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**“The Role of Club Run Social Media Pages on
Football Fandom: A case study of Facebook and Twitter
during the 2014 European Champions League quarterfinals”**

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-

Facebook brings you closer to the team. Write your comment supporting our guys. **#GoAtleti #UCLFinal**



(Taken by author)

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Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures	v
Abstract - English.....	vi
Abstract - Deutsch	vii
Part One – Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Research Objectives.....	4
1.2 Research question	4
1.3 The field and actors	6
Chapter 2. Theoretical Review	9
2.1 Digital Anthropology/ Social Media/ Virtual Worlds	11
2.2 Nationalism/ Identity/ Globalization	13
2.3 State of Art	15
Chapter 3. Methodology	18
3.1 Research Design	18
3.2 Data Sources and Collection Techniques.....	19
3.3 Sampling Techniques	24
3.4 Data Analysis and Interpretations.....	25
3.5 Limitations.....	27
Part Two- Research.....	28
Chapter 4 – The Champions League	29
4.1 UEFA & The Champions League	29
4.2 The Clubs	34
4.3 Fans.....	40
4.4 Match Days	47
4.5 On Social Media	49
Chapter 5 - Social media & Fandom Groups Beyond the Pitch	52
5.1 Recognizing International events.....	52
5.2 Racism	54
5.3 History, Human Memory, and the habits they form	57
5.4 Multinational enterprises - Sponsorship.....	61

Chapter 6 – Social Media and Social Networks.....	63
6.1 Interaction	63
6.2 Formation processes.....	68
6.3 As a form of media.....	73
Chapter 7 Social media compared.....	76
7.1 Social Media compared: Virtual Communities and Worlds	76
7.2 Fandom Community	85
Part Three – Conclusion	89
Chapter 8- Conclusion.....	89
8.1 Summary	89
8.2 Results	92
8.3 Further research	94
Bibliography.....	97
Curriculum Vitae.....	106

List of Tables and Figures¹

Table 1 The Clubs.....	34
Table 2 Facebook growth.....	63
Figure 1 Social media and mass media.....	11
Figure 2 2014 Champions League Quarterfinals clubs & results.....	28
Figure 3 Participating UEFA map	29
Figure 4 Atlético de Madrid.....	35
Figure 5 Borussia Dortmund	36
Figure 6 Chelsea FC.....	36
Figure 7 FC Barcelona.....	37
Figure 8 FC Bayern München.....	37
Figure 9 Manchester United.....	38
Figure 10 Paris Saint-Germain F.C.	39
Figure 11 Real Madrid	39
Figure 12 Digital fan growth.....	40
Figure 13 VIP Pass.....	49
Figure 14 Solidarity and support.....	53
Figure 15 #Saynotoracism.....	55
Figure 16 Remember.....	57
Figure 17 Capitalism & business relationships.....	61
Figure 18 Smartphone apps.....	66
Figure 19 Fantasy football	67
Figure 20 Evolution	71
Figure 21 Interactive news.....	75
Figure 22 Celebrity members.....	88

¹ All images (Taken by author) are screenshots collected during my research

To begin it is important to clarify that this thesis is referring to European football.

Abstract - English

In this thesis I will focus on two popular cultural components. The first, football fandom, is an older tradition with set cultural rituals, communities, and symbols. The second, social media, is a relatively new form of communication, visual world, and, at times, community. Using data drawn from my own fieldwork, I will analyze the influence of social media on football fandom. Anthropologists Tom Boellstroff and Daniel Miller have been pioneers in conducting fieldwork online and I used their ethnographic methods throughout my research. In this paper I will compare past studies on football fandom and digital anthropology to my own research on club run social media websites. I plan to examine social media as a new form of visual interactive media and as a type of imagined community, one based on similar interest instead of space. In order to do this I will use theoretical perspectives such as globalization, identity, visual/ digital anthropology, and community theories.

Keywords: social media, Facebook, Twitter, football, fandom, digital anthropology, mass media, communities, globalization/ Europeanization, identity

Zu Beginn soll klargestellt werden, dass die vorliegende Arbeit das Wort „football“ in seiner europäischen Bedeutung als „Fußball“ verwendet.

Abstract - Deutsch

In der vorliegenden Arbeit werde ich mich auf zwei wichtige Kulturkomponenten konzentrieren. Die erste Komponente, Fußballfanggemeinschaft, ist eine ältere Tradition mit gefestigten kulturellen Ritualen, Gemeinschaften und Symbolen. Die zweite Komponente, Soziale Medien, ist eine relative neue Form der Kommunikation, visuellen Welt und – manchmal – Gemeinschaft. In Kombination mit Daten aus meiner eigenen Feldforschung werde ich den Einfluss sozialer Medien auf die Fußballfanggemeinschaft analysieren. Die Anthropologen Tom Boellstroff und Daniel Miller zählen zu den Pionieren der Onlinefeldforschung und deren ethnographische Methoden bilden die Basis meiner gesamten Forschung. In der vorliegenden Arbeit werde ich frühere Studien zu Fußballfanggemeinschaften und digitaler Anthropologie mit meiner eigenen Forschung zu offiziellen Fußballklub-Seiten auf sozialen Medien vergleichen. Ich werde zeigen, dass soziale Medien als neue Form visueller, interaktiver Medien und als eine Art von imaginerter Gemeinschaft verstanden werden können, die auf gemeinsamen Interessen anstatt geteiltem Raum basiert. Im Zuge dessen werde ich theoretische Perspektiven zu Globalisierung, Nationalismus, visueller/digitaler Anthropologie und Gemeinschaft heranziehen.

Schlagwörter: Soziale Medien, Facebook, Twitter, Fußball, Fanggemeinschaft, digitale Anthropologie, Massenmedien, Gemeinschaften, Globalisierung/Europäisierung, Identität

Part One – Introduction

Chapter 1. Introduction

The Football Research in an Enlarged Europe (FREE) team describes football as “the most popular and most widely shared expression of popular culture on identity dynamics, perception patterns, and cultural change in Europe.” (FREE) According to UEFA, in 2014 alone the Champions League final was broadcast in over 200 countries and UEFA estimates that over 380 million global viewers watched the match. When comparing these statistics to the previous year, where UEFA estimated that 360 million fans viewed the final (Ashby, 2014) we see a marked increase. Although, this simply shows that football’s popularity has been growing worldwide, at least some of this growth is attributable to an increase in European following. In lieu of a more detailed breakdown, these numbers suggest football is at the very least retaining its prominent role.

Social media, like football, is a social phenomenon that has gained great international adoption and its active use has led to its recognition as a unifier of people all around the world. Currently Twitter has more than 255 million monthly active users (Twitter), and Facebook has over 1.23 billion monthly users (Sedghi, 2014) worldwide. With this widespread social media use, football fans are more capable now than ever of not only experiencing events that happen in other parts of the world, but also of communicating with others who are sharing the same experiences. Research from Highfield, Harrington, and Burns (2013) discusses how during major media events, such as the Champions League, “Twitter is used most predominantly as a technology of fandom: it serves as a backchannel to television and other streaming audio visual media, enabling users to offer their own running commentary on the universally shared media text of the event as it unfolds live.” (P.315). This shows that fans are taking advantage of social media as a method of interacting with people around the world in real time about global topics. As global fandom increases so does the need for international social media, and as social media continues to advance

and spread, the possibilities for global fandom also increases, creating a mutually reinforcing phenomenon.

According to a news article posted by UEFA in 2013 the organization already had over 37 million followers across their various social media platforms. Having only launched the official UEFA social media pages in 2011 these numbers of users participating on UEFA and club run Facebook and Twitter pages are truly impressive and also show that at least 10% of all global viewers are engaged with the sport as active fans (UEFA, 2013). Understanding how technology influences people's identity contributes to understanding the current state and evolutionary trends of globalization.

In a blog post regarding social networking, which is another term for social media, Daniel Miller wrote: "Anthropologists refused to study persons as mere individuals but, as in the study of kinship, an individual was regarded as a node in a set of relationships, a brother's son or a sister's husband, where kinship is understood to be a social network." (Miller, The Particular Significance of SNS for Anthropology). Although past anthropological studies focused on small-scale societies, social networking websites, such as Facebook and Twitter, give anthropologists the opportunity to study society on a larger scale. When referring to social media Professor of telecommunications Edwards Castronova (2006) stated: "Until now, it has not been possible to take all of society as a research object; such a thing is too big to fit in a lab [...] now however [...] it is indeed possible to replicate entire societies and allow them to operate in parallel" (P.163). Despite the contrast in size, social media brings people together in real time, similar to traditional local methods such as a town bar, creating social spaces, which are capable of similar analysis. In the past anthropologists could use location, kinship, or language to understand how a specific group was brought together. However social media research differs from traditional research because it has no physical location. Social media is a global network accessed by people in nearly every country around the world. Without having traditional boundaries anthropologists must re-examine how specific online communities come together. They must look at what people from different countries, who speak different languages, have in common with each

other, and why these participants choose to use social media as a form of congregation instead of other, perhaps offline means.

Football is a sport that was traditionally divided by cities and countries. During the World Cup it is assumed that an individual will support his or her own country, and the same theory applies to regional championships. Although loyalties in nearly every football event are negotiated (Szogs & Schwell, 2013), a person traditionally supports a club/team they have a connection to. Traditionally researchers focus on communities where actors share a common physical location, however my focus will be on actors who share a *virtual* space, in this case a Facebook “like page” or Twitter profile page². The challenge this posed was that by having no shared city, country, or language, I was required to determine new forms of space, belonging, and identity.

I chose to research football fandom for two reasons. The first reason was because of my previous work experience with the FREE project on football fandom, which allowed me access to past and current research on football culture. The second reason was that, as a social media user, I was interested in the effects social media had on everyday life, and a focused interest, such as football, would be an interesting angle from which to understand that effect.

By combining these two topics I found a subject relevant to my professional working situation and a topic that will continue to grow in both importance and complexity as our lives become more connected through the internet. Social media networks are here to stay. The exact website, whether it is MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, etc., may change, but the desire to communicate with friends, family members, or strangers around the world is only increasing. The purpose of this study is to see the initial effects social media has on a global sport. Tom Boellstorff describes how “Twitter is a very simple technology”, and society had the capability to develop Twitter years before it was released. He continues by discussing how years ago, and nowadays, “it is imagination that is holding society back.” (Boellstorff, *Culture in a Virtual World*, 2012). Therefore now it is not a question of *if* technology will continue to be a vital part of society,

² These page structures will be described later on in the paper.

but instead *how*. By studying the current influence social media has on an aspect of popular culture future researchers will have a better comparative research base and have a better understanding of technology's overall impact on society and its trajectory.

1.1 Research Objectives

"Because research on culture in virtual worlds is relatively new (though with a longer history than often acknowledged), it is vital to broaden the conversation to include how culture in virtual worlds shares features with offline cultures, including cases where no explicit linkage exists." (Boellstorff, 2009, p. 4)

My objectives for this study are to look at social media as both a form of media and a form of community. By the end of my study I want to have a better understanding of what role social media plays in a fan's experience, how fans influence the social media environment, and what role globalization and community play on the interaction between global platforms and a sport with a strong history of nationalist ideology. In order to do this I plan to first give a detailed analysis of the Champions League and social media both on and off the pitch. I will then examine how power is distributed between fans and page administrators and how power structures are formed on an interactive media platform. I will continue my analysis by discussing how the use of interaction (specifically forms of communication- what and how), memory, and other Facebook topics/features (posting and changing photos often, creating events that users can join, and the "like" feature) influence a fan's feeling of identity and belonging to the fan community and feeling of being closer to the club and other fans. Finally I will compare my research to that of Tom Boellstorff's on Second Life and to research on fandom as an Imagined Community. Using these topics I plan to have a better idea of what role social media plays in society, how it contributes to fan communities, and how fan communities have changed with the integration of social media.

1.2 Research question

My central question is: how is social media changing the fandom experience? I will focus on three main themes: fandom, media, and community. In order to answer my research question I treated social media sites as both a

new form of communicative media and global community. Unlike television or print media, Facebook and Twitter allow for real time interaction between the media and audience or audience and audience. I wanted to know if and how this interaction influences what is published, how it is published, who participates and controls the content on the page, what new cultural norms are added to the community by using social media, what cultural aspects occur in both the physical and virtual community, and what role do identity and belonging play in the digital space that social media provides.

As Malinowski said: “an Ethnographer who sets out to study only religion, or only technology, or only social organization cuts out an artificial field for inquiry, and he will be seriously handicapped in his work” (1922, p. 11). Therefore, in order to answer my main research question I constructed many sub questions. Regarding fandom and social media my questions included: What types of fans/ groups of fans are present on social media? How is social media influencing nationalism, performance, and emotional fandom practices? Why do international/local fans use social media? Are there any new forms of fan participation through social media? How are instant interaction, availability, and updates (even during the off season) influencing a fan’s feeling of belonging and identity? Do fans or the clubs control the conversation? And finally how do fans and clubs express rituals, events, traditions, etc. online. I used these sub questions to get a better understanding of the connection between actors and actors, and actors and events in order to fully understand what I meant by effects in my main research question. By addressing questions that included both fandom and social media I was able to contrast my findings to previous research done on the separate topics.

The second focus of my research was on community and globalization. To supplement my research question I asked: are social media “like” pages a form of imagined community in themselves, or do they enhance an already existing imagined community? How do both international and local fans use social media, and how do local fans feel about the community growing beyond traditional boundaries? How and why do fans embrace or reject international support? Why do international fans support clubs in cities they have never visited and have no

national connection to? How do international fans identify with international clubs, and how do the local/ global fans interact on social media verse in the stadium? How does the accessibility of social media change the fandom demographics? And finally what role does globalization play on the increase in international members on fan pages?

I also looked at social media as a new form of media and here I asked questions such as: how is social media different from traditional print media? What role does visual media play in social media photos and YouTube videos? Does the use of a smartphone change the use of media? Is social media comparable to virtual worlds such as Second Life? And how do clubs express memories, experiences, updates, etc. through 140 characters on Twitter? My main objective with these questions was to understand social media not only as a space, but also as an action.

1.3 The field and actors

My research field will be club-run Facebook and Twitter pages, but YouTube and Instagram will also be mentioned. Despite the fact that I did not go to their specific domains, both YouTube and Instagram often came up in my research, since it is possible to link accounts and link³ posts between the various websites.

Facebook states its mission as giving “people the power to share and make the world more open and connected. People use Facebook to stay connected with friends and family, to discover what’s going on in the world, and to share and express what matters to them.” (Facebook, 2014). I used Facebook as one of my primary field sites because it allowed me to connect on club-run fan pages and meet other fans with few restrictions. I was able to join club-run pages by simply going to their Facebook page and clicking “like”, communicate with fans through postings or messages with unlimited word count, catch up on the latest news, and share my thoughts on discussion topics. Facebook acted as both a form of media and a form of open communication.

³ By link, I mean videos posted on YouTube or photos on Instagram can be automatically uploaded to a club’s Facebook or Twitter page when the club posted the original final on the aforementioned domains.

Twitter, like Facebook, is considered an online social media platform. When trying to define Twitter, its co-founder Evan Williams said: "With Twitter, it wasn't clear what it was. They called it a social network, they called it micro blogging, but it was hard to define, because it didn't replace anything." (Lapowsky, 2013). This last sentence is referring to Facebook and how it replaced MySpace. On Twitter's seventh birthday the company released a video in which they described Twitter as: "a true global town square — a public place to hear the latest news, exchange ideas and connect with people all in real time. This is where you come to connect with the world at large." (Twitter, 2013). Similar to Facebook, Twitter allows users to follow club-run pages with the click of a mouse, meet other fans, and communicate with others privately and openly. Twitter differs from Facebook because it only allows users to post 140 characters at a time, which could be very limiting. Twitter served more as a way to get highlights, and basic information. Discussions between clubs and members were restricted and at times non-existent. Fans often shared a post on their personal page and did not communicate with fans other than their personal followers.

Both Twitter and Facebook allow users to link accounts and therefore automatically post the same status updates and photos on both webpages instantaneously. This gives users many exposure opportunities. Not only are Twitter and Facebook linked, but both are also linked to websites such as Instagram and YouTube. Instagram is a webpage that allows users to upload photos with captions. It describes itself as: "a community of more than 300 million who capture and share the world's moments on the service." (Instagram). The photos shared often include a filter that has the ability to make a simple photo artsy. As of right now photos can only be uploaded to Instagram using a smartphone and not a computer. YouTube is a video sharing website that allows users to upload videos and share them on other social media webpages. These videos range from entertainment to news and more. It describes itself as allowing, "billions of people to discover, watch and share originally-created videos. YouTube provides a forum for people to connect, inform, and inspire others across the globe and acts as a distribution platform for original content

creators and advertisers large and small.” (YouTube). Instagram and YouTube differ from Facebook and Twitter because they focus on visual aspects rather than words. All of these webpages are similar because they do allow for comments from users and have community pages devoted to specific groups. All the clubs I followed linked their Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube accounts and used all four webpages to create a full audio, visual, and community atmosphere for their fans, and because the material is the same across the platforms, I chose to focus on Facebook and Twitter.

In order to focus my research I chose to follow the final eight clubs in the Champions League 2013/14 finale. The actors in my study include the many types of fans, including anti-fans, who like the club-run “like” pages, and social media club employees. In my study I did not include player fan pages, or local fan pages. I communicated with different fans from each of the clubs, but unfortunately was unable to conduct an interview with a club representative from any of the clubs. The club employees who post on behalf of the club are represented through my observations.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Review

As ethnographers, what interests us about virtual worlds is not what is extraordinary about them, but what is ordinary. We are intrigued not only by the individuals in a group, but by the sum of the parts. We aim to study virtual worlds as valid venues for cultural practice, seeking to understand both how they resemble and how they differ from other forms of culture. (Boellstorff, 2009, p. 1)

Although the Internet is considered to be relatively young, the study of digital anthropology is nothing new. With the inventions of the cell phone and Internet, technological communication studies are growing as a subset of digital anthropology. In this field anthropologists ask questions about how culture interacts with technology and about how technology changes interaction between people. Social media is a fast and long distance form of technology, one that includes people from many different cultures. When it comes to football fan pages, people from many different parts of the world use the same base to supplement an already important cultural aspect. In this thesis social media platforms will serve as the field site of my research. I, like others, will examine both the interaction of individuals with technology and the effects technology has on the interaction between people from different cultures. In order to gain a full understanding of social media my research will examine it as both an imagined community, as a virtual world, and as a form of media. My goal is to extend on the understanding of multinational social media networking sites, and in order to do this I will include research on globalization and use literature from other digital and media anthropologists.

