



Prof. Dr. Timm Beichelt

Viadrina Summer University Political Economy of Football

Session I – 06.06.2012

**Overview: Political Dimensions of Football on the
Global, European, National, and Regional Level**

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Program



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- 06.06. Overview: Political Dimensions of Football on the Global, European, National, and Regional Level (session 1)
- 08.06. The EURO 2012: Political Tales of Two Countries (session 2)
- 11.06. Football and Nationalism (session 3, co-session with core course I)
- 13.06. Politics and Football in Democracies: Cultural Capital, Tycoons, and Free Riders (session 4)
- 18.06. Racism and the Far Right in Football (session 5, co-session with core course I)
- 20.06. Politics and Football in Autocracies: Economic Capital, Oligarchs, and Generals (session 6)

Student presentations



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Date	Session topic	Topics of student presentations
06.06.	Overview: Political Dimensions of Football on the Global, European, National, and Regional Level	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Football and Politics: FIFA• Football and Politics: UEFA
08.06.	The EURO 2012: Political Tales of Two Countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Football and Politics in Poland• Football and Politics in Ukraine
11.06.	Football and Nationalism (co-session with core course I)	Student presentations by members of core course I
13.06.	Politics and Football in Democracies: Cultural Capital, Tycoons, and Free Riders	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Football and Politics in Italy• Football and Politics in Spain• Football and Politics in Germany
18.06.	Racism and the Far Right in Football (co-session with core course I)	Student presentations by members of core course I
20.06.	Politics and Football in Autocracies: Economic Capital, Oligarchs, and Generals	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Football and Politics in Russia• Football and Politics Egypt

Student presentations



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Date	Student presentations
06.06.	Mathias Gerspacher (Football and Politics: FIFA) Oskar Jan Mross (Football and Politics: UEFA)
08.06.	Dirk Andrews (Football and Politics in Poland) Olga Zhdanova (Football and Politics in Ukraine)
13.06.	Ivo Bosilkov (Football and Politics in Italy) Sofia Elena González (Football and Politics in Spain) Patrick Stief (Football and Politics in Germany)
20.06.	Khurshed Tojiboev (Football and Politics in Russia) Elena Bruckner (Football and Politics Egypt)

- a) short outline of major events that link football and politics in the given country,
- b) specific contribution of football to national identity (what elements/arguments/factors are involved)
- c) usage/ instrumentalisation of football by political actors. From there, we will start our discussions.



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Viadrina Summer University Political Economy of Football

Session 4, 13.06.

Politics and Football in Democracies: Cultural Capital,
Tycoons, and Free Riders



- 06.06. Overview: Political Dimensions of Football on the Global, European, National, and Regional Level
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- 11.06. Football and Nationalism (co-session with core course I)
- 13.06. Politics and Football in Democracies: Cultural Capital, Tycoons, and Free Riders
- 18.06. Racism and the Far Right in Football (co-session with core course I)
- 20.06. Politics and Football in Autocracies: Economic Capital, Oligarchs, and Generals

Further Schedule of VSU



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Date	Time	Event
13.06.	10:00-12:15	Core Courses 1+2 (separate sessions)
	12:30-13:30	Project Presentations (joint session)
	Afternoon	Free Time / Preparation Fan-Watching
18.06.	10:00-12:30	Core courses 1+2 (joint session)
	12:30-13:15	BBC broadcast: Stadium of Hate
20.06.	10:00-13:15	Core Courses 1+2 (separate sessions)

Influence of political actors on football



	Active football politics (Legal dimension, primary and secondary legislation)	Passive football politics (identity dimension, instrumentalisation dimension)
Global Level		
European Level		
National Level		
Regional Level		

Student presentations



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Are there certain profiles/types of...

- Active political influence
- Building social capital
- Instrumentalisation
 - ➔ By country?
 - ➔ By type of democracy?
 - ➔ By what ??



	Politics of Identity Construction	Instrumentalization of Football
Strategy I: Club owners into politics		
Strategy II: Politicians getting involved in football		

Student presentations

Core course 2: 13.06.



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1. Oskar Jan Mross (Football and Politics: UEFA)
2. Ivo Bosilkov (Football and Politics in Italy)
3. Patrick Stief (Football and Politics in Germany)
4. Behar Xharra (Football and Politics in Serbia)



	Politics of Identity Construction	Instrumentalization of Football
Strategy I: Club owners into politics	Identity branding	Tycoon model
Strategy II: Politicians getting involved in football	Deliberate identity construction	Free rider model

Identity politics: Building social capital



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Silvio Berlusconi, media mogul,
former prime minister of Italy.
Owner of AC Milan since 1986.

