

SPORT IN THE GLOBAL SOCIETY CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES



Governance, Citizenship and the New European Football Championships

The European Spectacle

Edited by Wolfram Manzenreiter and Georg Spitaler

ROUTLEDGE

Governance, Citizenship and the New European Football Championships

The European Spectacle

Edited by

Wolfram Manzenreiter and Georg Spitaler



First published 2012
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

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

First issued in paperback 2013

© 2012 Taylor & Francis

This book is a reproduction of *Soccer & Society*, vol.11, issue 6. The Publisher requests to those authors who may be citing this book to state, also, the bibliographical details of the special issue on which the book was based.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN13: 978-0-415-55106-9 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-84874-9 (pbk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Taylor & Francis Books

Disclaimer

The publisher would like to make readers aware that the chapters in this book are referred to as articles as they had been in the special issue. The publisher accepts responsibility for any inconsistencies that may have arisen in the course of preparing this volume for print.

Governance, Citizenship and the New European Football Championships

Over the past decade, European football has seen tremendous changes impacting upon its international framework as well as local traditions and national institutions. Processes of Europeanization in the fields of economy and politics provided the background for transformations of the production and consumption of football on a transnational scale. In the course of such rearrangements, football tournaments like the UEFA Championship or the European Champions League turned into mega-events and media spectacles attracting ever-growing audiences. The experience of participating in these events offers some of the very few occasions for the display and embodiment of identities within a European context.

This volume takes the 2008 EUROS hosted by Austria and Switzerland as a case study to analyze the political and cultural significance of the tournament from a multidisciplinary angle. What are the special features and spatial arrangements of a UEFA-esque Europe, in comparison to alternative possibilities of a Europe? Situating the sport tournament between interpretations of collective European ritual and European spectacle, the key research question will ask what kind of Europe was represented in the cultural, political and economic manifestations of the 2008 EUROS.

This book was published as a special issue of *Soccer & Society*.

Wolfram Manzenreiter is associated with the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna, where he teaches modern Japanese society. His research is mostly concerned with issues of sports, popular culture, media, and labor in a globalizing world.

Georg Spitaler has widely published on sports, popular culture and the politics of nationalism. He is a university assistant at the Department of Political Science, University of Vienna, as well as an editorial board member of Austria's leading football magazine, *Ballesterer*.

SPORT IN THE GLOBAL SOCIETY –
CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

Series Editor: Boria Majumdar

GOVERNANCE, CITIZENSHIP AND THE NEW EUROPEAN
FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIPS

The European Spectacle

Sport in the Global Society – Contemporary Perspectives

Series Editor: Boria Majumdar

The social, cultural (including media) and political study of sport is an expanding area of scholarship and related research. While this area has been well served by the *Sport in the Global Society Series*, the surge in quality scholarship over the last few years has necessitated the creation of *Sport in the Global Society: Contemporary Perspectives*. The series will publish the work of leading scholars in fields as diverse as sociology, cultural studies, media studies, gender studies, cultural geography and history, political science and political economy. If the social and cultural study of sport is to receive the scholarly attention and readership it warrants, a cross-disciplinary series dedicated to taking sport beyond the narrow confines of physical education and sport science academic domains is necessary. *Sport in the Global Society: Contemporary Perspectives* will answer this need.

Titles in the Series

Australian Sport

Antipodean Waves of Change

*Edited by Kristine Toohey and
Tracy Taylor*

Australia's Asian Sporting Context

1920s and 1930s

Edited by Sean Brawley and Nick Guoth

'Critical Support' for Sport

Bruce Kidd

Disability in the Global Sport Arena

A Sporting Chance

Edited by Jill M. Clair

Diversity and Division – Race, Ethnicity and Sport in Australia

Christopher J. Hallinan

Documenting the Beijing Olympics

Edited by D. P. Martinez

Football in Brazil

Edited by Martin Curi

Football's Relationship with Art: The Beautiful Game?