Football is an important part of European society, and fandom is important to study because of the tremendous effect football has on European culture, politics, and identity. When studying football fandom theories of ritual, community, habitus, gender, and globalization/ Europeanization play an important role. Football Anthropologists (such as: Ismer (2011), Stone (2007), etc.) use literature from Turner (1988), Durkheim (2001), Anderson (1991), and many more to show how fans experience football as a ritual, participate in an imagined community, and how group identities and belonging create fandom communities that influence a fans everyday life. Currently social media is enhancing accessibility to fandom communities more than ever, but in order to understand how I will need to understand fans, on- and offline, understand the

importance of space and time to football culture, and understand the role football plays in the everyday and non-everyday life of fans. I will use current literature to give me a basis to compare my findings.

In my thesis I plan to use theories of Identity and Imagined Communities to help me understand the history and future of fandom, specifically football. Nationalism has a strong link to football fandom because historically clubs represented the cities and countries in which they originated. While the physical location of the clubs has largely remained unchanged, certain aspects have. Other than in the World Cup, no longer are all the players of a specific club from the city, or even country, in which the club is located. The club itself remains in its physical location but has players, sponsors, managers, and fans that represent other nations. Therefore questions of loyalty and “us” and “them” are transforming from nationality based to identity based. When fans share a connection or identity to a club, possibly through a player or many other reasons, they can join “us”, and the social space, without ever visiting the club’s physical home city. Loyalties are constantly being negotiated based on many factors, and while nationalism is still a large part of the fandom experience, possibly through songs, memories, etc., it is an emotion that fans are no longer required to have.

Imagined Communities, like nationalism, has a strong connection to belonging. Anderson (1991) defined a nation as “an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.” (P.224). Anderson may have originally linked imagined communities to nations, but other researchers extended his idea and have now been able to also connect it strongly to fandom. What I plan to find out in my research is how social media influences the imagined fandom community. I want to know if social media, like a nation state, is a community with power and independence or if the lack of physical borders simply provides an interactive media platform for members of a separate imagined community to interact. Therefore in my thesis I will discuss the Facebook, Twitter, and club guidelines for becoming a member of the online social media group, if being part of this group is a separate fandom community compared to physical communities that also include members who are not

present online, and what power structures take place that allow social media to be a sovereign community.

Social networks, as a field site, offer a wide variety of theoretical perspectives. The basis of my work will focus on digital anthropology as a new form of media, fandom, and community - but I also plan to incorporate other topics as supplements to my main topics. In my research on social media fandom I have come across themes of emotions, experience/memory, community/networks, and globalization. Using anthropological, sociological, and other forms of research, I plan to incorporate literature findings into my own ethnographic results.

2.1 Digital Anthropology/ Social Media/ Virtual Worlds

Figure 1 shows how social media relates to other forms of communication/media.

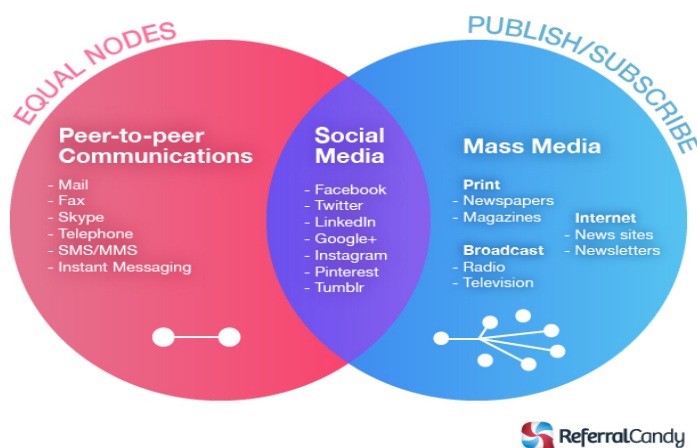


Figure 1 (Veerasamy, 2013)

Anthropologists Debra Spitulnik (1993) claims that: “Mass media- defined in the conventional sense as the electronic media of radio, television, film, and recorded music, and the print media of newspapers, magazines, and popular literature- are at once artifacts, experiences, practices, and processes.” (P.293). Despite that there is no specific anthropology of mass media field, current research often focuses on the relation between culture and mass media. The reason this subject is important is because of mass media’s close connection to societies’ economies, development, and languages. Although media, especially mass media, is increasingly being researched, Spitulnik discusses how there are

many anthropological angles that can be used to study mass media. She gives a few examples, which include, as institutions and as social activities. In the past media was often used as a form of communication, but is that still true today? In a culture where Twitter limits updates to 140 characters, one must ask if it is Twitter that is influencing society or society influencing communication. These questions and more can only be answered through mass media research.

Social media can be understood as social networking + publishing (Veerasamy, 2013). Social networking sites are very interesting because as Daniel Miller (2012) puts it: "... social networking sites (SNS), the very latest of the major digital media, seem to also have been the fastest in terms of their ability to become a global infrastructure." (P.146). Currently research on social media focuses either on virtual communities or land communities and their technological needs. My research will go beyond this and look at social media as a form of interactive media that has the possibility of becoming a community. It will look at how information is presented on social media platforms, what information is presented, and how the audience reacts to it, and I will look at members not only as an audience, but also as contributors.

Research on digital media includes a variety of work. One that I will use in my research is Boellstorff's *Coming of Age in Second Life*, where he looks at issues of gender, conflict, construction of place and time, and the interplay of the self and group. Boellstorff's study differs from mine because of the location and goal of the media platform. Whereas he studies a website where members have freedom in creating any identity they choose I will be studying a less flexible domain where members enhance their physical world identity. The reason his work is important for me is partly because online group members can choose how they wish to be perceived, they can change their age online, they can choose their profile picture and influence how others view them, and they have the ability to communicate with people they have never met in the physical world. His work may address a separate website with different goals but still, similar themes can be found. One shortcoming of Boellstorff's study, for my purposes, is that his study does not include Facebook in his definition of the virtual world, perhaps due to the fact that at the time it was a still nascent network. However,

in my research I will show how Facebook has the ability to act as a virtual world. Virtual Worlds are described as: “places of imagination that encompass practices of play, performance, creativity, and ritual. The social life-worlds that emerge within them are very real. They represent a complex transaction between their designers, who have certain goals and desires about what people will do, and the denizens of virtual worlds themselves, who exercise individual and collective agency. They draw upon physical world cultures in multiple ways yet at the same time create possibilities for the emergence of new cultures and practices.” (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012). Not all social media sites fit these criteria, but with the integration of Facebook and Twitter it is possible for groups to create virtual worlds using “like” pages. In my paper I will specifically compare my study to Boellstorff’s study on second life to see which characteristics club run social media pages share and differ from an academically recognized virtual world.

Other works that I will use throughout my research include different research projects by Daniel Miller. One in particular focuses on Facebook and, like me; he concludes that Facebook interactions are real. In his study Miller used participant observation and watched participants interact in their daily lives and on Facebook. His work is important for my study to address how online fan communities represent real interactions and connections. Social media is a form of networks and I can only prove those networks exist if the members truly interact with each other- unlike television or a newspaper.

2.2 Nationalism/ Identity/ Globalization

Nationalism is considered to be a political ideology and practice. Many researchers in various fields have focused on what exactly nationalism is and how nationalism is transformed from an idea to an identity. For this paper I will use Ismer’s (2011) explanation of nationalism. He describes it using work from Michael Billig and concludes that nationalism is a process of daily practices that legitimatizes the state, clearly defines who it considers as part of the group and who is regarded as others, and is both a practice and attitude. Nationalism as an attitude has been strongly linked to Anderson’s (1991) concept of “imagined communities” and Baumann’s (2004) “Grammars of Us and Them”. Both

understandings rely strongly on nationalism as a clearly defined group that excludes others and promotes the importance of the group in everyday life. Due to its segregationism nationalism is often considered to be a dangerous ideology, for instance, its influence in World War II. However in other situations, usually sports competitions, nationalism is seen as a positive, i.e. the Olympics promote countries' unity through competition against each other.

In today's globalized world studies on football are changing because of the difference between nationalism and identity. Nationalism is strongly linked to Identity but it is important to note that the two are not interchangeable. Nationalism requires a member to identify with the emotions and practices of a sovereign country (Anderson, 1991), but identifying one's self to a physical location, club, etc. does not require one to have nationalist beliefs to a specific nation. In my research I came across fans that identified with a player or club, but did not identify with or feel any belonging to the city or country in which the player or club resided. When clubs represent a physical space they are then incorporated into the nationalist ideology only for the people living in or from that physical space, but nowadays there are many global fans. Therefore the spread of fans around the world is shifting football fandom studies to focus on identity rather than nationalism.

In *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* McGrew (2008) described Globalization as: "a shift in the scale of social organization, the emergence of the world as a shared social space, the relative de-territorialization of social, economic, and political activity, and the relative denationalization of power." (20). Europeanization, like globalization, is a shift in European political, social, and economic institutions. Jürgen Mittag and Benjamin Legrand quote Tanja Büzel when they define Europeanization as "a process 'by which domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy-making' (Büzel, 2002, p. 574)". While discussing the Champions League, Mittag and Legrand expand the definition of Europeanization to include European awareness (Mittag & Legrand, 2010, p. 710). The Champions League is a primarily European football competition, unlike the World Cup, and is therefore subject to European law and culture. Both globalization and Europeanization are

interesting for researchers because they show that nations can unite for economic, social, and political reasoning, and despite not sharing traditional national characteristics like language it can be very beneficial for groups to unite rather than be independent. Both Europeanization and Globalization are important in this paper because the Champions League takes place in Europe, and it has fans that live all around the world.

2.3 State of Art

Fandom and Fan Identity

In the article *Fandom: "Identities and Communities in a Mediated World"* communication and media researcher Jonathan Gray, popular communications researcher Sandvoss, and sociologists C. Lee Harrington (2007) asked: "What contribution can the study of fans make to a world faced with war, ethnic conflicts, widening inequality, political and religious violence, and irreversible climate change, among other disasters?" (p.1) The simple answer to this is that fan studies explore all of these important issues and more. Gray, Sandvoss, and Harrington continue to discuss how fandom has been studied in stages: "1) as a means of collective strategies made my disempowered populations, 2) as a part of mainstream media and political opportunities as a form of communication, and 3) as practices that are tied to wider social structures, yet extends the conceptual focus beyond questions of hegemony and class to overarching social, cultural, and economic transformations of our time, including the dialectic between the global and the local and the rise of spectacle and performance in fan consumption." (P.2). Exploring Fandom that encompasses many other social issues can be seen in works by Ismer (2011) and Giulianotti and Robertson (2004) in which they discuss fandom in relation to globalization and national identity along with togetherness and emotions. Research on fandom may be very extensive across many disciplines, but as Stone (2007) notes: "Research on the nature of sports audiences has been predominantly concerned with those attending live events and overlooks how sport is consumed with people's everyday lives." (p. 169). Current literature on fandom is lacking when it comes to everyday fan practices. For example fan practices on non-match days, a club's motivation for gaining international fans, influence of non-football related events

on a fan community, and influences international fans have on the local, either city, club, language, are often overlooked. Stone is one researcher who investigates fan culture outside of “live” sporting events.

In my research I will focus on looking at fandom as a means of communication (interaction with others), the globalization of the fandom community, and different ways fans identify with the club and each other. For example I will be using research by Cornel Sanvoss (2003) that deals directly with football audiences and the connection consumption and technology has on attracting an international audience. I will also include literature from researchers who do not deal directly with football fandom, but have at times been used in fandom studies. This includes fandom literature by Henry Jenkins (2007), Benedict Anderson (1991) and his notion of Imagined Communities, and Gerd Baumann’s (2004) idea of “us” and “the other” in connection with loyalties and belonging.

Facebook and Twitter

Daniel Miller is currently the leading anthropologist when it comes to Facebook studies. Most notably his book *Tales from Facebook* (2011) is a study based in Trinidad where he observed Facebook users in the physical world and while communicating online. During his study Miller followed 200 people and specifically observed Facebook habits and impact on wider relationships. Cultural Sociology (n.d) wrote that “*Tales from Facebook* is a must read for those interested in the way the Internet is mediating social and cultural life. Miller's twelve portraits are delivered in an appealing narrative fashion. As an academic text, this book is both accessible and engaging.” At the moment, Miller and a team of grad students are working on a social media impact study. According to the website (Global Social Media Impact Study): “The Global Social Media Impact Study based at the UCL Department of Anthropology is dedicated to understanding the implications of social networking sites for global humankind and society, and explaining their significance for the future of the social sciences.” Miller and his eight research assistants are based in different cities around the world where they are observing and writing about social media’s relationship with the society they are focusing on. According to Philipp Budka

(2011): “Miller (2010, 2011) in his Facebook anthropology finds that: Facebook is only an aggregate of regional usage and practices, cultural difference and diversity therefore becomes crucial. Facebook provides means to complement offline communities, this has particular effects within diaspora populations. Facebook is a crucial medium for visibility and public witnessing, not for all people and not necessarily. Facebook internationalize local events and thus shrinks social worlds. And finally, Facebook and the practices related to it brings a shift from sociology to anthropology in respect of understanding specific issues in contemporary society, since only anthropology can provide answers to some questions posed by this social network. And that is according to Miller (2011) exactly what Facebook is: a social network that is able to reconstruct relationships particularly among families and friends.” (p.8)

Twitter is being increasingly studied as a means to study mobility. Each tweet has a geotag⁴ and can therefore be mapped out. Bartosz Hawelka, Izabela Sitko, Euro Beinart, Stanislav Sobolevsky, Pavlos Kazakopoulos and Carlo Ratti (2014) claim that: “Our analysis of the community structure of the Twitter mobility network reveals spatially cohesive regions that follow the regional division of the world.” (P.1). Not only is Twitter being studied as a means of tracking locations, but it is also being studied as a form of communication. Danah Boyd, Scott Golder, and Gilad Lotan (2010) are researching authorship and the function of re-tweeting⁵. Finally Anatoliy Gruzd, Barry Wellman, and Yuri Takhteyev (2011) study Twitter as an imagined community in which members do not have to know each other. Their study focuses on the notion that Twitter allows users to follow each other, but when one user is followed by another it is not required that the first user to follow the second. This is the case with many celebrities who have many followers, but do not follow every fan that follows them. Relationships on Twitter are therefore not reciprocal and can be one-sided.

⁴ An imprint in the digital information showing the location of the sender

⁵ When a Twitter user other than the original author retweets, or shares, the original author's post. In this case credit is given to the original author but the information is shared to a new group and can include a new comment.

Chapter 3. Methodology

The first step in my research was to create a research question. Sociologist Dr. Christine Hine (2008) wrote that virtual world ethnographers must “ensure that his or her research questions are both coherently addressed and adapted to the cultural landscape that emerges” (P.2). In *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method* (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012) the authors take this suggestion further and write that there are “three principle concerns regarding formulating a research question: emergence, relevance, and personal interest.” (P.52). When I first started developing my research question I used my prior knowledge on football fandom and my personal interest in the rise of technology. Based on interviews from a previous research project I realized that the participants increasingly discussed social media as part of their fandom experience. Because social media was not mentioned in previous articles I thought I could use this new trend to form a unique research question. Therefore I asked: what influence does social media have on the football fandom experience?

3.1 Research Design

The second step in my research was to create a research design. At this time I used different literature to determine what research methods were available to me. Because my research field was a virtual space rather than a physical space I had to be creative. I wanted to conduct an ethnographic study, but was aware that I could not completely immerse myself in a space that does not physically exist. Therefore I used a combination of ethnographic techniques and literature to guide my research.

My research design consists of both exploratory and descriptive research components. Both the exploratory and descriptive phase will use qualitative ethnographic methods in an attempt to describe power structures, the members (fans and clubs), community, and experience of online social media fan pages between the quarterfinals and finale of the 2014 Champions league.

The exploratory component is important because although research on social media and fandom exists, combining them is still very new and lacks research. Specific goals of the exploratory phase was to determine (a) if social

media has an influence on fan experiences, (b) what types of fans are involved in social media communities, and (c) how do fans use social media to participate from a distance. I also used the exploratory phase to research other theoretical topics that arose, such as experience, identity, belonging, and globalization.

The descriptive phase will compare the findings with other research on fandom, traditional media, digital media, globalization, imagined communities, and other minor themes in order to test the hypothesis: Social media creates and enhances fan experiences, but is not a replacement for physical experiences or other forms of distance media such as watching a live game on television. The fan members communicate with each other, share interest, and are perceived as belonging to the larger fan community. Social media is a method to bring fans closer together but the lack of physical space both helps and restricts the fan experience. I believe this is true for ultra-fans, mainstream fans, up-to-date fans, new/ laid-back fans, etc. The ability to post twenty-four hours a day seven days a week allows die-hard fans to participate on a frequent basis, to be strongly involved, and to communicate with likeminded people, while at the same time the low level of required commitment allows relaxed fans to participate with minimal effort. However football is a social game and physical interaction is important to many members. It is not only the words between members that are important but also the actions, or rituals, such as singing traditional songs, drinking beer, wearing club merchandise, going to the stadium, etc.

3.2 Data Sources and Collection Techniques

The data sources I used included documentary sources, interview transcripts, network surveys, and personal observations. I obtained these sources through literary research and ethnographic methods, which I conducted while participating on the social media fan pages of the final eight teams in the Champions League. The data collection took place during the 2013/14 Champions League and shortly thereafter.