http://www.google.de/imgres?q=berlusconi+fu%C3%9Fball&um=1&hl=de&biw=1014&bih=608&tbm=isch&tbnid=_eSvxpruWQWQyM:&imgref url=http://www.focus.de/sport/fussball/italien-milan-ehrt-klub-eigner-berlusconi_aid_601312.html&docid=ZUN8h1BimUvR7M&imgurl=http://p4.focus.de/img/gen/o/t/photo_1298041553984-1-HD_1542556_1_sid_Pxgen_r_300xA.jpg&w=300&h=225&ei=vJSiT9atI3ntQbrvNifBw&zoom=1&iact=rc&dur=359&sig=107212100625040835096&page=2&tbnh=132&tbnw=214&start=15&ndsp=16&ved=1t:429,r:1,s:15,i:106&tx=137&ty=84

Identity politics: Building social capital

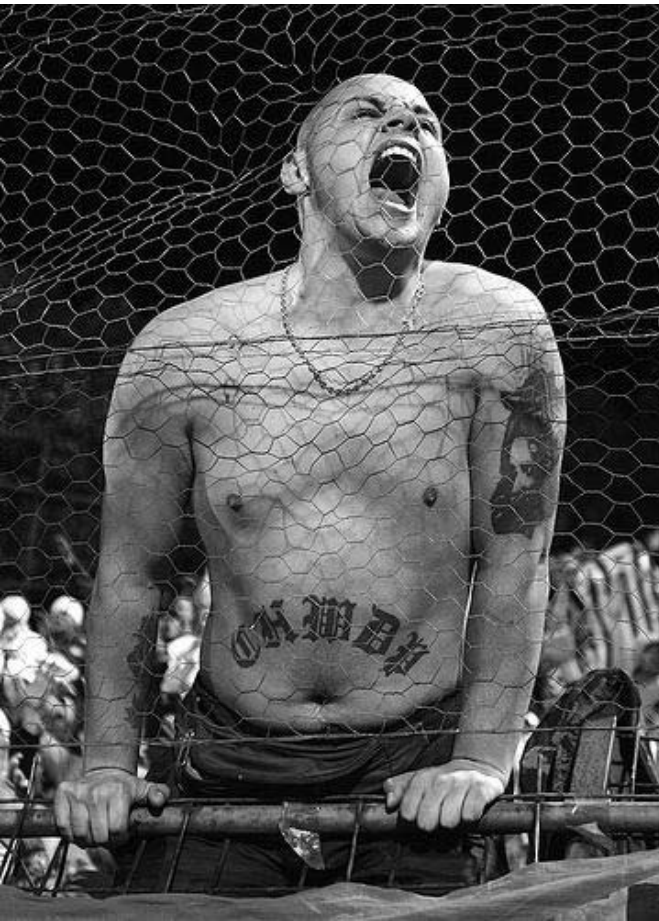


- http://www.google.de/imgres?q=berlusconi+fu%C3%9Fball&um=1&hl=de&biw=1014&bih=608&tbnm=isch&tbnid=qtp33ppeC4FN2M:&imgrefurl=http://www.n-tv.de/sport/fussball/Berlusconi-regiert-bei-Milan-weiter-article4756976.html&docid=p6xUn4XCCwp8-M&imgurl=http://www.n-tv.de/img/47/4756956/lmg_16_9_450_hj.jpg&w=450&h=253&ei=vJSiT9atlI3ntQbrvNifBw&zoom=1&iact=hc&vpx=99&vpy=309&dur=469&hovh=168&hovw=300&tx=103&ty=105&sig=107212100625040835096&page=2&tbnh=125&tbnw=222&start=15&ndsp=16&ved=1t:429,r:0,s:15,i:104

Italy and beyond



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„An Ultra has no name, only good friends know him. An Ultras has no face, most of the time a hood is covering his head, a scarf covering his mouth. [...] An Ultra attacks if attacked, and helps when needed, they don't stop being ultras as soon as they take their scarf off and return home, they battle 7 days a week. An experienced Ultra leads an example to the youth, the youth have respect for the older Ultra. The young ultras are proud while standing next to someone more experienced, they learn from the critics of the older Ultras, they go red when given a handshake from them.[...] Every ultra is different: there are those who wear supporter logos or club colors and those who have never had those things in their life. [...]



...Ultras are different, but what unites them is their love for their club, their persistence to stay 90 minutes on their feet during the rain or cold, (...) united by one look, by one ideal, by a one and only mentality.

All the things which unite us together, at the same time distance us from the rest of the world[...] Ultras is not vandalism or violence without reason, it is a persistent defence of a way of life, that has now fell in crisis because of social problems, because of stupid televisions, because of discos which attract more and more youth but most of all because of UNJUSTIFIABLE REPRESSION (by police and federations) [...]“.