John E. Hughson

Forty Years of Sport and Social Change, 1968-2008

"To Remember is to Resist"

Edited by Russell Field and Bruce Kidd

Global Perspectives on Football in Africa Visualising the Game

Edited by Susann Baller,

Giorgio Miescher and Raffaele Poli

Global Sport Business

Community Impacts of Commercial Sport
Edited by Hans Westerbeek

Governance, Citizenship and the New European Football Championships

The European Spectacle
Edited by Wolfram Manzenreiter and Georg Spitaler

Indigenous People, Race Relations and Australian Sport

Edited by Christopher J. Hallinan and Barry Judd

Reviewing UK Football Cultures

Continuing with Gender Analyses
Edited by Jayne Caudwell

Soccer in the Middle East

Edited by Issam Khalidi and Alon Raab

South Africa and the Global Game

Football, Apartheid and Beyond
Edited by Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann

Sport – Race, Ethnicity and Identity

Building Global Understanding
Edited by Daryl Adair

Sport and the Community

Edited by Allan Edwards and David Hassan

Sport, Culture and Identity in the State of Israel

Edited by Yair Galily and Amir Ben-Porat

Sport in Australian National Identity

Kicking Goals
Tony Ward

Sport in the City

Cultural Connections
Edited by Michael P. Sam and John E. Hughson

The Changing Face of Cricket

From Imperial to Global Game
Edited by Dominic Malcolm, Jon Gemmell and Nalin Mehta

The Containment of Soccer in Australia

Fencing Off the World Game
Edited by Christopher J. Hallinan and John E. Hughson

The Flame Relay and the Olympic Movement

John J. MacAloon

The Making of Sporting Cultures

John E. Hughson

The Politics of Sport

Community, Mobility, Identity
Edited by Paul Gilchrist and Russell Holden

The Politics of Sport in South Asia

Edited by Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, Shantanu Chakrabarti and Kingshuk Chatterjee

The Social Impact of Sport

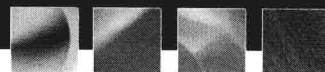
Edited by Ramón Spaaij

Who Owns Football?

The Governance and Management of the Club Game Worldwide
Edited by David Hassan and Sean Hamil

Why Minorities Play or Don't Play Soccer

A Global Exploration
Edited by Kausik Bandyopadhyay



The International Journal of the History of Sport

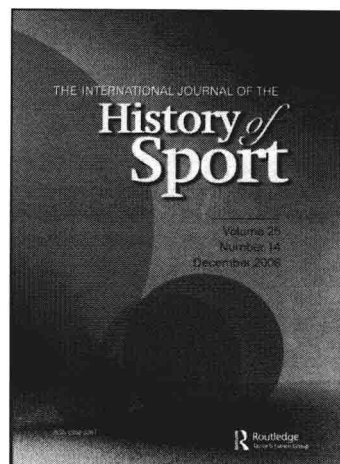
INCREASE IN FREQUENCY!

EXECUTIVE ACADEMIC EDITOR:

J.A. Mangan, *University of Strathclyde, UK*

The International Journal of the History of Sport is acknowledged as a leading journal in the field of the historical study of sport in its political, cultural, social, educational, economic, spiritual and aesthetic dimensions. The journal offers a forum to anthropologists, sociologists, historians and others who seek to explore the relationship between sport and society in a historical context.

To view free articles please visit www.tandf.co.uk/journals/fhsp and click on News & Offers.



To sign up for tables of contents, new publications and citation alerting services visit www.informaworld.com/alerting



Register your email address at www.tandf.co.uk/journals/eupdates.asp to receive information on books, journals and other news within your areas of interest.



For further information, please contact Customer Services at either of the following:

T&F Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex, CO3 3LP, UK

Tel: +44 (0) 20 7017 5544 Fax: 44 (0) 20 7017 5198

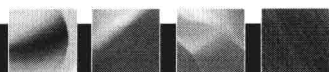
Email: subscriptions@tandf.co.uk

Taylor & Francis Inc, 325 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA

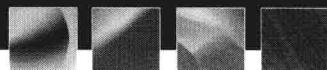
Tel: +1 800 354 1420 (toll-free calls from within the US)

or +1 215 625 8900 (calls from overseas) Fax: +1 215 625 2940

Email: customerservice@taylorandfrancis.com



View an online sample issue at:
www.tandf.co.uk/journals/fhsp



European Sport Management Quarterly

INCREASE IN FREQUENCY!