(1) Literature

In the descriptive phase I plan to use academic journals, books, review articles, blogs, and any other literature on football fandom, media, globalizations,

communication, etc. in order to compare my findings to research already done in other settings, i.e. stadium fandom research. Documentary sources are very important to my research because of the lack of time and resources I had to conduct a full comparison on my own. I collected documentary sources by using the University's library, web searches, by looking at bibliographies in the sources I already found, and from expert recommendations. For example, I have access to many resources through my job at the FREE project, where many European experts on football research work. Through informal conversations early on in my research I received bibliographies and multiple recommended reading lists. For the other subjects, i.e. social media, I contacted experts in the field and asked for interviews and recommended literature sources. These researchers include Daniel Miller and his current research team, who are currently conducting an interdisciplinary study on the impact of social media in everyday life.

(2) Ethnography

The field site for my research was the official club-run Facebook and Twitter pages of the final eight clubs in the Champions League. The field was not a physical space but a virtual world that included links to other websites such as club homepages, YouTube, and Instagram. Page members interacted with each other and the club on a digital platform and participated in virtual events. In order to immerse myself into my field site I used the proper technology (computer and smart phone apps) to communicate with participants, observe them, and participate in events.

In the exploratory phase I used ethnographic research techniques in order to collect data on my sample. Due to my lack of physical space I used virtual world ethnographic techniques rather than real world techniques. I collected these techniques from *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds A Handbook of Method* and the article "Virtual Ethnography" by Christine Hine. Christine Hine (2008) claims: "ethnography is thought of as one of the most open of research approaches, which adapts itself to the social situations it finds. This does not mean, however, that ethnographers just wander around aimlessly: Ethnography may be adapted, but it is still purposive." (p.6). My ethnographic process included specific and purposeful experiences, some successful and some needed to be modified. I

adjusted my ethnographic experience to include more than one space (different “like” pages).

Below are the methods I used to conduct my ethnographic research.

(a) Structured Interviews.

I chose to focus on structured interviews because I wanted to compare my findings with previous work and I was also interested in comparing my interviewees with each other- since I was also comparing the field sites to each other. The structured interviews were based on previous research projects with European football fans and social media culture, and based on findings from participant observation, graphs, and surveys (all of which preceded the interview phase). All the interview questions consisted of both fandom topics and social media habits/ activity in relation to the clubs’ “like” pages. After the interviews were conducted they were transcribed (when needed based on where the interview takes place), coded, and compared.

The interviews took place following the finale of the Champions League because I wanted to ask questions about which teams they followed throughout the tournament, if anything changed based on which teams proceeded, etc. I did this at the end so I could ask specific questions instead of hypothetical (i.e. will you like the page of the two final teams if your team does not proceed). The interviews took place predominantly online, since most of the members live outside of Austria, and over the Internet (Email and Facebook chat) was the most convenient for the interviewees. I did not foresee this being a problem since all of the participants were familiar with using a computer and social media communication. A Skype interview took place once, but I found that most participants preferred the flexibility of E-mail or Facebook chat and because I used a structured interview guide this method was successful. While looking for participants I soon realized that just because a member used popular social media websites it did not mean that they were technology savvy or interested in other forms of communication like Skype.

Based on my observations and interviews the fans communicate with fellow international, and sometimes local, fans through the social media platforms. Therefore I believe by using social media platforms to communicate with my

participants I also had a more in depth experience. Unfortunately, after E-mailing the official Club media contact, I was unable to get in touch with any of the Club employees and therefore could not include any expert interviews.

(b) Participant observation.

Participant observation is described as the researchers “participating in everyday life and becoming well-known to the informants.” (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012, p. 65). Participant observation is one of the most necessary components of ethnographic research; therefore I knew it would be a requirement for my research; however it was somewhat challenging to do this on Facebook and Twitter because of the lack of physical space to immerse myself into, but it was possible. In an attempt to be as immersed as possible I followed all the Facebook and Twitter pages of the final eight teams and actively participated. In order to understand how I needed to immerse myself in a virtual space I conducted preliminary research by observing my field sites before my research began and talking to friends about how they use social media to follow their favorite clubs. This gave me better insight on what I needed to do to be a member and experience the full potential of the virtual space. However because of social media’s flexibility every fan used it differently and there were no set guidelines or rules on what exactly it meant to participate, how often it was required to be active, etc. In order to conduct participant observation I had a Facebook and Twitter account, I “liked” or “followed” the club pages and received update notifications through E-mail and on my smartphone in order to view the information on a regular and up-to-date basis. Throughout my study I monitored all eight pages during game and non-game days and continued to monitor clubs after they were eliminated, I commented on posts in order to participate like other members, and I had active conversations both publicly and privately with the other members. Other members knew what I was doing and who I was, and for the duration of the Champions League semi-finals I actively observed my field sites.

In order to collect the data from my participant observations I took screen shots of conversations, photos, and posts by both the team and fans, I took field notes and kept a journal, and wrote participant observation protocols for every

match. The questions I focused on during this stage include: how do online members interact with each other, how does the team promote activity on the page (i.e. language, games, etc.)? Who controls the conversation? And how could I identify an ultra/ laid-back fan through their comments/ activity online?

(3) Survey

Following the finale a survey was created and distributed on the Facebook and Twitter fan pages. The survey's main purpose was to provide a basis for me to write interview questions. Based on the survey data I wanted to have a better understanding of what I observed, and wanted to also be able to develop more detailed questions from details that I did not originally predict.

The survey took place following the Champions League because I used data from my participant observation to create the survey. The participants took the survey online using the free website survey monkey.

In the end I found that using a survey on social media was difficult because of the immense amount of spam posted by page members. Therefore I believe participants did not trust my link and my original goal was unsuccessful. Since I only received a few random responses I did have a little more success by asking my interview participants to fill out the survey and if possible distribute to friends. I still found the survey useful in determining general conclusions, understanding trust on the websites, and as a basis for what I needed to continue to research.

(4) Graphs

Although my research was solely qualitative I decided to include Gephi and NodeXL graphs. I used the graphs in order to gain a better understanding of the social networks connections and demographics that I observed on Facebook and Twitter fan pages and have a way of conveying my findings visually. Gephi is a program used for Facebook, which could collect information about the members' gender, where they are living, and with whom in the group they are Facebook friends. NodeXL is a program used specifically for Twitter and was able to tell me about the members who were following specific groups, and what other Twitter accounts members were currently following. These graphs were

created after the Champions League since I expected the data to change throughout the competition. When using these graphs many considerations need to be taken into account concerning their variability. Although they gather the information based on what the members have on their Facebook and Twitter pages not everyone posts truthful information on the Internet, and the graphs included ages 13, the age required to sign up, to over 100, and many no-gender users. Therefore I did not include the graphs as a quantitative approach but instead used the results primarily to help me with preliminary research for developing interview questions, and gain a general understanding of members' location, gender, and age.

3.3 Sampling Techniques

For the purpose of my research I attempted to conduct interviews with people from every fan page. My original goal was to have a sample size of approximately four people per club, but this changed for two reasons 1) the information I got after ten interviews was consistent with each other and 2) the ten interviews I conducted were consistent with the information I had from my observations and literature. Therefore I decided to stop at ten interviews and focus on a combination of the interviews, literature, and observations.

Due to my field, my applicants were chosen based on their desire to participate. At the end of the survey there was a notice that I was looking for individuals to participate in interviews, and I posted a request for interviews on the fan pages. Although I tried to communicate with many random people it is easy to ignore or block a person on Facebook and Twitter. The problem here was that some members were suspicious and under the impression that I was spamming the page and that I was not a real person, since they are often spammed. Therefore I found most of my participants from the survey or by using the snowball sampling technique. Although finding participants was a problem I still feel confident that I found a good number of participants, and since the data was consistent I did not feel the need to continue conducting interviews.

I tried to include many different demographics in my sample size but focused on equally including females and males, participants in and outside of Europe (or at least living outside of the country they follow), and different types

of fans. Unfortunately I was unable to conduct interviews with participants of different age groups and therefore decided not to include this aspect in my overall conclusions, most of my participants were in their 20s or early 30s.

3.4 Data Analysis and Interpretations

The data analysis was done in phases, since each part influenced the next step.

(1) Participant observation.

First the observation data was recorded through screenshots, field notes, and participant observation protocols then this information was coded. The photos were first organized by club and later coded by theme. In this stage topics of globalization, memory, and experience appeared alongside community, participation, and fandom. Posts for every team appeared in both English and their respective languages, fan pages used Facebook and Twitter features to remind members of past victories, players, etc. and through photos, videos, and updates the pages tried to simulate an experience for the page members. Questions that resulted from this stage included: how does the use of English influence the participation of international fans? Do online photos, videos, and updates replicate the fandom experience or do fans continue to feel the need to watch the game. And by posting live updates are fan pages acting as a form of media, or by providing a space to communicate are they acting as a setting for community interaction?

(2) Survey and graphs.

The survey and graphs took place following the Champions League finale. The graphs were generated first and the surveys were created based on the information from the graphs and participant observations. After a fan member from each club completed the surveys I started coding the results. The surveys continued to circulate through the next stages, because I included them in the interviews, and they continued to be individually coded. I expected to gain basic information from this stage. Survey questions included topics concerning where a person lives, where they are from/ nationality, their age, if they follow more than one club on Facebook or Twitter (and asked them to include which ones), if they have contact with other members, how often they check fan pages, and other empirical information. I expected this information to help me determine

what types of fans are participating in the online community (ultra fans who are heavily active, or laid back fans who are not friends with others, etc.), fan demographics, and fan loyalties. I originally wanted the information from the surveys to help me confirm data collected by the graphs, for example: if there is a large amount of members who do not live in the country of the club, the age and gender demographics etc., but unfortunately due to the lack of survey participants I was unable to come to any concrete comparisons between the two and therefore relied on literature (often statistics published by the club) and my interviews/ observations.

(3) Interviews.

The interview stage was the third stage of my research. Based on the previously coded data I wrote a structured interview list and conducted interviews with various members of the club pages. For example based on my accurate prediction that the graph showed that many fans, from a specific club, live outside the country of the club I asked the following questions: if they are expats or international fans, how online social media has changed their experience as a fan, whether they communicate on social media with fans in their local area or fans living where the club is located. I then analyzed this information again by coding the interviews. Because I conducted structured interviews I knew that the themes presented in the previous stages would come up, and at this stage I had a good idea of which subjects I wanted to focus on and I used codes that I created in the previous stages.

(4) Literature.

The literature review stage took place throughout my research. I first used literature to gain an initial understanding for my theoretical framework, then throughout my participant observation I continued to take notes on literature to gain a better understanding of what I observed, after coding my participant observation I used it to help me create the survey. After the survey was complete I used my literature notes to help write the structured interview questions, and finally after the interviews were complete I used it to compare my findings. At the beginning I focused on taking notes from scholarly sources suggested to me by others, but after the interviews I contrasted my own findings with that from

previous research. At this stage definitions were determined and the data was easily comparable. Although conducting fieldwork online is different than at the stadium, I was still able to compare many themes that I observed in both my online research and literature research.

3.5 Limitations

Throughout my research I observed two main limitations that I believe have a direct influence on my results. The first limitation was the lack of physical space. Because I was unable to fully immerse myself in a physical field I was unable to observe the participants at times when they were not online. The second limitation was the presence of linguistic barriers. In both situations I chose to address these limitations in my research instead of changing my research design. I addressed the lack of physical space by focusing my attention on drawing conclusions based solely on social media fan culture and only comparing results that I could compare with data I observed. The second issue will be addressed in my paper as a disclaimer stating that my results are based on German and English speaking participants. Thankfully all eight clubs used English as an international language and posted everything in their local language and English, but in the end I was unable to conduct informal or formal interviews with fans that could not speak German or English.

Part Two- Research

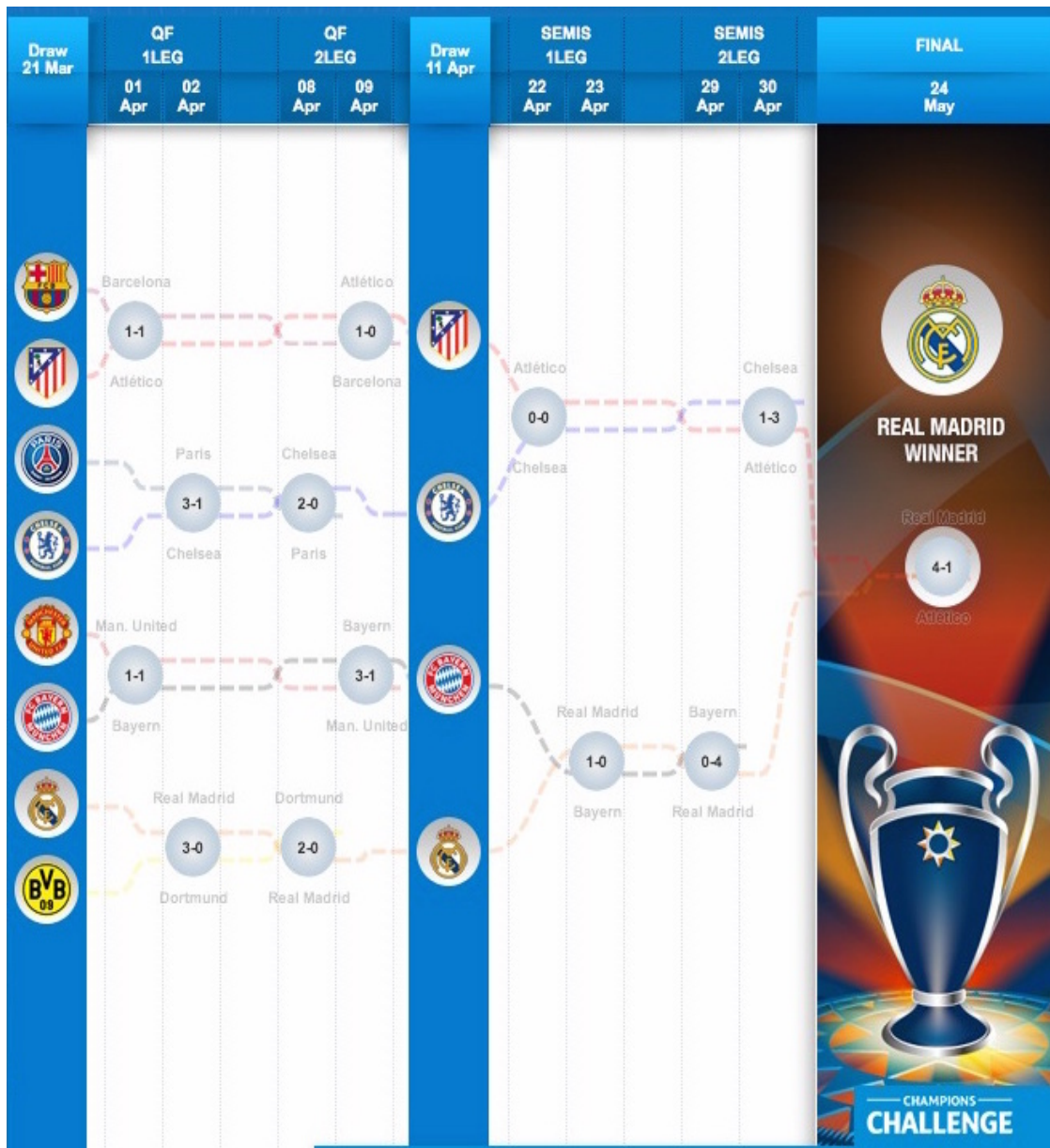


Figure 2 (Taken by author)

Chapter 4 – The Champions League

“It seems to be the case that fans and spectators throughout Europe assign a high level of attractiveness to the Champions League. In a (non-representative) poll in 2011, more than 50.000 readers of the German sport magazine “Kicker” rated the Champions League of comparatively very high attractiveness: It got a 1.47 on a 6-point scale with “1” being the highest score possible (interestingly, the ascribed attractiveness has not always been on that level, in the first season, the respective value was 2.8!).” (Niemann & Brand, 2013)

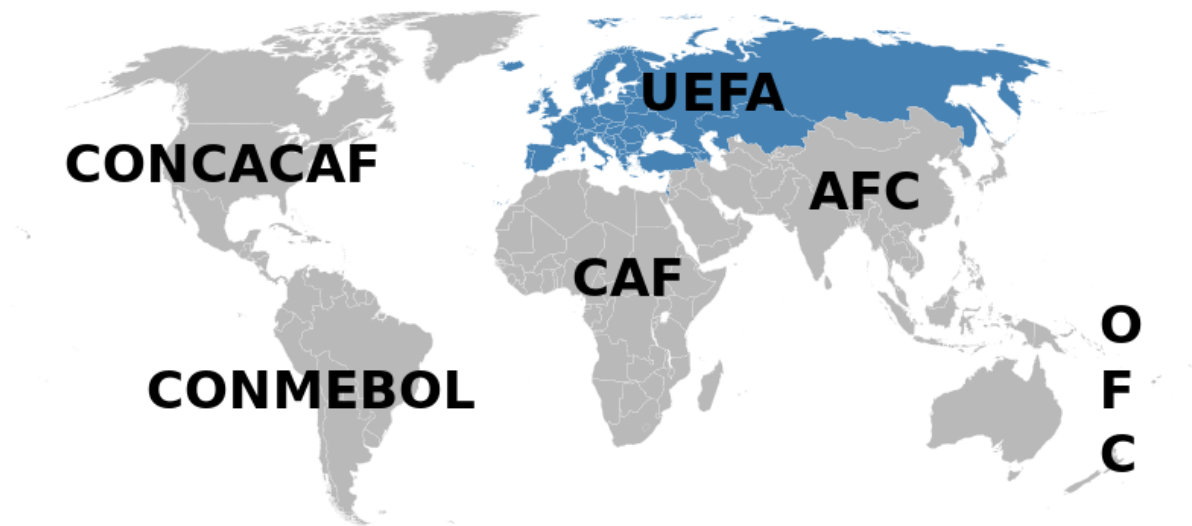


Figure 3 (Public Domain)

4.1 UEFA & The Champions League

The Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) Champions League (CL) is an annual football competition that takes place in Europe and includes clubs from Europe and parts of Asia. It is the second largest football tournament in the world, only preceded by the FIFA World Cup. (Tansey, 2014). The Champions League is different from the World Cup because the Champions League focuses on city clubs that include players from all around the world and the FIFA World Cup focuses on national player teams.

a. History

The Champions League history starts with the Challenge Cup. The Challenge Cup was a club competition, which started in 1897 and took place between different clubs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, clubs that under normal circumstances would not compete against each other. Due to war and financial issues the Challenge Cup went through many transformations until the

European League was founded by UEFA in 1955. Philipp Vonnard (2014) contributes the success of European championships to: “the fast development of air travel, which opened up the possibility for clubs to travel across the continent during the week to take part in games and be back in time for national championship games on weekends.” (p. 600). Eventually the European Cup changed its name to ‘Champions League’ in the 1992-93 season due to a new financial partnership between UEFA and TEAM Marketing AG. Despite the name change, most statistics and research on the Champions League also include information from the European League; this will also be the case in my research.

b. Current

The 2013/14 Champions League season took place from July 2nd, 2013 - May 24th, 2014. It included 76 clubs and 125 played matches. I focused on the final eight teams (refer to Figure 2). The entire competition including all matches, drawings, travel, and trainings were documented and shared via multiple social media platforms. The club accounts promoted discussions about the game, included Q&A sessions with current and past players about specific matches, and held competitions online, in which fans could win tickets to matches. The final match was played in Lisbon, Portugal between Real Madrid and Atlético Madrid. Real Madrid won the title with a 4-1 outcome. UEFA estimated that 380 million people around the world watched the final match, only about 60,000 of which were at the stadium. (Ashby, 2014). UEFA and the participating clubs posted many status updates, tweets, photos, etc. leading up to the game, during the game, and after. The posts included graphics of how many people were watching where at every point in the game, club information such as player statistics and line-ups, and real time Q&As with notable sports figures.

c. Anthropology and Football

Due to football’s strong connection with the local, and now global, culture, Anthropology has taken a strong interest in studying many aspects about football itself and especially the fans. While most research has been done on spectators at matches or on what fans do on match days, researchers are increasingly looking at the other aspects of football fandom as well, such as

football's appearance in fan's everyday life. Below are a few of the numerous perspectives that researchers are currently focusing on when studying football fans.

