives. Cambridge University Press.
Assmann, J. (1988). Collective memory and cultural identity. In J. Assmann & T. Hölschner (Eds.), Kultur und Gedächtnis (pp. 9–19). Suhrkamp.
Berger, A. A. (2013). Media, myth, and society. Palgrave Macmillan.
Ben-Porat, G. , & Ben-Porat, A. (2004). (Un)Bounded Soccer: Globalization and localization of the game in Israel. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 39(4), 421–436. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690204049064
Bostdorff, D. M. , & O'Rourke, D. J. (2018). Religion, sport and the return of the prodigal son: The postsecular rhetoric of LeBrom James's 2014 “I’m coming home” open letter. Rthetoric & Public Affairs, 2(1), 1–28.
Brabazon, T. (2006). Playing on the periphery. Sport, identity and memory. Routledge.

Bromberger, C. (1995). Football as world-view and as ritual. French Cultural Studies, 6(18), 293–311. https://doi.org/10.1177/095715589500601803
Casaqui, V. (2015). The players of the Brazilian football team as a model of culture: Life stories mediated by television news. In H. F. L'Hoeste , R. McKee Irwin , & J. Poblete (Eds.), Sports and nationalism in Latin/o America (pp. 109–124). Palgrave Macmillan.
Darby, P. , & Solberg, E. (2010). Differing trajectories: Football development and patterns of player migration in South Africa and Ghana. Soccer and Society, 11(1–2), 118–130. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970903331433
Davies, C. A. (2008). Reflexive ethnography. A guide to researching selves and others. Routledge.
de Vasconcellos Ribeiro, C. H. , & Dimeo, P. (2009). The experience of migration for Brazilian football players. Sport in Society, 12(6), 725–736. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430902944159
Eliasson, A. (2009). The European football market, globalisation and mobility among Players. Soccer and Society, 10(3–4), 386–397. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970902771449
Elliott, R. (2014). Brits abroad: A case study analysis of three British footballers migrating to the Hungarian Soproni Liga. Soccer and Society, 15(4), 517–534. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2013.828594
Farrell, G. (2021). One-way traffic? 100 years of soldiers, mercenaries, refugees and other footballing migrants in the League of Ireland 1920–2020. Soccer and Society, 22(8), 873–886. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2021.1988307
Frick, B. , & Simmons, R. (2014). The footballers' labour market after the Bosman Ruling. In J. Goddard & P. Sloane (Eds.), Handbook on the economics of professional football (pp. 203–226). Edward Elgar Publishing.
Gammelsæter, H. (2009). The organisation of professional football in Scandinavia. Soccer and Society, 10(3–4), 305–323. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970902771373
Gammon, S. J. (2014). Heroes as heritage: The commoditization of sporting achievement. Journal of Heritage Tourism, 9(3), 246–256.
Garry, J. , & El-Shamy, H. (2005). Transformation, motifs D0-D699. In J. Garry & H. El-Shamy (Eds.), Archetypes and motifs in folklore and literature. A handbook (pp. 125–132). M.E. Sharpe.
González-Ramallal, M. , Castilla, J. L. , & Mesa, A. (2015). Postmodern footballers and their 'second skin': Emotional narratives ranging from solidarity to intimacy. Soccer and Society, 16(4), 437–452. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2014.882827
Halbwachs, M. (1992). On collective memory. The University of Chicago Press.
Herd, K. (2017). Constructing football through magic: An ethnographic study of football supporters. Soccer and Society, 18(7), 1045–1057. http://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2015.1133415
Herd, K. (2018a). We can make new history here. Rituals of performing history in Swedish football clubs. Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences.
Herd, K. (2018b). From a body to a story. Transformative narratives in Swedish football. InterDisciplines Journal of History and Sociology, 9(1), 95–121. https://doi.org/10.4119/UNIBI/indi-v9-i1-189
Hourihan, M. (1997). Deconstructing the hero. Literary theory and children's literature. Routledge.
Jack, A. M. (2018). Reading the prodigal son: The prodigal son in English and American literature: Five hundred years of literary homecomings, Biblical Refigurations. Oxford Academic.
Johansson, R. , Ristilammi, P.-M. , & Tolvhed, H. (2023). Zlatan Ibrahimović: A monument and a mirror of his time. Soccer and Society, 24(3), 333–349. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2023.2179197
Kozinets, R. (2019). Netnography: The essential guide to qualitative social media research. SAGE Publications Ltd.
Lally, A. , Smith, M. , & Parry, K. D. (2022). Exploring migration experiences of foreign footballers to England through the use of autobiographies. Soccer and Society, 23(6), 529–544. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2021.1930535
Lanfranchi, P. , & Taylor, M. (2001). Moving with the ball: The migration of professional footballers. Berg.
López Frías, F. J. (2018). Football transfers and moral responsibility. Soccer and Society, 19(4), 560–572. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2016.1221822