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Germany

German identity construction



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2010:
German President
Christian Wulff,
Turkish Prime
Minister Recep
Tayyip Erdogan, and
Angela Merkel
Match Germany -
Turkey

http://www.google.de/imgres?q=merkel+%C3%B6zil&start=85&um=1&hl=de&sa=N&biw=1014&bih=608&tbm=isch&tbnid=zujMz3zJ0ZGufM:&imgrefurl=http://koptisch.wordpress.com/2010/10/12/integrations-kicker-ozil-80-minuten-lang-ausgepiffen/&docid=Did87_LEM5uyIM&imgurl=http://koptisch.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/1erdo.jpg&w=720&h=541&ei=gl-iT6DUEYvLswb6yoHWBw&zoom=1&iact=rc&dur=62&sig=107212100625040835096&page=6&tbnh=132&tbnw=207&ndsp=16&ved=1t:429,r:8,s:85,i:23&tx=52&ty=96

Identity creation: players



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Boateng brothers: Jerome (Germany) and Kevin Prince (Ghana)

Identity creation: players



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Turkish roots: Mesut Özil (German team) and Nuri Sahin (Turkish team)

Identity politics: Building social capital



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2012:

German politician Jürgen Trittin gives public advice on relegating Hertha BSC Berlin Goalkeeper Thomas Kraft to Berlin's second team.

http://www.11freunde.de/img/artikel/150113_huge.jpg



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Serbia

(and other transition countries)

Weak rule of law, corruption (Poland)



The biggest problem with professional football in Poland, according to the 212 professional footballers in Poland that participated in this research, is the non-payment of salaries and bonuses. There are also big problems with training alone.

In the Polish league, 42.9% of the footballers do not receive their wages on time. Most of those players have to wait between 1 to 3 months (71.6%). There are players who have to wait for a far longer period. 8.0% has to wait more between 6 and 12 months, and 4.5% has to wait for more than 1 year.

42.9% of the professional footballers in
Poland did not receive their wages on
time

Source: FIFPro Black Book Eastern Europe, p. 75

<http://www.fifpro.org/img/uploads/file/FIFPro%20Black%20Book%20Eastern%20Europe%20WEB%20DOWNLOAD.pdf>

Weak rule of law, corruption (Poland)



Table 44: Match Fixing (Poland)

	MATCH FIXING	n	%
Have you ever been approached to consider fixing the result of a match?	Yes	13	6.2
	No	197	93.8
	Total	210	100.0
Are you aware of any match fixing that took place in your league?	Yes	14	6.8
	No	191	93.2
	Total	205	100.0

Source: FIFPro Black Book Eastern Europe, p. 77

<http://www.fifpro.org/img/uploads/file/FIFPro%20Black%20Book%20Eastern%20Europe%20WEB%20DOWNLOAD.pdf>

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Economic dependence

Value of Polish clubs



Ekstraklasa 2011/2012				
Club	Squad	ø-Age	Market value	ø-Market value
Wisla Krakau	28	26,5	24.150.000 €	862.500 €
Legia Warschau	29	25,6	22.700.000 €	782.759 €
Lech Posen	24	25,4	22.350.000 €	931.250 €
Slask Wroclaw	27	26,9	17.425.000 €	645.370 €
Polonia Warschau	27	25,9	14.500.000 €	537.037 €
Zaglebie Lubin	29	26,1	10.875.000 €	375.000 €
Lechia Gdansk	30	25,1	10.375.000 €	345.833 €
Jagiellonia Bialystok	26	24,4	9.650.000 €	371.154 €
Cracovia Krakau	32	26,1	8.625.000 €	269.531 €
Korona Kielce	29	25,4	8.625.000 €	297.414 €
Ruch Chorzow	25	26,8	8.200.000 €	328.000 €
Gornik Zabrze	26	25,4	8.200.000 €	315.385 €
GKS Belchatow	28	25,3	7.825.000 €	279.464 €
Widzew Lodz	27	24,8	7.475.000 €	276.852 €
LKS Lodz	34	26,6	6.775.000 €	199.265 €
Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala	31	26,8	6.625.000 €	213.710 €
			194.375.000 €	430.033 €

➔ Regular sponsorship model: „Healthy development“ but non-success plus further side effects

Conclusion



- Football helps to illustrate pertinent problems of (political, economic, social) transition
- Merkel model of embedded democracy can be applied to better understand football developments in transition countries
- Defects, problem areas:
 - Rule of law / corruption and political rights / racism: football as an indicator of political transition
 - Limited control of rulers: the unfortunate companionship of oligarchs and international football officials
 - Dependence on economics: “healthy” non-success versus “unhealthy” success (replication of major dividing line in West European football)



	Politics of Identity Construction	Instrumentalization of Football
Strategy I: Club owners into politics	Identity branding Galacticos (Madrid)	Tycoon model AC Milan
Strategy II: Politicians getting involved in football	Deliberate identity construction Regionalism (Bilbao) Minority Integration (Merkel govt. example)	Free rider model Borrowing popularity (Trittin)