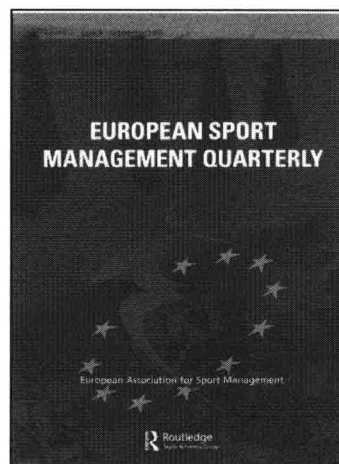
Published on behalf of the European Association for Sport Management

EDITOR:

Marijke Taks, *University of Windsor, Canada*

European Sport Management Quarterly publishes articles that contribute to our understanding of how sport organizations are structured, managed and operated. Founded by the European Association for Sport Management, the Journal sets out to enhance our understanding of the role of sport management and sport bodies in social life and the way social forces and social practices affect these organizations.

To view free articles please visit www.tandf.co.uk/journals/resm and click on News & Offers.



To sign up for tables of contents, new publications and citation alerting services visit www.informaworld.com/alerting



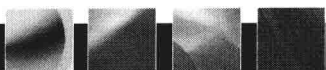
Register your email address at www.tandf.co.uk/journals/eupdates.asp to receive information on books, journals and other news within your areas of interest.



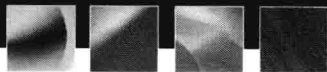
For further information, please contact Customer Services at either of the following:
Routledge Customer Services, T&F Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex CO3 3LP, UK
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7017 5544 Fax: 44 (0) 20 7017 5198
Email: subscriptions@tandf.co.uk

Routledge Customer Services, Taylor & Francis Inc, 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA
Tel: +1 800 354 1420 (toll-free calls from within the US)
or +1 215 625 8900 (calls from overseas) Fax: +1 215 625 2940
Email: customerservice@taylorandfrancis.com

When ordering, please quote: XC11501A



View an online sample issue at:
www.tandf.co.uk/journals/resm



International Journal of Sport Policy

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

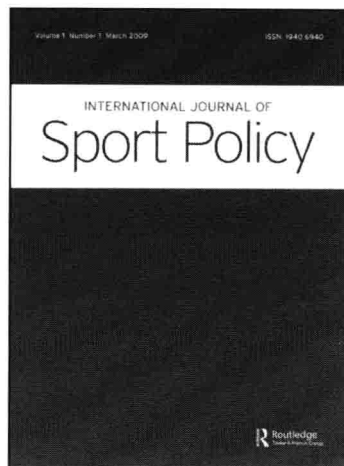
Barrie Houlihan, *Loughborough University, UK*

CO-EDITORS:

Daniel Bloyce and **Andy Smith**, *both at University of Chester, UK*

The *International Journal of Sport Policy* stimulates scholarly debate about the role, significance and impact of public policy on sport. The journal provides a forum on how the state is shaping the way in which sport is produced and how sport is used for achieving non-sport objectives in areas such as welfare, community development and diplomacy. Articles published are theoretically rigorous and appeal to both scholars and practitioners.

To view free articles please visit www.tandf.co.uk/journals/risp and click on News & Offers.



To sign up for tables of contents, new publications and citation alerting services visit www.informaworld.com/alerting



Register your email address at www.tandf.co.uk/journals/eupdates.asp to receive information on books, journals and other news within your areas of interest.