Molnar, G. (2006). Mapping migrations: Hungary related migrations of professional footballers after the collapse of communism. Soccer and Society, 7(4), 463–485. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970600905752

Müller, J. (2014). Local relations and transnational imaginaries: Football practices of migrant men and women from Andean countries in Spain. Soccer and Society, 15(4), 596–617. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2013.828601

Nilsson, J. (2022). En barndomsdröm. https://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/fotboll/a/EozqW3/jag-vill-garna-spela-i-aik-igen--om-nu-inte-deras-fans-dodar-mig (25 January 2013)

Nolasco, C. (2019). Player migration in Portuguese football: A game of exits and entrances. Soccer and Society, 20(6), 795–809. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2017.1419470

Nosal, P. , Kossakowski, R. , & Wozniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. Sport in Society, 24(11), 2050–2065. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1892644

Petersson, M. (2022). Kärleksbombningen fick Milosevic nobbade bud for AIK. https://www.fotbollskanalen.se/allsvenskan/karleksbombningen-fick-effekt-milosevic-nobbade-bud-for-aik-gjorde-att-jags/ (23 January 2023).

Rafaelle, P. (2014). International migration of professional footballers. In J. Goddard & P. Sloane (Eds.) Handbook on the economics of professional football (pp. 227–237). https://doi-org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.4337/9781781003176

Reilly, B. (2014). Labour market discrimination. In J. Goddard & P. Sloane (Eds.), Handbook on the economics of professional football (pp. 238–258). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Richardson, D. , Littlewood, M. , Nesti, M. , & Benstead, L. (2012). An examination of the migratory transition of elite young European soccer players to the English Premier League. Journal of Sports Sciences, 30(15), 1605–1618. https://doi.org/10.1080/02640414.2012.733017

Rodríguez, J. C. (2015). The nation in the strike zone and reality at bat: Bodies, voices, and spaces of Cuban baseball in sport documentaries. In H. Fernández L'Hoeste , R. McKee Irwin , & J. Poblete (Eds.), Sports and nationalism in Latin/o America (pp. 141–162). Palgrave Macmillan.

Ruijg, J. , & van Ophem, H. (2015). Determinants of football transfers. Applied Economics Letters, 22(1), 12–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504851.2014.892192

Schokkaert, J. (2016). Football clubs' recruitment strategies and international player migration: Evidence from Senegal and South Africa. Soccer and Society, 17(1), 120–139. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2014.919271

Schoug, F. (1997). Intima samhällsvisioner: Sporten mellan minimalism och gigantism. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion.

Silver, C. G. , Garry, J. , & El-Shamy, H. (2005). Animal brides and grooms: Marriage of person to animal motif B600, and animal paramour, motif B610. In J. Garry & H. El-Shamy (Eds.), Archetypes and motifs in folklore and literature. A handbook (pp. 93–100). M.E. Sharpe.

Soley-Beltran, P. (2015). Pride and glamour on the catwalk: Fashion models as national and ethnic icons. In U. Merkel (Ed.), Identity discourses and communities in international events, festivals and spectacles (pp. 207–226). Palgrave Mcmillan.

Stephenson, P. J. (2014). Gift and reciprocity at work? Using Mauss to explore justifications for the solidarity day in the aftermath of the 2003 heatwave. Modern and Contemporary France, 22(3), 343–361. https://doi.org/10.1080/09639489.2013.865011

Storm, R. K. (2009). The rational emotions of FC København: A lesson on generating profit in professional soccer. Soccer and Society, 10(3–4), 459–476. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970902771506

Sund, B. (2008). Fotbollsindustrin [Football industry]. Nomen Förlag.

Szymanski, S. (2010). Football economics and policy. Palgrave Macmillan.

Underberg, N. M. , Garry, J. , & El-Shamy, H. (2005). The hero cycle, various motifs. In J. Garry & H. El-Shamy (Eds.), Archetypes and motifs in folklore and literature. A handbook (pp. 10–16). M.E. Sharpe.