Community and Identity

Anthropologist Sven Ismer (2011) asked: "How do people become national?"(p.549). After analyzing other researchers he comes to the conclusion that nationalism is daily practices that both legitimize the nation and identification with the nation. Football encompasses both of these characteristics. Many sports, including football, have a season and specific time in the year when competitions are held. The season provides a time when fans develop rituals of watching matches, superstitions to help their favorite club win, and show support by wearing merchandise for their favorite club in their everyday routines. In the off-season, similar aspects occur in a fans everyday life. Fans wear club merchandise, consider their fandom as part of their identity, and incorporate ritualized football culture into their routine (Stone, 2007, p. 172). Football is also a way for citizens to identify with the nation or community. In all of my interviews the fans followed and supported their city or country of origin. In some cases it was not their favorite club, but many said they felt an obligation to support their community.

Identity is shaped in a few ways. Gerd Baumann attempted to analyze how identity is formed in his co-authored book: *Grammars of Identity*. His chapter: Grammars of Identity/ Alterity: A structural Approach describes how groups form identities by 'selfing' themselves and 'othering' others. The first grammar, Orientalizing, allows the group to contrast themselves from others, and by saying what the group is not they set a definition of what they are. The second grammar, Segmentation, shows that a group may have a different identity based on context. Baumann uses a football example of how fans can identify with different clubs on the one level and with the same club on a higher level, for example a fan may not like either clubs participating in a match but prefers one over the other. In one case the fans of two clubs are separate but in the second case a common rival unites the fans. The final grammar is Encompassment and takes place when the group adopts a sub-group and thus accepts part of the

'Other' as part of the 'Self'. Foreign fans are one example of Encompassment. Baumann's notion does not require the groups to come from the same community or nationality. This idea can be used to describe how nations form national identity, but it can also be used in groups that do not share the same nationality.

In my interviews all of the grammars of identity came up when discussing national identity. I interviewed fans that inherited their fandom from family that brought them to local games as a child and fans that grew to like football later on in life but still supported their local club. One of my interviewees, a proud FC Bayern fan from Slovenia, who generally supports an international club during the Champions League, said he still supports his own country's club whenever he can because they " 'represent' my country" (Ogurcak, 2014). A local club is an important part of fandom, but in today's context it is not the only deciding factor when it comes to loyalty.

European Integration/ Globalization

"The growing connections between the big city clubs of Europe and the increasing frequency of their encounters on the pitch, which are watched on television by millions across Europe is an important factor in European integration" (King, 2003, p. 423)

In recent years, football as a global sport has been linked to Globalization (Porat 2010; Turner 2012; Giulianotti and Robertson 2004). In 2014 over 26.5 million people in the U.S. watched the final game of the World Cup between Germany and Argentina, which is a 39% viewer increase since the 2010 finale (ESPN , 2014). Despite the U.S. audience living on a separate continent from the two final teams, the U.S. audience, and many more people around the world gathered to share the experience of watching the final match of what is now considered a global game.

The Champions League, although also growing on a global scale, is more closely linked to Europe. Because of the Champions League focus on clubs with international players it is also considered to be one of the most influential contributions to Globalization/ European integration and transnational media. Arne Niemann and Alexander Brand (2013) see the "UEFA Champions League as

a site where a 'European public football space' forms, both in terms of transboundary spectatorship and fandom as well as through the continuous creation/normalization of transnational media events, i.e. CL broadcasts." (p.1). This is significant because they believe the Champions League structure has created a bottom-up power structure. Their hypothesis is that: "...increasingly Europeanized players' markets, the establishment of a de facto 'European league' (of top clubs) and media attention shifting to such European-level competition would also have incrementally affected the perceptions of football spectators and supporters ("from below") not just those of the officials and representatives of top clubs and their networks ("elite")." (p.6).

Business

Both football and social media are very lucrative businesses. This point was brought to my attention in nearly every interview I conducted. In today's open market social media is a way for brands to spread and promote their merchandise and image to people all around the world in real time for a small price compared to paper advertisements and physical-world events. Football is a brand that is run like a business. The clubs I observed use symbolism and multiple languages to reach fans all over the world. The clubs advertised merchandise, encouraged fans to use and wear the merchandise, and promoted matches and other events. Each club had its own symbol that clearly differentiated it from the other clubs. These symbols appear on team jerseys, T-shirts, flags, footballs, etc. and are often studied like a flag. It is a recognizable image that is sacred to the fans, and although the club's name and slogan are in the club's native language, social media is a way to reach an audience beyond the locals; therefore the clubs include English translations in nearly every post.

Not only have the clubs been studied based on their branding and language, but UEFA itself has a history of rebranding itself and using marketing techniques to gain more support and grow as a business. This most prominently occurred during the transition from European Cup to Champions League in the 1990s. Cox, Hills, and Kennedy (2014) discuss how this rebranding ultimately influenced UEFA's current success.

4.2 The Clubs

Table 1 below provides preliminary information about each of the clubs I used in my sample. It shows the number of Twitter followers and Facebook likes at the end of the Champions League Final and international players according to the club's website information during the 2013/14 Championship League.

Team	Country of Origin	Originated in
Club Atlético de Madrid	Spain	28. April 1903
Borussia Dortmund	Germany	19. December 1909
Chelsea FC	England	10. March 1905
FC Barcelona	Spain	29. November 1899
FC Bayern München	Germany	27. February 1900
Manchester United FC	England	Orig. 1878; name change: 1902
Paris Saint-Germain	France	12. August 1970
Real Madrid CF	Spain	6. March 1902

Team	International players	# Of Semi-Final Appearances
Club Atlético de Madrid	14/24	4
Borussia Dortmund	13/39	4
Chelsea FC	21/34	7
FC Barcelona	13/25	15
FC Bayern München	15/34	16
Manchester United FC	20/49	12
Paris Saint-Germain	14/40	1
Real Madrid CF	13/25	25

Team	Twitter Followers	Facebook Likes
Club Atlético de Madrid	805K	5.5M
Borussia Dortmund	945K	8.8M
Chelsea FC	3.81M	30.3M
FC Barcelona	11.7M	65M
FC Bayern München	1.11M	16M
Manchester United FC	2.48M	49M
Paris Saint-Germain	1.28M	10.9M
Real Madrid CF	11.1M	61M

Table 1 (Made by author)

Below I will discuss the clubs and my observations during the quarterfinals.

Atlético de Madrid

The club Atlético de Madrid was founded in 1903 with the goal: “to found a new institution that would compete with the noblest and most impeccable sporting talent.” (**Atlético de Madrid**). Today the club describes itself as a “Team for the World”. It has, along with a number of other clubs, “undertaken an expansion plan to internationally brand through the creation of a series of strategic partnerships with football clubs from different countries in order to achieve the following objectives: 1) closer ties between people and cultures, 2) strengthen the brand of Atletico Madrid in all countries of the Alliance, and 3) identify new business and growth opportunities in sport, economic, commercial and social, that are beneficial to all parties.” (**Atlético de Madrid**). Throughout



the competition Atlético posted status updates on a variety of topics including information related to games, online games available for fans to win prizes in, merchandise sales and information, and they discussed football related and unrelated current events, and shared or re-tweeted many of UEFA’s posts both on Twitter and Facebook. Atlético was the runner up in the competition. Figure 4 is an example of Atlético using both Spanish and English to communicate with fans and referencing European football.

Figure 4 (Taken by author)

Borussia Dortmund

On Borussia Dortmund’s website the club describes itself as a club that “stands for intensity, authenticity, cohesion and ambition.” They continue to say: “We enjoy a special place in the hearts of all our fans: the unconditional loyalty has carried us through the good times and the bad for more than 100 years. We are determined to give them something back. Be it through sporting success, or through our promise to remain true to our traditional ethos and be as we’ve always been: sincere, candid, battling and grounded in the values of Dortmund – the city and its people.” (BVB). Borussia Dortmund’s website has a strong link to

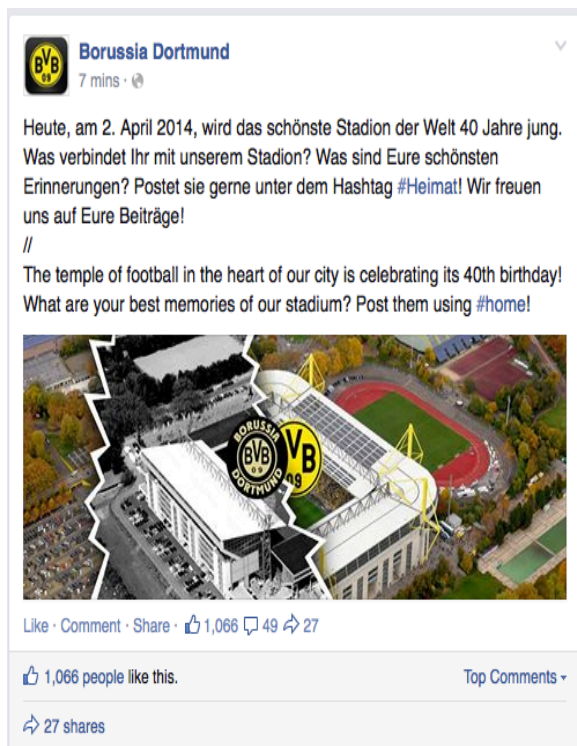


Figure 5 (Taken by author)

Chelsea Football Club

Figure 6 (Taken by author)



the Champions League. The informal letter asked Paris fans to recommend places to watch the match, where visiting fans should go in Paris, and any advice about how to beat PSG. Chelsea also prides itself on fighting racism in Football.

the local. It specifically refers to the “values of Dortmund- the city and its people” and not Dortmund as a club. Although the team focused on the local the social media pages still present an international picture. The club posts everything in German and English, refers to international events, and has many international fans.

Figure 5 shows a reference to the Borussia home stadium as a temple and it uses hashtags to collect memories from fans.

The Chelsea Football Club’s Facebook page says: “Our page is created for you- our fans, and we hope that you will respect our posts, and respond and engage with us appropriately. You will find exclusive material, competitions, and exciting, breaking news on the page.” (Chelsea Football Club). The club uses social media websites to constantly update and communicate with its fans regarding football and personal news. For example, the Chelsea Football Club posted a status letter to fans in Paris when Chelsea played against PSG during

They provide hotlines for people to report hooliganism and promote an app (Kick it Out) for fans to report any misconduct.

FC Barcelona

Figure 7 (Taken by author)



FC Barcelona describes itself as “more than a club” because “in Catalonia it is the sports club that most represents the country and is also one of its greatest ambassadors.” (FC Barcelona). On FC Barcelona’s official webpage the club discusses its difficult history in which the club lived under dictatorship and language and culture restrictions due to its commitment to Catalan society. Nowadays it is more acceptable for the club to be proud of its heritage and members. Like other clubs FC Barcelona realizes the importance of English in

order to communicate with other fans, but unlike other clubs FC Barcelona post updates in three different languages: English, Spanish, and Catalan. The club recognizes and is proud of its Catalan roots, but also reaches out to fans from other parts of Spain and the world.

FC Bayern

Figure 8 (Taken by author)



FC Bayern is a club based in Munich, Germany. The club’s motto, written in dialect, is “Mia san mia”, which is roughly translated as “we are who we are” (FC Bayern Munchen, 2012). In an informal interview, one fan described the feeling of the phrase to mean “we’re doing our thing no matter what the others say”. Due to Germany’s destructive nationalist past it is often considered inappropriate to show national pride. The exception however is

during football. Chris Stone (2007) describes how “the activity space of football extends into people’s homes, work-places and many spaces in between” (p.181). This is strongly the case with FC Bayern fans. In my interviews fans described buying and wearing FC Bayern merchandise on a regular basis. Online the club also showed its pride in numbers.

What I found most interesting about the FC Bayern Facebook and Twitter page was the number of posts regarding the United States. FC Bayern appeared to have a strong connection to fans in the USA, even during the exclusively European tournament. The club often posted statuses, photos, and references to fans in the USA. Figure 8 is an example of a post specifically targeted to fans in the USA.

Manchester United

In the United Club Charter it states: “Our visions is to be the best football club in the world both on and off the pitch.” It continues to describe united as: **United Non-discriminatory Innovative Team-orientated Excelling Determined**” (Manchester United). Manchester United, like the other clubs, used social media to update fans on any information regarding the club. This included but was not limited to: updates during games, player’s birthdays, past events, and Q & A sessions with players and staff. One thing that stood out on Manchester United’s Facebook page was that the club made “Events” for each match. Figure 9 is an example of this. These events took place in real time at a physical location, but online anyone could say they were attending, even if they could not be at the

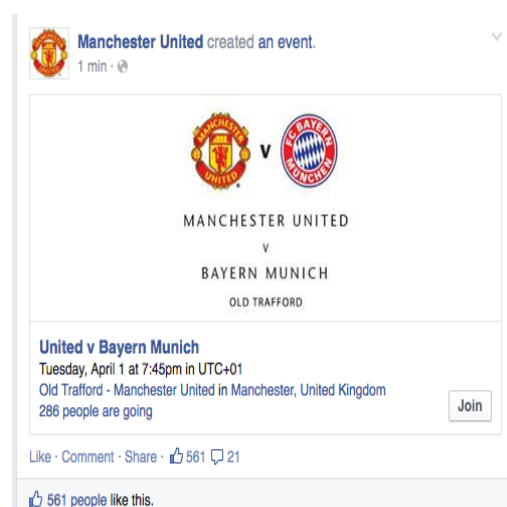


Figure 9 (Taken by author)

physical event. I thought this was interesting because it was obviously a way to encourage interaction from online fans since 1) the event was created the day before the event and 2) a realistic idea of how many people would attend the match would be determined by ticket sales.

PSG Paris Saint-Germain

Paris Saint-Germain, or PSG, was founded in 1970, making it the youngest club in my sample. Despite its young history the club still manages to be present online and it is continuously growing. Like all the other clubs PSG took notice of international fans and promoted their support. On Facebook the club designated a specific album for international fans to post pictures of themselves wearing PSG merchandise. The fans simply needed to E-mail their international photos to the club and the club would then add the images to their Facebook album. For the most part this was met with positive comments, however one fan made a comment that international fans are not true fans but only attracted by money and winning. The album and comment can be seen in figure 10.

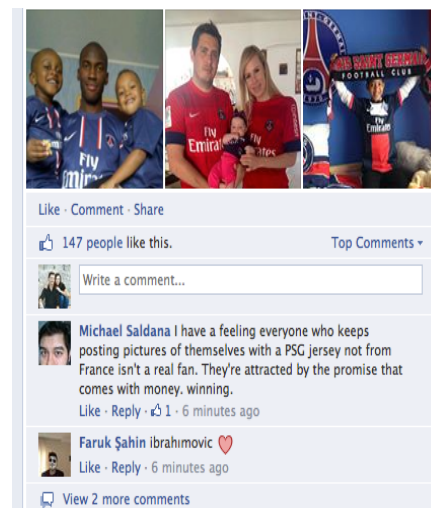


Figure 10 (Taken by author)

Real Madrid C.F.

Figure 11 (Taken by author)



Real Madrid, the official 2013/14 UEFA Champions League Champions, is by far the most followed club on social media, a fact that the club recognized on their social media pages, as shown in figure 11. Currently Real Madrid is the most valuable sports team in the world (Ozanian, 2014), a detail that came up in my interviews as part of the reasons the club has so many followers. The clubs popular influence both in Spain and internationally is extremely obvious with many fans using the hashtag #halamadrid in nearly every comment. In my research this hashtag was the most popular and consistent one. With other teams I had to research their slogans because they used hashtags to

tag specific events, but #halamadrid appeared to be less of a tag but a signature. Other than the club's immense success, part of what sets it apart is that the brand is not only a football club, but there is also a Real Madrid basketball team.