For further information, please contact Customer Services at either of the following:

T&F Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex, CO3 3LP, UK

Tel: +44 (0) 20 7017 5544 Fax: 44 (0) 20 7017 5198

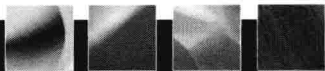
Email: subscriptions@tandf.co.uk

Taylor & Francis Inc, 325 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA

Tel: +1 800 354 1420 (toll-free calls from within the US)

or +1 215 625 8900 (calls from overseas) Fax: +1 215 625 2940

Email: customerservice@taylorandfrancis.com



View an online sample issue at:
www.tandf.co.uk/journals/risp

Contents

<i>Series pages</i>	vii
1. Introduction: governance, citizenship and the new European Football Championships: the European spectacle <i>Wolfram Manzenreiter and Georg Spitaler</i>	1
2. Towards a Europeanization of football? Historical phases in the evolution of the UEFA European Football Championship <i>Jürgen Mittag and Benjamin Legrand</i>	15
3. From the stadium to the fan zone: host cities in a state of emergency <i>Anke Hagemann</i>	29
4. Governing by fun: EURO 2008 and the appealing power of fan zones <i>Georg Lauss and András Szigetvari</i>	43
5. Football negotiating the placement of Switzerland within Europe <i>Christian Koller</i>	54
6. The Europeanization of Austrian football: history, adaptation and transnational dynamics <i>Alexander Brand, Arne Niemann and Georg Spitaler</i>	67
7. Left off the stage: mapping inclusion and exclusion in EURO 2008 <i>Matthias Marschik</i>	81
8. Europe divided, or Europe united? German and British press coverage of the 2008 European Championship <i>Sanna Inthorn</i>	96
9. (En-)gendering the European football family: the changing discourse on women and gender at EURO 2008 <i>Nicole Selmer and Almut Sülzle</i>	109
10. Discourses on forced prostitution, trafficking in women, and football: a comparison of anti-trafficking campaigns during the World Cup 2006 and the European Championship 2008 <i>Susanne Kimm and Birgit Sauer</i>	121

CONTENTS

11. EUROSCHOOLS 2008: the difficult relationship of culture, nation and anti-racism in UEFA's campaign work <i>Kenneth Horvath and Jakob Rosenberg</i>	135
12. The EURO 2008 bonanza: mega-events, economic pretensions and the sports-media business alliance <i>Bernhard Hachleitner and Wolfram Manzenreiter</i>	149
13. Material and representational legacies of sports mega-events: the case of the UEFA EURO™ football championships from 1996 to 2008 <i>John Horne</i>	160
14. The European stage for next-generation stars and fans: the Under-17 Championship 2009 in Germany <i>Christian Tagsold</i>	173
15. After the crunch: a new era for the beautiful game in Europe? <i>Anthony King</i>	186
<i>Index</i>	198

INTRODUCTION

Governance, citizenship and the new European Football Championships: the European spectacle

Wolfram Manzenreiter^a and Georg Spitaler^b

^aDepartment of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna, Austria; ^bDepartment of Political Science, University of Vienna, Austria

Introduction

For any well-informed observer of European affairs, the cultural significance of football in Europe is evident to such a degree that football must be appraised as the one ubiquitous exception to the 'largely un-European mental universe of most Europeans'. Notwithstanding the pluralities of nations and political systems or the competition between regions and economies, '... what really united Europe was football', said the late New York-based scholar of European history Tony Judt.¹ The centrality of football in European cultures and societies has been established over time by its unique position as the national sport in almost any European country. In terms of popularity, participation rates, spectator turn-out, media presence, market size and marketing appeal, European football has not stopped growing in significance, even though tremendous changes have been set into motion over the past one or two decades. Processes of Europeanization in the fields of economy and politics provided the larger background for transformations of the production and consumption of football on a transnational scale, impacting upon its international framework as well as national institutions and local traditions. In particular, the growing dominance of the free market, which has been championed by the European Union ever since the Maastricht Treaty was launched in 1992, left its mark on club squads, national league rankings and the comparative significance of national and international tournaments. During the course of these new arrangements, Europe's inter-regional football tournaments like the UEFA Championship (hereafter the EURO) or the European Champions League transmogrified into mega-events and media spectacles of the first order, attracting ever-growing audiences within football stadia, host cities, European member nations and beyond.