Van Uden, J. (2005). Transforming a football club into a 'total experience' entertainment company: Implications for management. Managing Leisure, 10(3), 184–198. https://doi.org/10.1080/13606710500239087

Xu, Y. (2021). The formation mechanism of the player transfer network among football clubs. Soccer and Society, 22(7), 704–715. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2020.1835651

Yeboah Acheampong, E. (2020). How does professional football status challenge African players' behaviour? Soccer and Society, 21(2), 137–151. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2018.1541797
August, scout, 27 July 2020
Hasse, scout, 03 February 2021
Sten, scout, 27 February 2021
Kenth, player, 21 July 2020
Petersson, M. (2022-01-11). Kärleksbombningen fick Milosevic nobbade bud for AIK. Retrieved from: https://www.fotbollskanalen.se/allsvenskan/karleksbombningen-fick-effekt-milosevic-nobbade-bud-for-aik-gjorde-att-jag-s/ (23 January 2023).
https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=705605987304329 (5 May 2022).
https://twitter.com/aikfotboll/status/1581740657017618432 (16 October 2022.)
Nilsson, J. (2022-05-06). En barndomsdröm. Retrieved from: https://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/fotboll/a/EozqW3/jag-vill-garna-spela-i-aik-igen--om-nu-inte-deras-fans-dodar-mig (25 january 2013).

Fandom identity, collective memory and blank spots in knowledge

Alrababa'h, A. , Marble, W. , Mousa, S. , & Siegel, A. (2021). Can exposure to celebrities reduce prejudice? the effect of Mohamed Salah on islamophobic behaviors and attitudes. American Political Science Review, 115(4), 1111–1128. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000423
Bandyopadhyay, K. (2008). "The nation and its fragments": Football and community in India. Soccer & Society, 9(3), 377–393. https://doi.org/10.1080/146609
Berg, J. (2023). Uniting a scattered heritage: Historical and contemporary perspectives on the heritagization of Swedish sports. In C. Axelsson Yngvéus , C. Trenter , & M. T. Tureby (Eds.), (Un)contested heritage: Archives, museum and public spaces (pp. 108–127). Malmö University.
Bolsmann, C. , & Parker, A. (2007). Soccer, South Africa, and celebrity status: Mark Fish, popular culture, and the post-apartheid state. Soccer & Society, 8(1), 109–124. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970600989442
Bouandel, Y. , & Amara, M. (2019). Moments and memories: Football and state narratives in Algeria. Soccer & Society, 20(7–8), 1084–1094. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2019.1680505
Brassell, A. (2022). Football murals: A celebration of soccer's greatest street art. Bloomsbury.
Chung, S. (2023). "Because Hongkongers should support Hong Kong": Entanglement of national identity, political ideology, and football fandom in Hong Kong. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 47(3), 203–227. https://doi.org/10.1177/01937235231171372
Clark, M. (2020). Drag them: A brief etymology of so-called "cancel culture." Communication and the Public, 5, 88–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/2057047320961562
Connerton, P. (2008). Seven types of forgetting. Memory Studies, 1(1), 59–71.
Delaney, M. (2023, March 12). How the Gary Lineker and match of the day chaos unfolded - And the repercussions for the BBC. The Independent. https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/gary-lineker-match-of-the-day-what-happened-b2299035.html
Doidge, M. , Kossakowski, R. , & Mintert, S. (2020). Ultras: The passion and performance of contemporary football fandom. Manchester University Press.
Dorrell, E. (2023, April 15). What football fans say when you ask them if they're 'woke.' The Independent. https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/football-woke-trans-working-class-sport-b2320320.html
Dorsey, J. M. (2014). Rooted in history: Politics, identity, and ultras in north African soccer. In C. Onwumechili & G. Akindes (Eds.), Identity and nation in African football: Global culture and sport (pp. 50–66). Palgrave Macmillan.
El-Zatmah, S. (2012). From Terso into ultras: The 2011 Egyptian revolution and the radicalisation of the soccer's Ultra-Fans. Soccer & Society, 13(5–6), 801–813. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2013.766030