4.3 Fans

Fans are a vital actor for any football club. The fans support the club emotionally and financially through support at matches and by purchasing merchandise and tickets. On the official club Facebook and Twitter pages that I focused on, I concluded that there is a top-down power structure in which it is the clubs, who most often initiate the conversations and postings. However this did not deteriorate the value of the fans, and every club acknowledged and thanked fans regularly. In some posts, the number of fans, which was determined by “likes”, was nearly as important as the number of times the club won a match.

Figure 12 is one example of how the clubs regularly calculated social media support and thanked the fans.



Figure 12 (Taken by author)

a. Supporters, Ultras, and Hooligans

The Collins English Dictionary simply defines a football supporter as “a person who supports a particular football team” (Collins English Dictionary). However football fans/ supporters are much more complex than what can be expressed in a one sentence definition. For my research I will use L'EQUIPE's (2015) notion that there are three main types of fans: supporter, ultra, and hooligan. What sets these three types apart is the intensity of support.

“Supporter”⁶ is the most general of the three types of fans. Even within the category there are sub-groups, i.e. the passionate fan, casual fan, the

⁶ I use quotes because supporter can be used as a general term to describe all types of fans, however here I use it as a type of fan- the type that is less extreme as the other two types.

bandwagon fan, etc. The supporter traditionally chooses one favorite club, but this could mean he chooses a club for a game, season, or for life but his participation is relatively laid back. A supporter might own merchandise, have a weaker connection to the club than other fans, and/or will only follow the club when it is convenient. This means someone who is a supporter will most likely not attend every live game, but still understand the game and identify with a particular club. In my research most of the Facebook and Twitter follows fit into this group. Based on the convenience and simplicity of social media, fans needed to put little effort into supporting a particular or multiple clubs. All of the clubs I researched had thousands, if not millions, of supporters on Facebook and Twitter. However there were many people that did not comment, did not post updates, and didn't even check the page on a regular basis. My interviewees explained that social media gives them the option to support a club in the most minimal sense. It allows them to see updates and scores, but doesn't require any commitment. Therefore simply by clicking "like" or "follow", clubs consider "supporters" part of their fan community.

Ultra fans are typically more passionate than "supporters". Budka and Jacono (2013) describe Ultras as having "a strong commitment to their own group also during the week and in everyday life by sharing an ultra culture and lifestyle." (p.4). In their paper they continue to discuss the difference between "supporters" and ultra fans. They conclude that ultra fans are always ultra and therefore do not disconnect their everyday life from their football fandom. Ultra fans have a reputation of being too extreme and at times violent. Through social media, ultra groups have even more possibilities to include football in their everyday life and to use aggressive behavior towards others. The social media virtual space prevents members from physical violence, but has yet to successfully prevent cyber bullying⁷. I did not come across ultra fans very often in my research. Facebook and Twitter both discuss how they do everything they can to prevent cyber bullying and that includes deleting members from groups, deleting posts, and blocking members when someone post something that others

⁷ An online alternative to traditional bullying where online users use aggressive words when speaking to or about others

consider offensive. Facebook even has a method for members to alert Facebook when someone posts something inappropriate. Due to the nature of ultra culture, many ultra groups have private fan groups on Facebook where they can communicate strictly with likeminded people. These so-called 'closed' groups are much more difficult to join and require someone from the group to accept your membership request.

Hooligans, like ultra fans, have a strong reputation for being violent. Hooligans are gangs of fans that threaten and fight other hooligan rival groups. Based on informal interviews Sandvoss (2003) concluded that " either they do not have a particular interest in football and engage in violence as part of their gang membership, or their acts of violence exist largely independently of their fandom in that they attend the game and later- regardless of what happened on the pitch- meet for prearranged fights with other hooligan groups." (p.183). I found this distinction between being a fan and being violent was very interesting. I think this is more obvious at live football games or in other physical spaces known for football, such as a bar. I had nearly no exposure to hooligans during my research. While some fans online expressed distaste for others, the comments were quickly deleted, and in severe cases the users were even deleted from the group. Although social media allows for another aggressive outlet for hooligans and ultras, the structure of club pages appeared to target "supporters".

b. Local vs. Global fans

Internationally famous football clubs have many local and global fans. The local fans are those who live in the club's home city and the global fans are supporters that live abroad. It is important to note that global fans do not always mean international fans. While a large number of global fans are citizens of a different country, many of these fans have a strong connection to the city, i.e. they are currently expats living abroad or have family connections within the club's city. Many clubs use social media to communicate with both local and global fans. They ask questions about where local fans and global fans will be watching the match and they offer contests for all fans to win tickets to matches. The clubs often asked global fans to submit photos wearing club merchandise around the world and asked how/ where fans would watch the match (i.e. bar,

home, etc.). While some fans made comments that fans living outside the clubs' city were not true fans, the club itself encouraged both local and international fan growth. It is possible that the clubs' are attempting to identify with the global fans by using Baumann's third grammar of identity: Encompassment. They recognize that on a low level the fans speak different languages and come from different countries, but on a higher level they are all football fans and therefore have a shared identity. It did not appear that all the fans agree with this shared identity, but the clubs made it obvious that they cared more about whom a fan supports than where the fans come from.

I found that a significant number of social media fans were global fans. For example, Madrid has a population of 3.2 million people, but Real Madrid's Facebook page has a total of 80 million "likes". Even if every single person in Madrid supported Real Madrid's Facebook page the fans living outside of Madrid that "liked" the page still outweigh those living in Madrid. Spain as a whole has a population of 47.27 million people, again the amount of Facebook "likes" requires that the majority of the fans live outside of Spain.

As stated previously in this chapter, the Club's social media groups try and include global fans as much as possible by using English and directing questions and tasks specifically to them. It is obvious that both local and global fans are important to the club, but social media is a way for global fans to interact with the club more regularly. A city might include recent information about their local club in local spaces, but global fans often have to resort to using the Internet to get the most recent information about international clubs. This is because depending on where the fan is living it is possible that their local news does not cover a specific international club. While local fans experience fandom in their everyday lives by living in the city, which regularly reinforces their identity, global fans need to use another method to reinforce their identity on a frequent basis.

c. Negotiated Fandom

In "Football spectatorship, mediatization and the identity question- The Case of the Champions League" Niemann & Brand (2013) looked at how the Champions League is creating a "European public football space". In the paper

they write: "...identities' as projections of self also entail perceptions of membership (of a certain community), criteria for oneself and others to belong to this in- group (who is regarded as alien, exotic, outsider etc., who not) as well as spatial concepts (what is the primary a/o preferred sphere of action, what is the main frame of reference)." (p.6). The authors give an example of how it is appropriate for German fans to cheer for Dutch clubs, as they consider them "their own". While politics and location factor into fandom I found a few consistent reasons why fans choose to support more than one club. In this section I will discuss the negotiated fandom reasons that most often came up in my research.

The first and most popular reason I observed was their heritage. Many fans, especially from America or countries that do not have very successful clubs, choose to cheer for a club that they have a family connection to. The second reason was they had visited, or lived in, the clubs' city at one point and were interested in the region as a whole; therefore they supported the city/region and participated in cultural events, such as football championships. The third reason was often because a player was from a fan's home country, and through the player they had a connection to the club. In this case they often supported the player more than the club and admitted that if the player transferred, their fandom would also transfer. The fifth reason was because the club played well. A few fans I spoke to described how they watch football because they are interested in the game and clubs that play well are interesting to watch. I found this reason to be the most negotiated due to the fact that clubs' success often changes. I also found that many fans did not consider people who liked clubs based on their success to be true fans. Although they may cheer for the club many did not consider them belonging to the club community. Despite many fans' negative views on people who negotiated their fandom I still found that all my participants had a second favorite club, and many Facebook and twitter users "liked" or "followed" a minimum of two clubs.

Finally the fifth reason was often due to a fan's favorite club either dropping out of the championship or not participating in a specific game. I found

this to be the most common reason for negotiated fandom because it was impossible for a fan's favorite club to play in every match. In this case fans described cheering for clubs that their friends cheered for, but not caring as much about the outcome- unless of course it was a rival team in which they considered certain outcomes the lesser of two evils (Szogs & Schwell, 2013). Earlier in this thesis I gave a similar example when discussing Baumann's three grammars of identity. This is an example of segmentation, where a fan's support is based on context. In this case there are different levels, or ranks, of context. In order to fully understand this reasoning I want to discuss a few examples that came up in my research. During the quarterfinals FC Bayern played against Manchester United and Real Madrid played against Dortmund. At this stage the winners from the two groups would then go on to play against each other. At this time I came across FC Bayern fans that expressed support for Dortmund. What was interesting is that they did so not because both clubs come from Germany, but because Real Madrid is a strong club and they did not want them to continue in the tournament. When a fan's favorite club was still active in the tournament I found this to be a popular reason for supporting one club over another. However when a favorite club was eliminated the context changed. In this situation fan's expressed their interest for football as a sport and cultural aspects surrounding the tournament. Many fans continued to watch matches and negotiated their fandom based on the reasons discussed above.

Since the invention of TV there have been many studies on how technology has influenced football, especially fandom. One study was done by Sandvoss (2003), who notes: "What is needed, then, is a closer examination of how globalization and localization change our everyday life, our sense of identity, our social organization and belonging." (p.89). He continues and says how: "Similar to the locale itself, a sense of belonging, community and Heimat⁸ is negotiated through the consumption of global resources." (p.171). By the end of my study I concluded that technology especially was what allowed negotiated fandom. Although fans move and choose preferences based on where they lived,

⁸ German word for homeland, translated by author

only by using technology can they actively support a club by watching matches, buying merchandise, and keeping up to date on club information. It is easier now than it ever has been to receive real-time information just as if you lived in a particular city. Through these technological advances, fans have more options and they are using the advancements to reach beyond traditional borders.

d. Belonging/ Identity (online)

In *A Game of Two Halves: Football Fandom, Television and Globalization* Sandvoss (2003) wrote that, "...the search for membership of communities and the construction of a sense of belonging are an integral part of football fandom." (p.91). However, during the Champions League '13/'14 I did not find evidence for this claim on Facebook and Twitter club pages. While most fans did identify with a particular club, there were no limitations for "liking" or "following" a club online. This meant that any supporter and even non-supporter could belong to the group. Simply by clicking "like" or "follow", any Facebook or Twitter member could receive club updates, post comments, and tag the club in their own posts. In most cases fans supported more than one club online, and often group members wrote comments on a club's page supporting a rival club. For example, on April 2nd, 2014 when FC Bayern played Manchester United, FC Bayern posted a photo of their mascot and a status update saying: "Let's get ready to rumble!" (Observation by author). While most comments under the photo expressed support for FC Bayern a few comments showed support for Manchester United, with one fan saying: "GLORY MAN UNITED!!!!!!!!!" (Observation by author). Many FC Bayern fans continued to reply negatively to this comment, however this particularly anti- FC Bayern comment still received 160 "likes", indicating that 160 "FC Bayern Facebook followers" agreed with the message of the post.

Baumann and Gingrich (2004) discuss identity in regards to alterity. They claim that one understands their belonging to a specific group only through the Orientalizing others. However with today's technology the traditional city/country boundaries, originally outlined for club fans, are changed and the difference between fans are less visible. Fans on Twitter and Facebook are now reconstructing what it means to be a fan. They are still differentiating themselves

from “others”, but focusing on how one supports the club and not where one lives. In my interviews I asked participants what it meant to be a fan and I received many different answers, which included attending live matches, buying club merchandise, having a personal connection to the club, etc. None of the participants mentioned following a club on social media, one of the reasons being that there is no criteria for following a club online- they compared it to reading about the club in a newspaper.

4.4 Match Days

Most football fan research focuses on the rituals and habits of fans on game day (Sandvoss, 2003). These studies include observing and interviewing fans at stadiums, bars, etc. Researchers are usually interested in how fans express their fandom, what emotions they go through, and what actions they do before, during, and after the game. Below I will discuss some of this research and compare it to what I observed by following clubs’ actions online on match days.

a. Stadium & Television

Despite social media being a place where fans can receive constant update from live football games, the importance of going to the stadium and watching live matches is still strongly present. Clubs post photos of their home stadium as a symbol for the community, clubs create events for match days and include the physical stadium as the location. They also provide competitions and virtual games giving fans the ability to win tickets to live matches at the stadium.

The stadium is a physical location that fans can go to and watch a live match, participate in ritual behavior, and where they can surround themselves with like-minded people. John Bale (2000) wrote: “The stadium has always exemplified a facility that generates both positive and negative effects.” (p.91). One negative effect the stadium has is it’s historically exclusive nature. Traditionally the stadium was a place where men gathered (Schacht, 2001). Female fans are gradually, but consistently, entering the stadium community and participating in the ritual. Dr. Tamar Rapaport and Daniel Regev (Rapaport & Regev, 2013) gave a lecture at the Kick Start Free Conference where they talked

about their study in which they studied female fans and how they mimic masculine culture in public in order to be considered a fan and fit in. After interviewing female fans they found that female fans participated in the same performative practices at stadiums as male fans. While some female fans have successfully integrated into the stadium culture, others have sought different viewing rituals, such as their local bars and private parties.

Sandvoss (2003) believes that anthropologists should take two things into account when studying television consumption and football. The first point is that more football is consumed through television than in the stadium, and second, televised games are very similar to other forms of TV entertainment. Television provides comfort and convenience in a fan's everyday life, thus allowing for more participation. Television was no direct subject of my study because I did not include public viewing areas in my research, but it repeatedly came up in my research. Television is by far the most popular method of watching a game, especially for international fans who have little chance of going to a live match. The clubs did not discuss watching the game on television very often. Once in a while they asked fans about public viewing areas, specifically where a fan was going to watch a game, and many answered by saying they were going to watch it on TV at a public viewing area, like a bar.

In the end I found that the stadium is the physical location that corresponds to the virtual one. All my interviewees found it important for fans to watch a live game whenever possible, to experience the stadium culture at least once, and further claimed that they still watched the game either at the stadium or on television whenever possible. Some of my interviewees used social media as a backup when they couldn't watch the game, but social media updates and video replays were neither comparable to a live game at the stadium nor on TV.

b. Ritual of Rebellion

In 1954 Max Gluckman, after studying societies in Southeast Asia, developed the theory on rituals of rebellion. The idea is that groups release tension in designated and controlled settings. Groups use rituals to disrupt social order for a short time to ultimately preserve it. The event is not meant to be violent but to allow the community to express their hostility. Rituals of rebellion

are not protests. The end result typically is the same as before the ritual took place, but the community members feel better after participating in the tradition. Football can be seen as a ritual of rebellion. Fans gather at the stadium, bars, or other public viewing areas and the match “typically allow[s] for the release of societal tensions without fear of retribution.” (Coroniti, 2014). Coronitini was not the first to coin the basic principles of this theory, and they pertain to many sports. After the first World War George Orwell observed that international sports were used as an expression of national struggle, and that sportsmen represented their nation and therefore their imagined communities (Hobsbawm, 1990). While this type of global expression is most obvious during world championships like the Olympics and World Cup, the Champions League is a European-wide event with players from all over the world representing their communities.

4.5 On Social Media



Figure 13 (Taken by author)

a. Social media for business

Facebook (Page Info, 2014) advertises its “Facebook Pages” as “Tools for your business, brand or organization”. They continue to talk about the features such as branding your page, where businesses and organizations can customize

timeline photos, post important news, and manage all the activity in one place. Facebook also offers features such as Instagram and Twitter integration, which allows members to connect the three accounts and therefore distribute a message on all platforms simultaneously with a single click. Facebook pages can be seen in many different ways. They can be viewed as a news source, a community with members and participants, and/or as a marketing tool. In my interviews I found that although many fans used Facebook as a news source, they all commented on how they believe it is ultimately a marketing source. The clubs promote merchandise and events that earn them money and accept anyone. An interesting aspect of my study was the Facebook page's maintenance. The clubs all posted many updates, photos, and videos on a daily basis. They encouraged fans to participate in discussions and asked for fans to participate in live Q&A sessions where they posted their questions on Facebook and a player/special guest could answer it in real time. I found that the clubs were impressively good at using the technology to their advantage and that it truly did create a more intimate feeling and ultimately helped their brand grow.

Twitter is structured slightly different. Unlike Facebook where a member can post as many characters as they want, Twitter limits posts to 140 characters per tweet. However, like Facebook Twitter is geared towards private users as well as companies. They advertise how companies can use Twitter to: "share information about their services, gather real-time market intelligence, and build relationships with customers, partners, and influencers." (Twitter). I found that the clubs I observed used Twitter for exactly this purpose. What I found most interesting was that Twitter changed its layout during my research. This was interesting because it proves that the service itself is also constantly being updated. If we think of the clubs like businesses, this is an important aspect in today's innovative and changing market place.

b. Connectivity through symbols and features

When discussing Europeanization and the future, Jürgen Mittag and Benjamin Legrand (2010) wrote: "Europe continues to lack media structures that would allow communication to a Europe-wide public, in a common language spoken by all Europeans, and the intermediary actors that would serve as

transmission lines between national states and social bonds.” (p. 720). I disagree with this statement. Social media allows for clubs to use club symbols and hashtags to communicate beyond traditional borders and virtual borders. Through “sharing” and hashtags⁹, posts do not only appear on a “like” page but also are shared further on individual pages, group pages, and other media outlets. Social media allows a media structure that is accessible Europe-wide. All social media posts by the popular clubs are posted in the native language and English; English being the international language that most of the international community understands. And the players, UEFA, and clubs act as intermediary actors that move between national states and cultural bonds. The actors often communicate in English, use social media to try and get closer to fans (through real-time Q&A sessions), and come from all over the world, which provides relatability and intercultural relationships to fans across Europe. Social media is the media structure and English is the language that allows football to strongly influence Europeanization.