Writing about football in 'The New Europe', Anthony King argued that a Durkheimian approach to the 'European ritual' of club football unearths the larger transformations of social relations and institutions within the political economy of a consolidating Europe.² His observation of the decentering of national or nationalist dimensions and the emergence of an embryonic 'European consciousness' among football fans is partly echoed by Levermore and Millward, even though they are aware of the fact that football can be simultaneously used as a vehicle to resist the formation of any such pan-European identification and to protest against the forces behind the processes of transnationalization in Europe.³ Our very own contribution to the ongoing debate on football in the European mind is based on a multidisciplinary reading of

the EURO 2008 and some of its ramifications, past and present. We agree with many commentators on the general observation that the European football mega-events, including the championship of national teams and club teams, have gained in significance in economic and cultural terms. We also consent to the claim that these and other transformations have been primarily triggered by a changing political environment and economic interests seeking to maximize profit-making under renewed legal conditions. We would not take issue with the general assertion that the realignment of fan solidarities across regions has a potential impact on the definition of new transnational collective identities, even though we do not foresee the complementary development, and ultimately acceptance, of Europe as a 'Nation XL'.⁴ However, there is something more we have come to notice, and this is of great concern for the future of citizenship and governance within a European context.

Forestalling our conclusions, we dissociate ourselves from a reading of football as European ritual in which 'the social relations and social groups which are central to European society emerge with a clarity and force which is often absent elsewhere'.⁵ Instead, we consciously employ the notion of 'European spectacle' when referring to the EURO in order to highlight the opalescence and opaqueness of a progress in which football has transgressed its traditional boundaries and expanded into new realms of public space and public sphere. The notion of spectacle is particularly well suited to emphasize a number of basic presuppositions we have on the nature and provisional outcomes of this transformation. First, the spectacular of the football tournament is very useful in practical terms to cover all the paradoxes, fissures and dissonances associated with the European multitude. As a matter of fact, Europe means different things to different people, and the intellectual labour of deconstruction which challenges and debates European identity is part of its cultural heritage.⁶

The following section of our introduction to *Governance, Citizenship and the New European Football Championships: The European Spectacle* will demonstrate the plurality and variability of the sometimes fragile, but in any instance fabricated, concepts of Europe in the particular contexts of political integration, the European framework of football bureaucracy and territorial spread. Second, and more to the point of the political consequences, the spectacle form conceals the transformation of organizational forms of power which are largely occurring without open public debate. The football spectacle is part of a wider process of the spectacularization of society in the sense that the definition of the public is increasingly subjugated to the needs of those forces that are emerging as the new political and economic elite within the context of Europe. These changes of governance, which impact on the definition of the public as much as on the notion of citizenship, may have started in the fields of sports and football but they do not end there. Hence their impact extends to any European citizen and the conceptualization of subject and state under the new forms of governance, as we discuss in the third section. We deal with the issue of spectacle and its political functions in greater detail in the fourth part of our introduction. In the final section, we summarize the debate on the 'New European Football Championships' asking what has changed, what is likely to be changed in the future and what are the conditions for its economic, cultural, as well as democratic sustainability?

What do they know of Europe, who only of Europe know?

Kipling's well-known lamentation on the ignorance of his English fellowmen who failed to recognize how much their social and economic way of life was owed to the

oppressive conditions of colonial rule has been rephrased in various situations of relevance to the relationship between sport and the politics of representation. Most famously, C.L.R. James asked 'What do they know of cricket, who only of cricket know' to point at the working of colonialism and empire in the British game, which he criticized as an instrument of power and agent of political ideology.⁷ In *The European Ritual*, Anthony King asked 'what do they know of Europe, who nothing of football know' to emphasize the significance of football for the symbolic display of social relations and passions within Europe and its potential impact on forging new identities in contemporary Europe. With regard to the EURO, we agree that a comprehensive knowledge about the production, management and governance of the football tournament will generate new insights into the meaning of Europe, or actually the making of meanings of Europe in progress. As stated above, we are more than just sceptical about the role of the EURO as a ritual in the sense that it symbolically displays the fabrics and principles of social reality; rather we believe that the European spectacle simulates an image of Europe that downplays the very concrete interests at stake in arbitrating the diversity of 'Europes' in terms of inclusion and exclusion, integration and boundary making.