Freedman, S. G. (2016, December 2). Needed: The woke white fan. Andscape. https://andscape.com/features/needed-the-woke-white-fan/
García, C. (2012). Nationalism, identity, and fan relationship building in Barcelona football Club. International Journal of Sport Communication, 5(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1123/ijsc.5.1.1
García, C. (2012). The use of sports as a tool of public diplomacy in regions or “stateless nations”: The case of the Basque country in contemporary Spain. Journal of Sports Media, 7(2), 115–128. https://doi.org/10.1353/jsm.2012.0015
Gibril, S. (2018). Football and politics in Egypt. In Jean-Michel De Waele, S. Gibril, E. Gloriozova, & R. Spaaij (Eds.), Palgrave international handbook of football and politics (pp. 347–368). Palgrave Macmillan.
Guschwan, M. (2023). Francesco Totti: Global star rooted in place. Soccer & Society, 24(5), 712–724. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2022.2111553
Irak, D. (2020). Football in Turkey during the Erdoğan regime. Soccer & Society, 21(6), 680–691. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2020.1775045
Irak, D. (2021). Fight ‘acceptable’ with ‘acceptable:’ Football, cultural battle in Turkey and the story of two ‘doxas’ over an old military song. Sport in Society, 24(1), 38–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2020.1830064
Jakubowska, H. , Antonowicz, D. , & Kossakowski, R. (2021). Female fans, gender relations and football fandom challenging the brotherhood culture. Routledge.
Kalaycı, H. (2021). A not-so-friendly match between ‘Old Turkey’ and ‘New Turkey’: Turkish football and stadiums as a domain of hegemonic struggle. Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 15(4), 519–535. https://doi.org/10.1080/25765949.2021.2009196
Karlsson, K.-G. (2014). Historia, historiedidaktik och historiekultur—Teori och perspektiv. In K.-G. Karlsson & U. Zander (Eds.), Historien är närvarande: Historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning. Studentlitteratur13-89.
Kassing, J. , & Meân, L. (2022). The art of Tifo: Identity, representation, and performing fandom in football/soccer. Peter Lang Publishing.
Künzler, D. , & Poli, R. (2012). The African footballer as visual object and figure of success: Didier Drogba and social meaning. Soccer & Society, 13(2), 207–221. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2012.640502
Margaryan, M. (2019). Football club supporters and the self-determination processes: The political behavior of supporters of the major football clubs in Scotland and Catalonia. Master's thesis (Master in European Studies) - Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
Michelini, E. , & Seiberth, K. (2023). (Anti-)Hero, refugee, soccer player: the case of Bakery Jatta. Soccer & Society, 24(5), 622–635. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2022.2080668
Molden, B. (2016). Resistant pasts versus mnemonic hegemony: On the power relations of collective memory. Memory Studies, 9(2), 125–142. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015596014
Mukherjee, M. (2013). The otherness of self: Football, fandom, and fragmented (sub) nationalism in Bengal. Soccer & Society, 14(5), 652–669. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2013.792484
Ng, E. (2020). No grand pronouncements here…: Reflections on cancel culture and digital media participation. Television & New Media, 21(6), 621–627.
Njororai, W. (2014). The history and identity of East African Football within the African context. In C. Onwumechili & G. Akindes (Eds.), Identity and nation in African football: Global culture and sport (pp. 67–80). Palgrave Macmillan.
Nosal, P. , Kossakowski, R. , & Woźniak, W. (2021). Guerrilla patriotism and mnemonic wars: Cursed soldiers as role models for football fans in Poland. Sport in Society, 24(11), 2050–2065. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1892644
Onwumechili, C. , & Akindes, G. (2014). Africa, fandom, and shifting identities: An introduction to football and identity. In C. Onwumechili & G. Akindes (Eds.), Identity and nation in African Football: Global culture and sport (pp. 1–16). Palgrave Macmillan.
Pitkin, H. (1967). The concept of representation. University of California Press.
Popa, N. (2022). Operationalizing historical consciousness: A review and synthesis of the literature on meaning making in historical learning. Review of Educational Research, 92(2), 171–208. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543211052333
Pope, S. (2017). The feminization of sports fandom: A sociological study. Routledge.
Prendergast, C. (2000). The triangle of representation. Columbia University Press.

Sailofsky, D. (2022). Masculinity, cancel culture and woke capitalism: Exploring Twitter response to Brendan Leipsic's leaked conversation. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 57(5), 734–757. https://doi.org/10.1177/10126902211039768

Smith, L. (2006). Uses of heritage. Routledge.

Szabó, R. G. (2012). Identity and soccer in Corsica. Soccer & Society, 13(1), 36–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2012.627166

Thorp, R. (2020). How to develop historical consciousness through uses of history – A Swedish perspective. Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education, 7(1), 50–61.

Tuñón, J. , & Brey, E. (2012). Sports and politics in Spain – Football and nationalist attitudes within the Basque country and Catalonia. European Journal for Sport and Society, 9(1–2), 7–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2012.11687887

Turner, V. W. (1969). The ritual process. Penguin.

Waliaula, S. , & Okong'o, J. B. (2014). Performing Luo identity in Kenya: Songs of Gor Mahia. In C. Onwumechili & G. Akindes (Eds.), Identity and nation in African football: Global culture and sport (pp. 83–98). Palgrave Macmillan.

Woolsey, I. (2021). Football fans and social spacing: Power and control in a modernizing landscape. Springer.