While conducting participant observation I often found myself analyzing symbols and language. Facebook and Twitter posts often contained a specific hashtag (#) relating to either a club or event. For example “#halamadrid” was the official hashtag for everything related to Real Madrid. The club, players, fans, and anyone with a Facebook or Twitter account could use the hashtag and by clicking on the hashtag, anyone, even those without social media accounts, could see every post that used that specific hashtag. This was the same for hashtags relating to events, i.e. “#UCLDraw”. This was important when researching beyond the club posts. The hashtags allowed me to see posts by fans that did not “follow” or “like” the club’s official pages. Not only hashtags but also “tagging” allowed players and fans to connect accounts. Often, participants followed a player, possibly one from their home country, and supported the player regardless of the club. The player was then able to use “tagging” and “hashtag” features to include the club and promote the clubs’ merchandise, events, and image.

⁹ Hashtags (#) is a way for users to connect information using a keyword. By clicking #HalaMadrid social media users can see all post that include this hashtag.

Chapter 5 - Social media & Fandom Groups Beyond the Pitch

Both football fandom and social media have habit and ritual capabilities that extend beyond match day. Football itself provides clothing, entertainment, and news that give fans the possibilities to include football culture in their everyday lives. Since there are more non-match days in a year than match days, the role football plays in a fan's everyday life is vital to his or her long lasting identity to a club. While discussing football emotions Porat (2010) wrote: "studies unequivocally indicate that football fandom is a way of life. The fan's daily and weekly agenda is determined by his relationship with the football club. Most importantly, football fandom is a significant component of identity: it is stable and effective." (p.277). Later in his paper he elaborates on this and says: "...the fan needs reinforcements. It is not just the game of football that maintains his long-standing (emotional) identification with the particular club." (p.285).

Sports fandom and nationalism have many similarities (Hobsbawm, 1990). A fan pledges their allegiance to a specific club and identifies with an imagined community, similar to how citizens regard the nation. One area the two differ in, however, is their reinforcement. In the past, a club was connected to a city and therefore reinforced a fan's identity to a nation. Nowadays, globalization has caused fans to spread and not feel the everyday reinforcement of the national connection. Therefore clubs offer more to fans than only watching games. By being part of fan's everyday life, the club offers its fans the possibility to be more committed to the club. Below I will discuss a few ways in which social media emphasized and reinforced football fandom in everyday life beyond the pitch.

5.1 Recognizing International events

The Champions League took place from September 17, 2013 until May 24, 2014. As stated in my introduction, my study on the final eight teams took place from March 21, 2014 through May 24, 2014. During this time many international events took place. Some of these events were positive, such as World Cup preparation, and some were negative, most notably the flooding in the Balkans and the mining disaster in Turkey. During these international events, all the

clubs, as well as UEFA, recognized the event and showed their support and solidarity.

Figure 14 (Taken by author)



Figure 14 shows a photo that Real Madrid posted after the Balkan flooding. Under the posted image, fans from all around the world commented and expressed their support for the victims and the club. One fan posted: “A team with a heart! Hala Madrid!!!” (Observed by author). While some fans showed support for the Balkans as a whole, other fans chose to only show support for select countries. This was

obvious in many fans comments but one in particular highlighted this: “Croatia & Bosnia yes. serbia no !! they deserve this after that what they did in Kosovo” (Observed by author). I thought this was interesting because it was on a Spanish club’s Facebook page. Geographically, the club was relatively far from the conflict, but was nevertheless influenced by it because of its international players, worldwide fans, and on a higher level shared a continent with the region. The same phenomena happened again after the Turkish mining accident. Again clubs showed support through social media by posting photos and status updates. Borussia Dortmund specifically wrote a status update expressing best wishes and hopes for a speedy recovery. This status was particularly specific because it was posted in Turkish first, followed by English, and finally German (the club’s official language). It was an international event specifically influencing Turkey and therefore including a post in the language was personal and targeted specific fans, but the club continued to post the same status in internationally recognizable language, and their own country’s language. Again fans responded with the similar types of responses: some expressing thanks and support for Turkey and the club, some positive, and some negative.

Even though the clubs are “local” city clubs- with symbols, language, and history in a physical location with borders, they are now international actors as well. They have players and fans from all around the world and travel for games, making connections around the world. It is an international sport and globalization has created an international football culture, one that recognizes that the modern world is a global village and therefore events in one part of the world influence the rest. The clubs stand together and use these events to remind fans that they are world actors and are involved in more than just the game. Most of these events had nothing to do with football, other than reinforcing a fan’s emotional connection to the club and reminding the fans that they are involved in everyday life events.

5.2 Racism

Racism is an ideology that can be found all around the world, but is especially a problem in football. Football has a long history with fans being racist towards each other, rival clubs, and players. It is something many football anthropologist, and researchers from other fields, have focused on (Back, Crabbe, & Solomos, 2001). It is very likely that not only did past social norms create this strong connection, but also because clubs used already existing distinctions in order to Orientalize “others” and reinforce the group identity. The public has largely criticized football fans, clubs, and especially federations for their lack of responsibility on the issue (Fox Sports, 2014). Even the organization Kick It Out, which is in charge of fighting racism in football, has come under criticism for insufficiently punishing players, fans, and clubs who have been convicted of racism (BBC, 2013).

During my study, Dani Alves, a Brazilian football player who plays with FC Barcelona, was the target of a racist action by a fan. On April 27th, 2014, during a game, a fan in the audience threw a banana at Alves. This was not the first time a banana has been thrown at a football player during a match. The idea behind the action is that dark skinned people resemble monkeys and therefore the banana becomes a racist symbol. In 1988, a fan threw a banana at John Barnes, a Jamaican English football player. At the time, players, clubs, and international organizations did not take a strong stance on racism and the only attention the

action got was when Barnes kicked it out of the way (Crooks, 2014). However in today's society fans put more pressure on clubs, players, and NGOs to take a stronger stance on racism. When Alves encountered the banana on the field he picked it up and took a bite. This seemingly small action sparked a global social media reaction with players, fans, clubs, international organizations, and non-soccer fans posting photos of themselves eating a banana, using hashtags referencing Alves, and showing their support for his actions and their dislike for racism in football. The events were quite similar, but in 2014 there was a dramatically different reaction. With social media, people all around the world were aware of the event and able to recognize it on an international scale. This solidarity puts pressure on the football world. Social media allows for international news and reactions to spread in real time at a fast speed. However even with international pressure, and actions taken by the Spanish Football Federation that included FC Barcelona's full support for banning the fan from the stadium and fining the stadium, many believed the punishment was not enough

(Frayer, 2014). Like most trends on social media this also died down as quickly as it spread and by the end of my study no one was commenting on the event. Social media is a powerful tool when spreading important information, but because of it's size and the amount of important information in the world it turns into a double edged sword, one in which it helps and hurts causes.



Figure 15 (Taken by author)

Although Social Media can be used as a form of international support against racism, it is at the same time a platform for racism to take place. While I never witnessed a club supporting racism or making racist comments, I did encounter fans with negative and racist comments. These negative comments were often promptly deleted. This explains why my interviewees often described seeing very limited racism online, with nearly all participants stating that racism does occur, but is seldom encountered by them. Facebook, Twitter, the clubs, and fans have a responsibility to report inappropriate comments. When negative comments are posted, action is taken. However this is a very controversial issue involving both free speech and international laws. Facebook, Twitter, and the football clubs have fans living over the world and there is no international law that covers all online actions. The combination of Globalization and the Internet has created a global village with each website creating guidelines, but the physical world has yet to keep up with social media and therefore laws and punishments are unclear. For example Boellstorff (2008) discussed how on Second Life rules regarding virtual rape were unclear. A few of the people I interviewed believed in order for users to feel safe online more action needed to be taken to prevent discrimination. The majority of fans believed it would be impossible for an individual club or social media provider to monitor all comments and therefore the fight against racism had to be a group effort.

My results corresponded with Cornell Sandvoss' case studies in *A Game of Two Halves*. When discussing football in everyday politics Sandvoss (2003) concluded that: "Despite a lack of academic investigations in this respect, the everyday discourses and actions of football fans suggest that fandom is political in both its content and its implications, even though negotiated outside the traditional spheres of political discourse." (p.50-51). He continues by saying: "As fans seek spaces of self-projection, a politicization of football in general or of a particular club possibly endangers fans' identification with the club, as the semiotic structure of the club threatens to be externally determined." (p.51). While many fans have expressed the desire for football culture to change and be more open for all races and genders, many also don't associate football with politics and

don't believe it should be a club's responsibility to be involved in politics off the pitch.

Racism is a part of everyday life for many people around the world. It is also part of football culture and games. It is something that continually needs to be discussed and pressure needs to be put on appropriate parties to limit and hopefully eventually stop racism in football and beyond. However until it is no longer an issue, activists, players, clubs, and any other concerned party has the opportunity to start a movement and make a difference. Social media is a way for these people to spread their message to a larger audience in real time, and it is also a platform where people can share racist comments with minor consequences. This shows that social media is not an independent space, it is not 100% separate from the physical world, but it is intertwined with the physical world, both positively and negatively.

5.3 History, Human Memory, and the habits they form

a. Memory

Social media is an excellent resource for communities to reinforce and remind members of past events and ultimately reinforce the Habitus. I found that on important anniversaries clubs would post pictures, memories, and ask fans to share their memories of the events. The club would remind the group about the event, and even explain it to fans that were not present for the actual event. Previous championships and other positive events motivated local and global fans to support the club, and even though the championship has passed many fans still continue to unquestionably support a club. Ultimately, the events had produced a lasting consequence of support for the club long after the actual victory had passed and thus created an unquestioned habit, a habitus. The most common dates being shared included days a club won an important tournament and dates they won an important game against a rival.

Figure 16 is one screenshot that shows how the club reminded the fans of



a past victory. On May 24th, the day of the Champions League Finale FC Bayern posted this update to its Facebook and Twitter pages. FC Bayern did not make it to the final and therefore had no chance of becoming the Champions League Champion, however it still used the date to educate and remind its fans of the past times they have won. Like teaching a national history class, FC Bayern wanted the fans to remember its own history. They wanted to remind the fans that although they would not win this year they had won many times, and even

though many younger fans did not watch all the past games live, they should still know and remember important dates in the club's history. A few days later on the official anniversary of FC Bayern's victory in 2013 the club posted another status update with pictures reminding fans that 365 days ago they did win the Champions League. This behavior was not specific to FC Bayern. All the other clubs also posted memories, photos, and dates that had meaning to them. Even Real Madrid, who ended up winning, posted their photos and updates about their past victories as UEFA Champions. I witnessed how many fans used these updates to share their own memories and to express their support for the club.

b. Habitus

"How is human action regulated? [...] How does human action follow regular statistical patterns without being the product of obedience to some external structure, such as income or cultural norms, or to some subjective, conscious invention, such as rational calculation?" (Swartz, 2012). These are a few paraphrased questions that Pierre Bourdieu asked himself when elaborating on the understanding of Habitus. Bourdieu was not the only academic interested in the everyday life and formation of habits by members within communities. According to Bourdieu (1990) Marcel Mauss understood habitus as "habits,

skills, styles, non-discursive knowledge that 'go without saying' for a specific group." (p. 66-67). These habits, knowledge, etc. are developed out of a person's social capital (social networks such as friends, family, colleagues), cultural capital (knowledge, experience, connections, etc.), economic capital (earning, property), and symbolic capital (prestige, recognition). These are the factors for individuals but they are also what ultimately influences groups and entire societies; Habitus relies on groups' history and memory of past events in order to create habits and styles. Consequences occur after events, for example war, and then after a while the consequence remains but is no longer associated with the original event. Even after the original event has passed, groups sometimes continue habits that have, at that point, become cultural norms and second nature. For example, on Christmas in the Austrian Alps some families traditionally eat Würstlsuppe¹⁰. When I asked the host why they ate this specific dish she explained that after World War II meat was a luxury that many families could not afford everyday, but since Christmas was a special occasion, families would eat this specific soup. Nowadays some families (influenced by their social, economic, etc. capital) continue this tradition, but the further the generation is from remembering what it was like after the war, they fail to remember the original reason for eating the soup. They were raised eating the soup on Christmas and in the end do not question the tradition.

Porat (2010) wrote that, "Studies on global football fan behavior conclude that supporting a football club is a life-long project that begins at an early age and ends with the life of the fan." (p. 277). Therefore many fans experience football communities as a second society where they learn traditions, style, habits, etc. that shape their conscious and unconscious everyday life. Porat, however, disagrees with Bourdieu. He believes that unlike the French society that Bourdieu studied, football fans are aware of their habitus. Porat concluded that fans could differentiate which beliefs and attitudes arose out of their fandom community. I disagree with Porat. I found that many fans treated football events, such as the world cup, as sacred and traditional as any other holiday in their

¹⁰ Clear soup with pieces of sausage

community. For example, in western culture Christmas is always celebrated in December and therefore its tradition is strongly linked to a certain season. Similarly, the World Cup always takes place in summer. When FIFA contemplated moving the World Cup to winter in 2022, many fans openly expressed their disapproval of the change even though FIFA presented substantial reasons for the decision. Throughout my study I saw examples of fans showing similar emotions and reactions to football culture as they would to their own national culture. Most fans do not question why events take place at a certain time, but they treat the event just as sacred and important as any other event, and these habits and traditions do not only apply to special occasions but to many different cultural aspects.

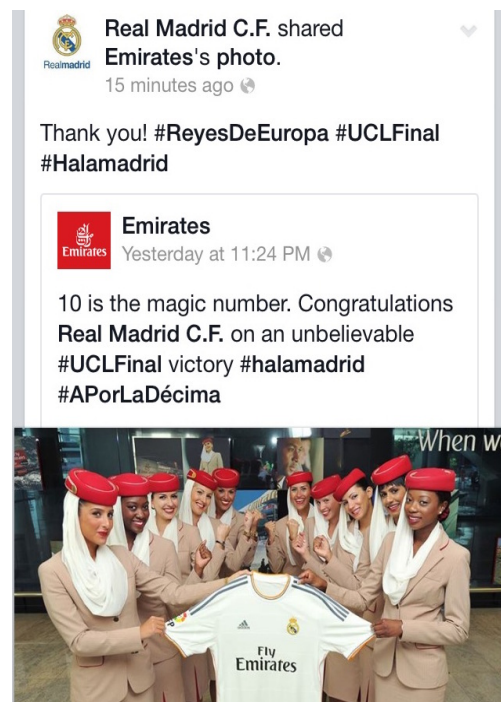
There is one factor of the traditional interpretation of Habitus that cannot directly be applied to a sports setting: its emphasis on class. As Erickson (1996) wrote: "If we look at class alone, sport is a relatively classless genre useful in coordinating ties between classes ... But, if we turn from class to other forms of inequality, we see that sports knowledge contributes to domination in these even while it contributes to coordination between classes ... Sport talk can link the male majorities in all classes but excludes women, which may be one more reason for its popularity in a very macho industry." (p.244-245). Sandvoss (2003) also addresses this issue and explains how Television has decreased gender discrimination by giving female fans another way to reinforce their fandom without going to traditional matches. Sandvoss elaborates on the issue and describes how football consumption cannot only be explained using cultural and social capital. For Bourdieu, class was a very important factor when understanding consumption, and while class does have an influence in football fandom (can a fan afford to attend a live match or buy merchandise to show their support, etc.) fairly new methods of football consumption have helped break down traditional boundaries. TV is a cheaper alternative that has allowed fans to watch a match without paying for a ticket and it can be a more comfortable alternative that allows non-traditional fans to watch the game in non-traditional spaces. Social media is another influence that has altered class structures for football fans. Sandvoss' argument for TV can mostly be applied to social media as

well. Access is free and open to all social classes, and offers an even more comfortable form of fandom, thus enabling non-traditional fans. Although social media is free, nevertheless, a person using social media still needs to have the money to pay for Internet and must have access to a computer or Internet-accessible device. However, social media allows non-traditional social groups such as females and international fans to participate in real-time with local fans and the club. In my research I found no agreed upon class system, which supports initial claim that sports as well as new media, such as TV and social media, deemphasize class issues.

5.4 Multinational enterprises - Sponsorship

Figure 17 (Taken by author)

European football is not just simply about the game. Successful European clubs are now strongly influenced by capitalism, which influences the players they can purchase and the publicity they get in the media. The capital comes from many different areas including merchandise sales, ticket sales, and sponsors. When I started my research, I focused on merchandise sales. I knew from previous observations that many fans owned club merchandise and the club encouraged the use of this merchandise to display one's fandom to the physical and virtual world. However, early on in my study I saw that sponsorship had a dramatic influence on a club. Sandvoss wrote: "... many professional clubs have developed far reaching ties with major capitalist enterprises through sponsorship and promotional deals. The aim of media companies in seeking to control football clubs is vertical integration." (p.212). The club sponsors advertise their products alongside the club's merchandise, include their logo on club merchandise, often provide club



equipment, and make commercials for matches, games on TV, and on social media.

Capitalism and sponsors are something that came up in nearly every interview. Without being asked about it directly, many fans discussed how social media is a way for clubs to increase their capital. Through social media they can reach more people and Facebook is a great tool for companies. Facebook even advertises their ability to help businesses grow and become more profitable. In the end, football is a business with many clubs creating partnerships with other local and global companies. Social media is full of paid advertisements on the pages' sidebars and the clubs often post advertisements for their own merchandise and their partners. Figure 17 shows Real Madrid "sharing" a post of their sponsors: Emirates. Both companies support each other and the Emirates logo is on the Real Madrid jersey. By creating an alliance, both financially benefit from the other. These partnership updates and advertisements appeared very often on social media.

I chose not to study the financial aspect mainly because I did not originally see its significance to football culture. As concluded in the previous section football is a relatively classless culture. However due to the structure of both Football and social media one can see that there is a strong relationship between football culture, social media layouts, and the economy. Football, especially large tournaments like the Champions League rely on ticket sales, revenue, etc. in order to promote the brand, buy the best players, and travel to the various matches. Concerning social media I did not originally think of capitalism because I did not need to pay to be an active user online, but because it is free to users is why revenue from ads, partnerships, etc. are so important to its existence. The economics concerning football, social media, and their relationship needed to be addressed here, but for better results concerning this subject further research should be conducted.