Processes of Europeanization in football inevitably are bound to questions of territory and cultural identity. Yet to the geographer, Europe is something different than to the historian or the politician as the continental reference can relate to a physiographic distinction as well as to a cultural or a political one. Not only in the east and south-east with its seamless transition into Asian territory, boundaries often vary according to the positioning of the cartographer, historical conditions and particular objectives of parties involved in drawing the boundaries. In football, Europeanness is first of all defined and made visible by the right of a region to participate at European championships. For this purpose, a nation or a state must have its national association in charge of football be admitted by the governing body of European football, UEFA. The continental federation has recently seen its membership rapidly increasing after the downfall of the Iron Curtain and the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and its satellite states, and the Yugoslavian Republic, in the 1990s. Armenia, Georgia and Kazakhstan are some of UEFA's recent new-entrants from a region going beyond Europe's eastern geographical boundaries of the Ural Mountains or the Black Sea. In the south, Malta has long been considered part of Africa, like Cyprus, whereas Iceland in the north is geographically closer to Greenland than to the European continental shelf. Like Turkey and Israel, these 'fringe nations' have all been awarded formal European membership status as they are among the 53 UEFA member nations.

The expansion from the inaugural 25 members to its current size has impacted on the scope, duration and procedure of UEFA-owned and managed tournaments, their reach and relevance, market value and marketability. It has also affected the way the federation itself is organized and regarded as a political force and negotiation partner within different European frameworks. Internally, the diversity of members as well as the plurality of standards of membership have made any attempt of forging European unity and identity in football increasingly difficult. Fringe nations are not only located at the periphery of Europe, as Marschik reminds us in this issue; others are more centrally placed but have no entitlement to qualify for the European championships. Among them there are nations with a distinct language, tradition and collective consciousness of a cultural or ethnic community like the Basques or Catalans that even have a football association, but no state sovereignty. Others like Kosovo or Vatican City are sovereign but also not UEFA members. Then there are the irritating cases of

England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales which have no state sovereignty but are recognized by UEFA as separate football associations for historical reasons and therefore expand the group of European Union-based football federations to a quantity exceeding the proper number of EU member states.

The European Union with its hybrid character of being a political project, a legal framework and a common market exerts strong and diverting influences on the conceptualization of Europe in the context of football. Particularly in political science, there is a tendency to limit the scope of Europe to the realm of the European Union. In this strict sense, Europeanization stands for 'the impact European integration is having on the individual nation states' as well as 'the strategies the individual Member States have adopted to respond to the challenges posed by European integration'.⁸ For the level of European sports, this means that 'more and more legal instruments that are being adopted at European level also effect competences for sport. (...) At the same time, more and more decisions have been taken in the field of sport regarding the requirements the European Union is expected to meet.'⁹ As a consequence, the conditions under which football now operates as an industry in each of the European nations are increasingly Europeanized. Switzerland, co-host of EURO 2008 together with Austria, is deliberately a member of UEFA but non-member of the European Union. Hence questions of the country's placement within Europe through football and the impact of the European Championships on Swiss national identity have evolved quite naturally, as Koller points out in this issue.

One of the key aspects of the European Union's policy in regard to sport has been the protection of the single-market principles. The Bosman ruling in 1995 implemented the liberalization of the European labour market for professional football and had considerable consequences on transfer regulations and nationality restrictions of national associations. Even those countries which are not bound to EU legislation have felt the impact of the European Court of Justice's ruling and the symbiotic relationship between football and media organizations as their citizens became equally targeted as players by the hiring policy of Europe's better- and best-paying clubs. UEFA contributed to the 'EUization' of European football by intentionally producing rules that are compatible with EU law, like the 'UEFA homegrown player rule' and the 'UEFA club licensing policy'. These rules are virtually defining a cross-European space in which the football industry operates. The centralized monitoring of club finances is promoted to secure 'financial fair play' and planned to be obligatory for any club performing in European competitions. As a best practice, licensing as a new standard of governance is hoped to filter down gradually into the regulatory inventory of national associations, which would be another significant step in the Europeanization of football. UEFA, which has started to offer 'European solutions to Europeanized problems' of competitive imbalance, has assumed a privileged position to mitigate between the EU and national members throughout the larger Europe.¹⁰