Chapter 6 – Social Media and Social Networks

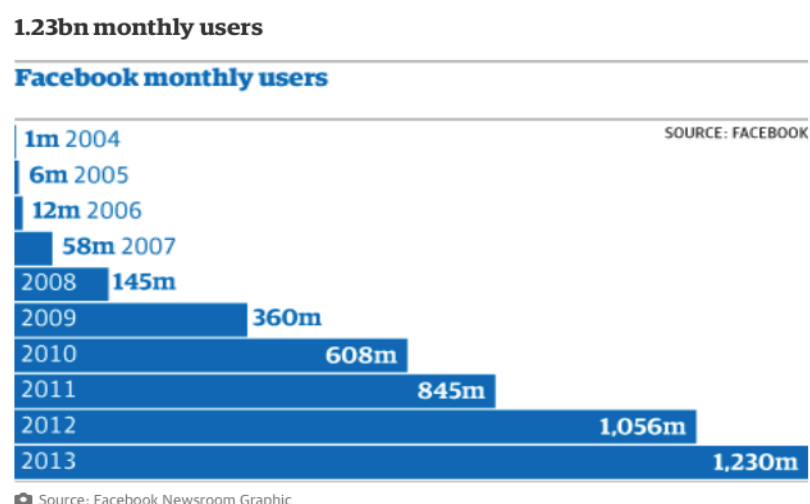
“Through the internet people are forming networks and communities with their own code of conduct and language. These ‘virtual or online communities’ and ‘online social networks’ offer a rich social field for ethnographic investigation. Ethnographers can, for instance, study the diverse relationships between language, social structure and cultural identity that are produced by communication.” (Budka, 2011, p. 5)

Social media, or social networks, is a subcategory studied under digital anthropology. According to British anthropologist Daniel Miller there is no official distinction between the terms social media and social networks. In an informal interview he informed me that he, and his group, follow colloquial usage and in the past social networking was the popular term and then there was a shift to using social media. I found that it was accurate to describe Facebook and Twitter both as networks, where pairs or groups can interact and, as a form of media, a place for updates. However because social networks exist offline as well as online I choose to use social media as my preferential term for Facebook and Twitter. In this section I will go over the ways in which club run social media pages acts as a community and a form of interactive media for the fans.

6.1 Interaction

Table 2 (Facebook, 2014)

Social media is growing at an exceptionally fast pace. As seen in table 2 Facebook has increased it's monthly users by ten times in less than ten years.



On social media there are three main forms of interaction. The first is user with computer, second user to user, and third user to group and vice versa. Social

media, technology such as smartphones, and advancements in Internet games supplement the online interaction between all actors. In her Thesis Mackenzie Ryan (2012) studied NFL fandom and wrote, “While the Internet has not removed the importance and effect of face-to-face interactions, the Internet is increasingly becoming a place where fans from all over the country (and even the world) can connect with each other and gather information almost instantaneously.” (p.5). In this section I will go over some of the ways club run social media pages used social media and technology to form community, identity, and overall interaction with the fans. I will also discuss how fans interacted with each other and how this ultimately contributed to their fandom.

a. Personal vs. Group Communication

Humans are born social animals. Social media has created a space in real time that allows individuals to communicate with other individuals or groups to communicate with individuals. Both Facebook and Twitter advertise that they allow individual users to customize privacy settings and to communicate with each other using private messages. Not only do these websites cater to individuals but they also advertise their advantages for business and groups (Facebook, 2014) (Twitter).

Facebook has a help page, titled “Interacting With Pages”, specifically designed as a guide for users to understand how to communicate with Facebook pages (i.e. club run pages) on a private and public level. On this help page Facebook explains that: “Facebook Pages are public spaces. Anyone who can see the Page can see your post or comment. Also, when you post or comment on a Page, a story can be published in News Feed¹¹ as well as other places around Facebook.” (Facebook, 2015). Users did have the option of contacting pages and private users directly, but because of the privacy settings I was only able to observe group and public interactions that took place on the clubs’ page.

Twitter, like Facebook, gave users the option to contact groups and users privately and publically. However Twitter did not give users the ability to comment directly on a post, but instead users had to share the post with their

¹¹ A member’s start page on Facebook where they can see the latest posts from their friends and groups.

followers and then write their comment. The way Twitter works is by members finding other user pages, private users or groups, and clicking “follow”. Depending on the users privacy setting the member can instantly follow or the member must wait to be accepted by the other user. Unless a user has an open profile, meaning any Twitter member can view their profile, it is impossible to see their comment without following them. During my research I purposely followed all the club pages, but only had access to open fan profiles.

b. Smart phones

According to Business Insider (Heggestuen, 2013): “By the end of 2013, global smartphone penetration will have exploded from 5% of the global population in 2009, to 22%. That's an increase of nearly 1.3 billion smartphones in four years.” With the invention of the smartphone possibilities for social media websites also increased. Facebook and Twitter saw this possible revenue and developed apps that allow users to access their pages, groups, communicate with each other, and have full access to their social media pages just like they would on a computer. According to the guardian (Kiss, 2014): “Globally, 556 million people now access the site every day on their smartphone or tablet and at the end of 2013, for the first time, Facebook made more than \$1bn in revenue from mobile advertising in just one quarter.”

Smartphones now give football fans the platform and ability to access group pages instantly throughout the day. As long as they have Internet and a device (smartphone, computer, or tablet) they can participate on the clubs’ pages. Not only can users go directly in the app and access the pages but they can also receive push notifications on their phone and receive alerts every time the clubs post a comment, photo, etc. on the page. This is a feature available on all smartphones and only requires that the user download the free Facebook or Twitter app.

Facebook is not the only company that profits from users using smartphone apps. Throughout my research I saw clubs promoting their own apps through Facebook. For example figure 18 shows a seven-year-old Real



Figure 18 (Taken by author)

Smartphones are another way clubs can interact with fans in their everyday life. Through features like push notifications, messaging, television, etc. fans can express and experience their fandom throughout the day everyday of the year. This open interaction between club and fan and fan and fan now takes place in real time, during non-match times, and everywhere around the world. The only requirement is that fans have a smartphone, Internet access, and download the app. All these access requirements are financial and none require that a fan show their support or engage in any specific interaction.

Not only do smartphones provide a platform for fans to communicate with the club, but they also provide a space for football hooligans. As a way to counter police interaction Giulianotti and Armstrong (2007) note that: "Mobile telephones can provide a vital, virtual medium for the negotiations between sides, as to which spaces may be functional, legitimate settings for violent exchanges." (p.233). Not only can hooligans use Facebook to communicate with

Madrid fan holding a smartphone. In this situation the young fan used Real Madrid's app in order to win a contest. Real Madrid's app requires fans to use the Real Madrid Kick app on their smartphone. However this image that I found on Facebook shows that Real Madrid does not limit it's smartphone interaction to it's own app. The club used Facebook to promote its app. When I researched these apps further I found that most of the clubs developed a few apps for different purposes.

groups privately but they can also use it to engage with virtual hooliganism. “For ex-hooligans, engagement with ‘virtual’ hooliganism (through hooligan books, videos and, in future, even video games) advances this privatisation of fan violence.” (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2007).

c. Virtual Games

Football is a game, and most fans don’t only enjoy watching the game but also playing. However most fans do not have the skills to play with a professional club, but this does not stop UEFA, FIFA, and the clubs to develop virtual games that allow fans to virtually play as their favorite player, or manager, for their favorite team. One popular and successful virtual game includes the FIFA video game series that allows anyone with a gaming console (PlayStation, computer, Xbox, etc.) to play a video game version of a match.

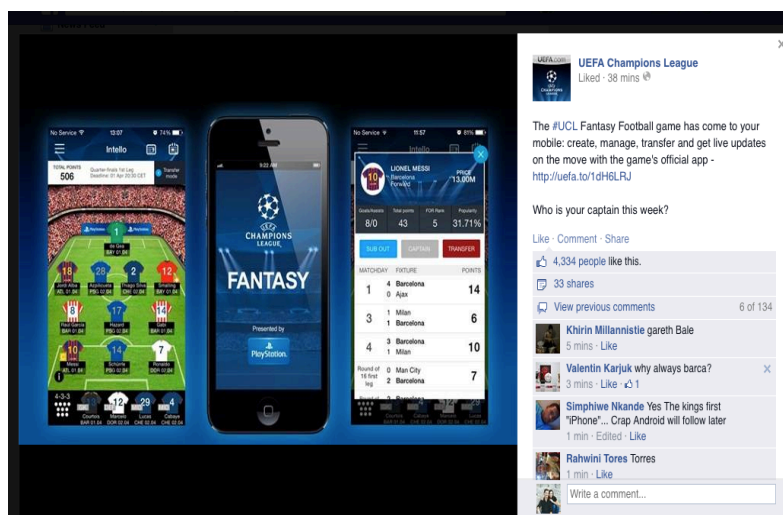


Figure 19 (Taken by author)

During my research I found that the clubs and UEFA promoted their own version of virtual gaming for fans. They then used Facebook and Twitter to promote it. One game in particular was very important for all clubs, and that was Fantasy football. As Mackenzie Ryan (2012) wrote about American fantasy football: “Fantasy football offers fans a new level of interaction and involvement. Whereas previously fans could scarcely imagine entering the exclusive club of NFL team ownership, fantasy football has allowed people to experience a transformation that Williams (as cited in Serazio 232) describes as going from ‘couch potatoes into coach potatoes.’” Fantasy football allows players to pick a

squad, create and join leagues, and manage their team. The game allows players to play against their own friends by creating a unique tournament, and also allows players to play against strangers by joining open leagues. Again this incorporates football into their everyday life using technology. While the game itself does not require Facebook it does allow users to link their Facebook and Fantasy football accounts so that they can see which friends they have on Facebook who are also active.

Bonnie Nardi and Justin Harris conducted a similar immersive ethnographic study on the virtual game World of Warcraft (WOW). Similarly to Fantasy Football, WOW is a multiple person Internet game. When looking at the community aspect they used Driskell and Lyon's (2002) "formulation that a community involves 'common ties' and 'social interactions'." (Nardi & Harris, 2006, p. 154). Players using Fantasy football share interest and goals while interacting with each other. One significant difference between Facebook and Twitter pages and Fantasy football is that the players change their identity when they play Fantasy football. In the actual world they are not a coach, but in the world of Fantasy football they are.

6.2 Formation processes

In this section I will discuss the formation of space on social media and the power structures I observed. Under the space section I will discuss how members and clubs form space that is relevant to their identity and culture. In order to do this I will use work from Waltroud Kokot (2007) and examine how globalization has ultimately influenced members' relationship with space. I will then end this section by discussing the top-down power structure I observed. Here I will discuss how clubs initiated conversations and what role trust and responsibility play online. Space formation and power structures ultimately influence how communities are formed, members are controlled, and the relationship formed online. By using research from other anthropologist and my own observations and interviews I will compare traditionally understandings of these concepts to those of the relatively new online world.

a. Space

Marshall McLuhan (1964) successfully predicted the influence of the Internet on the globe when he wrote: "After three thousand years of explosion, by means of fragmentary and mechanical technologies, the Western world is imploding. During the mechanical ages we had extended our boundaries in space. Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned.... As electrically contracted, the globe is no more than a village." (p.11-12). "For Durkheim time and space can only be conceived of in so far as they are mediated by society, or rather by the collective representations generated by, and therefore reflecting the social structure of, particular societies." (Barnard & Spencer, 1996, p. 822). Social media introduces new understandings of space. The social media space serves as a new platform for members to gather and share news and ideas. However Facebook is young, and therefore, in some respects, the time it takes to create meaning surrounding specific places has not yet occurred. Armstrong and Giulianotti (2007) wrote that: "Crucially, space is socialised, that is to say it is endowed with social meanings and regimes of signification that can be inherently conflictual. The localisation or zoning of space results in the specification of 'places', but a sense of 'place' only emerges through the development of a particular public meaning related to that area." (p. 212). Facebook itself is an online platform that members can join and create new spaces. Football clubs around the world have used Facebook as a method of bringing fans together and creating space for fans to interact with the club and each other. In their article *Avenues of contestation: football hooligans running and ruling urban spaces* Armstrong and Giulianotti continue to discuss the formation of landscape as a place that categorizes insiders and outsiders. Those who "like" or "follow" the clubs are the insiders on social media and those who don't are the outsiders.

Football stadiums, or a club's hometown, are symbols that hold significant value for clubs and their fans. Armstrong and Giulianotti (2007) explain how constructing space consists of two parts. "First, the presence of other places may certainly assist, as counterpoints, in bestowing meaning upon particular spaces

(Bailly 1986: 83). Second, all spaces are resources in which personal and collective expressions of social agency or imperializing impositions of power are realized and exercised.”(p.113). Facebook club pages can also be explained using these criteria. First, each club in my study had a Facebook club page, therefore, allowing the presence of other spaces to help assist the space of a specific club. Facebook members can easily recognize the difference between club profiles and therefore easily join the appropriate space. Second, Facebook and the club profiles have codes of conduct and rules that help them regulate the flow of discussion, members, and the construction of the space. Finally, the club pages allow for interaction between all members therefore creating a socialized space that is constructed by the club and members. Twitter on the other hand was different. It did not have a designated space for groups. Clubs had profiles with photos, comments, etc. but fans could not join and be part of that page. They could only share the information by sharing the post on their own page. Therefore space could not be formed through socialization.

Not only was I interested in understanding how space is formed on club pages, but I also wanted to see what kind of space is formed. Is it simply space for groups to discuss ideas and express their fandom or are online communities considered sacred spaces? Durkheim understood sacred as a dichotomy with profane. Sacred represented the interests of the group and the profane represented the concerns, or evil (Durkheim, 2001). Within football there are club symbols such as the mascot, club songs, stadium, etc. that are sacred to the club and fans. Then there are profane symbols such as rival clubs, rival mascots, and pretty much anything that concerns rival clubs. Fans often show their loyalty by wearing sacred symbols such as club merchandise. At the same time some fans defame profane symbols when participating in rituals that destroy rival merchandise, or rival territory. On social media fans used comments, photos, and videos to either show their support for one club or their lack of support for another. Figure 20 (below) shows a meme that one fan posted using club symbols to show how Manchester United was the most evolved. These symbols are sacred to the clubs and represent the club

themselves. By using these symbols to show less evolved humans, the fan was successfully able to show that the other clubs represented the profane. While this meme was used on social media I found no evidence that the Facebook pages themselves were sacred or profane. Due to flexible fandom many fans joined multiple pages and depending on the match showed their support through comments. The pages included symbolic photos and discussed sacred issues (such as game strategies), but in no way did they indicate that the socialized page space was a representation of neither the club nor the fans. In my interviews I found that fans even thought of the pages as a form of news and not a place.



Figure 20 (Taken by author)

b. Power

“Foucault saw power as being produced and reproduced through constant social interaction, from many different directions.” (Barnard & Spencer, 1996, p. 674). Foucault was instrumental in shaping anthropologists views of power. When I originally began my study I hypothesized that social media empowered the fans and therefore social media would most likely represent a bottom- up power processes. However, during my research I determined that my initial hypothesis was incorrect. On every club social media page I observed the clubs initiated the conversation. Not only did they initiate the conversation but they also had the power to delete members, delete comments, and ultimately to restrict specific functions on their page. From what I observed the clubs posted most of the comments and directed the fan conversation. They asked questions, posted videos and photos, and customized the page. While fans were free to express their opinion, and encouraged to participate by expressing their memories and views, asking questions, and

posting photos, it was the clubs who ultimately controlled conversation flow, had the ability to create events and invite all the members, and determine which media (photos and videos) would be uploaded to the page. However, only through social interaction, fan support and fan participation did the clubs have something to have power over.

Trust and Responsibility

In this section I wanted to address the aspect of trust and responsibility by the fans for the club and between the fans that like the page. During my interviews I found that the fans trust Facebook, Twitter, and the specific clubs to create a safe and respectful environment. When I asked one fan who should be responsible for maintaining an ethical environment he responded: "The club, Facebook has gotten too big to monitor everything, they can set limitation to what the pages can and cannot do, but it is up to the page administrators to monitor it." (Hatoum, 2014). By liking the page and accepting the top-down power structure members expect the club to create a safe space.

While observing the fans I also noticed that many users posted spam, this was rarely directly addressed by the club or other members. However due to the spam I experienced how many fans do not trust links posted by other fans. When I posted my survey asking for members to participate I received very few responses, the survey required fans to click on a link. I was then forced to contact people directly and ask if they had friends willing to take the survey and/or participate in an interview. In my interviews I found that not many members created friendships based on their interactions online. Based on my observations I believe this is strongly due to a lack of trust. Members largely interact based on comments and photos, but it can be very difficult to form trust with someone you have never met and will likely never meet in the physical world. There is also a lack of need to trust the others and form bonds. The support for a club unifies the group, but all have friends and/or family in the physical world that share their interest and with whom they share their experiences. While making friends is a vital social aspect of football fandom I did not see the necessity for creating bonds with other members on the social media pages. Going to a live match at

the stadium, watching a match at a bar, and the physical environment of watching a match was still a necessary part of a person's fandom and something news updates on social media has not yet replaced. Since trust in other fan members was not needed a person could still receive club updates by using social media without any social or physical connection to the other members.

6.3 As a form of media

"Mass media anthropology is a field within the discipline dealing with the relationship between the mass media and culture. The specific point of this is how culture is transmitted through the mass media." (Osorio, 2005, p. 36). Facebook and Twitter are considered to be social media platforms that are designed to spread information to large audiences, and therefore fall under mass media studies. In this thesis I intended to understand the influence of social media on culture and therefore it was necessary for me to examine social media as not only a community but also as a form of media. In this section I will look at two significant ways in which club run Facebook and Twitter pages acted and were perceived as mass media. I will look at what the clubs did and how members responded.

a. Photos and videos

In *A Game of Two Halves: Football Fandom, Television and Globalisation* Cornell Sandvoss (2003) discusses how television "radically shaped the premises of football consumption and fandom on a number of levels." (p.136). Television allowed members to watch a football match in different locations simultaneously to it taking place. This allowed both local and global fans to participate in traditional fandom practices and create new ones, i.e. watching a match at a bar. Sandvoss continues in his description of new media, such as the television and electronic media as a positive change for football fandom that does not corrupt it's core of being a spectator sport.