It must be noted that the dynamics inherent in this particular version of Europeanization are largely top-down. Brand and Niemann point to the fact that bottom-up and transnational processes and attempts to analyse their interplay have entered the debate only recently. Using the example of football, they argue for an understanding of Europeanization as a two-way process which is shaped by the interdependence of European and domestic levels. Moreover, they emphasize the fact that 'Europeanisation does not equate "EUisation"': 'Rather the EU is only part (albeit an important one) of the wider fabric of cross-border regimes in Europe in which other (transnational) institutions and frameworks also play a role'.¹¹ This can be exemplified by the type of

agency generating or resisting change, either by creating transnational spaces that impact on the governance of football or by reacting towards attempts of EU regulation. This view is further elaborated in Brand, Niemann and Spitaler's examination of the Austrian example and the case of broadcasting rights, the Bosman ruling and the impact of the UEFA Champions League and UEFA Cup (now Europa League) on Austrian football in this issue.

Armstrong and Mitchell, using Borneman and Fowler's conception of Europeanization,¹² point to bottom-up practices of Europeanization that are not confined to elite actors and institutions but include 'everyday forms of social exchange which see "Europeans" increasingly interact with each other and thus practicing – if not "imagining" – a European community'. Sport, and especially the new European football, might be seen as a key site of such processes.¹³ It could be argued, however, that football has played this role for a long time in the twentieth century (see Mittag and Legrand on historical phases in the evolution of the UEFA European Championships in this issue). Several authors have pointed to the role of the new European club football system – especially the UEFA Champions League – as a source of Europeanization,¹⁴ and the televised European football market has been termed as a 'European public space'.¹⁵ This has been observed in particular on the level of fan practices. It has been argued that the diversity of club teams players' line-ups in the post-Bosman era and the fact that many of the fans' favourite players at their local clubs are now non-nationals could change the fans' notions of representation and their 'existing identity patterns' and create 'more "European" allegiances'.¹⁶ The border-crossing popularity of some clubs from the big four European leagues (England, Germany, Italy, Spain) throughout Europe among many fans and *flâneurs* points to emerging transnational, post-traditional and de-territorialized fan cultures¹⁷ and to a 'Euro-cosmopolitanisation' of football cultures.¹⁸ Anthony King, emphasizing the importance of 'new localistic' ties and forms of solidarity that are increasingly differentiated from national identifications or at least have led to 'overlapping and even contradictory groupings and affiliations between clubs and the national team', has pointed to a developing European consciousness among football fans that is evolving out of a higher number of away games in European cup competitions, knowledge of transport systems and cities, as well as contacts with other European fans.¹⁹ But it must be noted that this consciousness is not based on a common European identity or history, but rather on the desire of most fans of bigger clubs to see their team recognized on a European level.²⁰

In his analysis of the UEFA Under-17 Championship 2009 in Germany, Tagsold (in this issue) highlights that questions of 'Europeanness' are also negotiated at smaller European tournaments among organizers, participants and local audiences.

In marked contrast to cosmopolitan optimism, Markovits and Rensmann, in their comparison with the US-American sport space, emphasize the prevalence of 'collective particularism' in European football that manifests itself in a high interest in national teams and national sport stars, whose sporting careers are followed by their fans also when playing for other European clubs.²¹ This particularism has also been observed by Sanna Inthorn in her analysis of British and German media coverage of EURO 2008 (in this issue) and in several recent studies on media sport discourse and the production of national stereotypes through coverage of national teams.²² Still, Markovits and Rensmann argue that national sports cultures, characterized by national, regional and local collective identities, have been altered by the effects of post-industrial globalization and have, for instance, led to more inclusive,