Photos and videos were a large part of the customization of club Facebook and Twitter pages. By posting images and videos the clubs were able to create a visual environment and the members were able to express their identity through more than text. Only through photos and videos can the clubs and fans express

the spectator aspect of fandom. However Facebook and Twitter do not have streaming¹² capabilities such as ESPN.com. This means fans cannot watch live matches. The photos and videos posted on Facebook and Twitter are not taking place in real time. The main difference between the photos and videos posted on social media compared to newspapers or magazines is the speed at which they can reach fans. Clubs and members can post visual updates instantaneously and others can view the post immediately, but without a streaming feature there will always be a delay compared to watching a live match. For many football fans this is unacceptable and the updates on social media are used when they can't watch a match or they want to refer back to something.

b. News / updates

"While different fans identify different practices (reading the newspaper, watching their team on television, being a season-ticket holder or attending all home games), they all explain their fandom in terms of a series of acts of consumption, often media consumption. In other words, fans are consumers." (Sandvoss, 2003, p. 17). In my interviews I asked the participants what the benefit of following a club online was. The most common answer being that any club updates, or "hot news", is posted immediately on club pages, and since it is the club posting the information it is reliable. When asked if this instant form of news updates would support the news section in a magazine most of my participants said it already has for them (Kurcius, 2014).

While all of the clubs I observed used many forms of mass media including magazines, newspapers, their own websites, etc. I also found that using social media was the fastest and most reliable method of receiving updates. The social media posts closely resembled headlines. However what I found interesting is that although the information was instant it was also short. Some posts included long descriptions and explanations, but most of the most were only a few lines, and in the case of Twitter only 140 characters. I found that

¹² The ability for clubs to watch a live or recorded match online using a computer, phone, or tablet. Streaming is the online version of watching a match on television.

these specific updates were usually enough for the fans and usually regarded information that needed little explanation such as when a goal is scored during a match, who will be traded, who is injured and if they can play, etc. Figure 21 shows a post by FC Bayern München reporting an injury. What is most distinctive on social media news compared to traditional newspapers was the ability for fans to interact with the media. As seen in the photo the club indicates “LIKE = Get better soon!” This gives fans the ability to not only receive reliable, fast updates, but also perform an action.

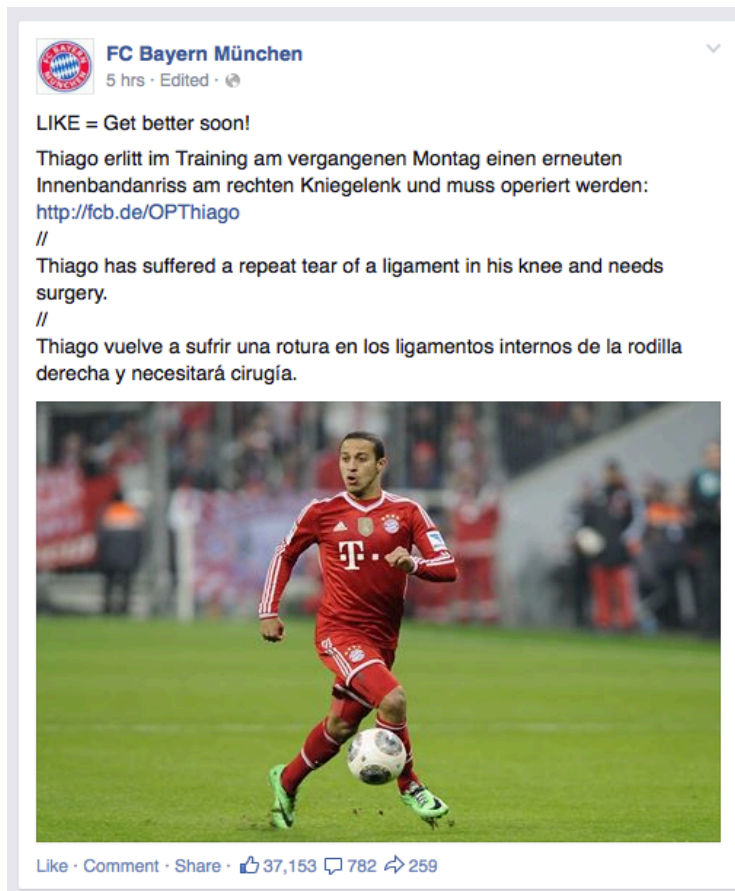


Figure 21 (Taken by author)

Chapter 7 Social media compared

In this chapter I will compare my findings to two related areas of research: firstly to Tom Boellstorff's research in *Second Life*, and secondly to the concept that football fandom communities are considered *Imagined Communities*. In the course of my research I encountered the question: could social media be considered an Imagined Community, a virtual community, both, or neither? I found that by comparing my research to related findings I could better explain what social media is and what role it, specifically Facebook and Twitter, play on actual and virtual communities.

7.1 Social Media compared: Virtual Communities and Worlds

Tom Boellstorff (2008) wrote: "*The virtual is the anthropological*. This makes it possible to study virtual worlds with the same flexible, undetermined ethnographic tools used to study human cultures in the actual world." (p.237). A significant amount of my inspiration to study social media came from reading Boellstorff's ethnographic account of *Second Life*. In my research I found that a range of Boellstorff's techniques could also be applied to social media. Therefore, I chose to compare my research not only to the physical, but also to the virtual world. In this next section I will go over the history of virtual worlds and digital anthropology studies and compare Boellstorff's *Second Life* findings to my Facebook and Twitter study.

Digital Anthropology, or cyborg Anthropology, is the study of the relationship between the digital and human culture. In *Digital Anthropology*, Daniel Miller and Heather A. Horst (2012) define digital as "all that which can be ultimately reduced to binary code, but which produces a further proliferation of particularity and difference." (p.3). The study of cyber cultures, virtual worlds, and technology is nothing new to anthropology. Philipp Budka (2011) reminds us that since the 1950s anthropologists have been increasingly studying the effects that technology has on societies; examples include Godelier 1971, Pfaffenberger 1992, and Sharp 1951.

This portion of the paper will focus on virtual worlds and communities,

but to begin we need to develop a clear definition of the terms. Ralph Schroeder (2008) defines virtual environments as: “a computer- generated display that allows or compels the user (or users) to have a sense of being present in an environment other than the one they are actually in, and to interact with that environment; or, in short, ‘being there’.” (p.2). In his paper Schroeder continues by explaining the difference between virtual reality and virtual worlds as the latter taking place over an ongoing period of time. I found that this definition focused too heavily on the technological aspect of virtual environments. While many virtual worlds today use technology, this was not always the case. As Boellstorff (2008) explains, with the help of many other researchers, the virtual is an old tradition that uses our imagination to create space. This imagination was expressed through writing, drawings, and our memory, and the results were spread further than their initial point of origin. I agree with Boellstorff that technology and the Internet is simply the newest form of expressing and sharing imagination with others. Virtual worlds are not simply a technological experience of our culture, but instead use a combination of “actual” life, “actual” myths, “actual” characters, and the imagination of others to create a space where people can live out their imaginations.

a. The study of Virtual Communities

“Notions of a ‘virtual’ aspect to human existence can be traced back to cave painting, early Greek and Chinese thought, through the development of writing and the printing press, and among Aboriginal cultures throughout the world.” (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012, p. 22). The increased access to and popularity of digital devices, electronic media, and science fiction or fantasy has dramatically increased virtual possibilities. Those possibilities include: single-player games, in which a player competes against a computer and multiplayer games that allows players either in the same room or in different parts of the world, through the use of the internet, to play against each other.

The addition of the technology, or the digital, has influenced the way we study virtual worlds. For example, Mirca Madianou and Daniel Miller (2012) developed theories of polymedia in order to study the relationship between culture and technology and the effects technology has on interpersonal

communication. They are not the only anthropologists studying technology's influence on human relationships. Anthropologist Denis Carter (2005) discussed how classic theorists such as Durkheim, Adam Smith and David Hume understood that relationships are constantly changing. This inspired her to study how the virtual community Cybercity is currently changing relationships on- and offline. These are just a few of many examples of anthropologists studying virtual communities, worlds, and communication.

b. Boellstorff: Coming of Age in Second Life

"In his classic book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson showed how the invention of the newspaper made it possible, for the first time, for persons to imagine themselves as members of modern nation-states bound by 'deep, horizontal comradeship; (Anderson 1883; 7). Without wishing to engage in hyperbole, we maybe on the verge of another massive transformation linked to technology, the creation of societies on the Internet: 'for the first time, humanity has not one but many worlds in which to live' (Castronova 2005; 70)." (Boellstorff, 2008, pp. 24-25). Tom Boellstorff is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Irvine. Boellstorff already had a successful career studying HIV/AIDS and LGBT communities in Indonesia before he began applying ethnographic methods to studying Second Life (Faculty: Tom Boellstorff). In his book Boellstorff discusses how in 2004 he made the controversial decision to conduct an ethnographic study online. He decided that he would spend two years living in Second Life, conducting interviews and observations in Second Life, and ultimately attempting to use the same methods he had in Indonesia entirely online. In the end he found that his method is not only possible but also the most productive way to conduct anthropological studies on virtual communities.

When Boellstorff started his study, he was not even positive that there was an actual culture to study in Second Life (Boellstorff, 2009). However after he finished his research, Boellstorff concluded that there are "many actual worlds and now many virtual worlds as well" (p.3), and all these worlds can be studied anthropologically. Boellstorff does not consider Facebook to be a virtual

world. He writes that: "Not all new technologies are virtual worlds as I define them (for instance, I would not classify social networking websites like MySpace or Facebook as they existed during my research as virtual worlds)." (Boellstorff, 2008, pp. 237-238).

Second Life is a website and virtual space where anyone with an Internet connection can sign up for an account and participate in activities online. After signing up Second Life members pick an avatar to represent their virtual personality, can build homes, can earn virtual and actual money, and can meet friends at virtual concerts, conferences, and many more social activities. Second Life gives its members many possibilities to travel the virtual world, visit a friend's or stranger's avatar and space, to purchase virtual items and space, and to ultimately live a fulfilling life online. In some ways Second Life resembles the actual world by allowing members to participate in many actual events in real time, but it also gives members the imagination to do things they cannot do in the actual world. For example, members can teleport and fly to different spaces or they can choose to make their avatars animals or any other representation.

Boellstorff's study took place in the early 2000's and there have been drastic changes to social media since then. In the next part of this paper I will compare Boellstorff's findings to my 2014 study of Facebook. In the following part I will use the sections of Boellstorff's book as themes in order to prove that the Facebook communities I studied do fit Boellstorff's understanding of virtual worlds.

Place & Time

"Place, above all else, makes virtual worlds what they are." (Boellstorff, 2008, p. 91). Boellstorff found that place was fundamental to virtual worlds. While other researchers considered virtual space to be nothing beyond a metaphor (Rutter and Smith 2005:85), Boellstorff emphasized that virtual worlds are changing the relevance of place. In his description, Boellstorff describes how space in Second Life is very similar to the "actual" world. Second Life residents have the option to buy, sell, and ultimately profit from space, but on the other hand there is also social space that creates a sense of belonging and community, i.e. neighborhoods, parks, etc. Second Life does not only have

capitalist and socialist spatial conditions, but the space also has geographical links to “actual” space, for example Second Life includes buildings, neighborhoods, water, mainland, and islands.

In this section of the book Boellstorff (2008) does not only focus on place in relation to space, but also on time. Here he focuses on two online aspects: lag and afk. Lag is the consequence of high “processing power needed to run the scripts” (p.101), and afk stands for “away from keyboard” (p.106). Both of these time factors ultimately interrupted conversations, transactions, and socializing. Boellstorff (2008) writes: “Lag and afk are not just tardiness and daydreaming online, they are novel aspects of cybersociality that reveal how configurations of place and time constitute virtual worlds.” (p.112).

When comparing my findings to those of Boellstorff I found that Facebook and Twitter pages closely resembled space and time on Second Life. The specific graphics differ (Second Life gets inspiration from the actual world and club interest pages on Facebook and Twitter use symbolic club images) but the virtual space in both are different from space in the physical world and members must go out of their way to join and participate in the space. In an attempt to create a unique space of their own, clubs decorate their Facebook and Twitter pages and differentiate themselves from other spaces online and from other club pages. Time was another aspect that both platforms had in common. On both platforms, members or residents were required to be online and active in order to participate in real-time events, conversations, etc. One area, in which Facebook and Twitter differed from Second Life, was that with the increased popularity of smartphones, members now had the possibility to be constantly “at keyboard”, since they carried the keyboard with them. AFK and lag still exist but members had more possibilities during my study than in the 2000s. Another large distinction between social media and Second Life was that members did not need to go directly to the “space” in order to get updates and participate. On social media, members receive updates as alerts or on their newsfeed and can directly comment without going on the club page. This blurs the lines of Facebook space and club space. However in my interviews I found that most participants actively looked at the club’s pages to read further comments and

updates that may not have shown up on their feed. In the end I found that through imagery and active participation Facebook and Twitter strongly resembled a virtual community in regards to space and time.

Personhood

In chapter 5 Boellstorff discusses personhood, which includes: the self, life course, avatars, gender and race, and agency. It is in this chapter that identity is discussed. Boellstorff uses quotes from interviews to show how there is a gap between a person's virtual selfhood and their actual selfhood. He writes: "many residents kept their actual and virtual selfhoods distinct during the time of my fieldwork." (Boellstorff, 2008, p. 120). Throughout the chapter Boellstorff discusses how residents could design their avatars, choose their friends, and construct their surroundings to represent their virtual selfhoods, which for some drastically differed in gender, appearance, age, etc. from their actual self.

This is an aspect that is drastically different from my findings on Facebook and Twitter. During my research I found that some members did choose to slightly separate themselves from their actual selfhood, either by not choosing a gender, by not posting their real name or photos, etc. However I found that everyone of my interviewees used their Facebook and Twitter accounts for interaction for personal use outside of club updates and therefore Facebook served as an emphasize to their actual identity rather than a separate identity. When asked why they lied or hid certain aspects of their selfhood interviewees always commented on privacy concerns. However I do not believe that this can be generalized to all Facebook and Twitter users. Social media does not require confirmation of a person's actual identity and therefore users have the possibility to change their photos, names, age, gender, etc. to represent a separate identity.

Intimacy

In this chapter Boellstorff put a strong emphasis on language. He discusses how when he started his research he had to learn and identify different neologisms, acronyms, and emoticons. Users in virtual worlds use these aspects of language to express emotion in a setting that otherwise does not allow voice

and gestures to act as social cues. In Second Life, Facebook, and Twitter, “chat” and “IMs¹³” were used to communicate between individuals and groups. Users have the option to interact through conversation with each other in a group and privately. Boellstorff (2008) notes that: “IMs could be sent to a resident anywhere inworld, and an option to have IMs forwarded to an email address if a resident was offline. IMs thus allowed residents to communicate across virtual distance, but what I found interesting was the widespread use of IMs when residents were in close proximity.” (p.152-153). I found this to be true on Facebook and Twitter as well. Many of my interviewees followed and supported a club in close proximity, even if they supported an international one as well. My interviewees discussed how they felt closer to the club by getting updates on social media, despite their close proximity, social media allowed for quicker updates regardless of the fans location (compared to newspapers and television).

The second part of Boellstorff’s Intimacy chapter focused on friendship. He made one comment in particular that I found significant to my research. He writes: “Residents of Second Life and other virtual worlds expended enormous amounts of time and energy in finding, making, and maintaining friends (Jakobsson and Taylor 2003), a goal which extended beyond virtual worlds to locations for Internet-mediated friendship like MySpace, Facebook and Friendster (Boyd 2006b).” (Boellstorff, 2008, p. 157). In my research I found this to be inconclusive. I asked all my participants if they have made new friends through the club’s social media pages and all answers varied. One participant said: “Absolutely, it is a social network, I still like the old fashioned way of making friends, but networking over social media has become vital.” (Hatoum, 2014). Another participant talked about how she does not even bother to respond to strangers posts because: “I don’t post on 99% of all pages because the intellectual level is sooooo low and e.g. a fan page post usually has no point to discuss (what’s the point of commenting “jei, I’m also happy again they scored” to people you don’t know) eventually I would share interesting info posts with my own friends.” (Kurcius, 2014). As discussed in the previous chapter when

¹³ Instant message

discussing trust, I did not see a need for making friends on social media. However social media is a social platform and therefore it makes sense that fans could use it to create new bonds and friendships.

Community

The Final chapter in part two of *Coming of Age in Second Life* is community. Here he discusses events, groups, and emotions. Boellstorff (2008) writes: "In general terms, an event in Second Life involved a conjunction of place, time, and sociality." (p. 182). Second Life gave residents the ability to create and participate in events with people anywhere in the world, however in order to be considered an event it had to take place at the same time in the virtual world, i.e. 16:00 in Second Life may be 13:00 for one user and 18:00 for another but all users needed to be actively online at 16:00 Second Life time. I found the same to be true on Facebook, but not Twitter. Facebook gave groups the ability to create events that followers could attend on and offline. These events included matches and live Q&A sessions. However time and space were very important factors. Members on and offline watched the game live at the same time, and needed to be online at the time of the Q&A to actively participate, despite the time zone they were in.

When it came to groups I found the Second Life structure closely resembled Facebook. "The notion of 'group' had two primary meanings in Second Life during the period of my research: a formal sense, linked to the Second Life platform, and an informal sense of association." (Boellstorff, 2008, p. 183; Boellstorff, *Culture in a Virtual World*, 2012). Facebook like Second Life created a group of Facebook users, and allowed for subgroups, i.e. club pages. An official club, a fan club, private users etc. all had the ability to create these group pages. Facebook groups could be customized based on appearance, capabilities, and security - meaning everyone on Facebook had the possibility of joining the club but security features could prevent them from joining specific groups. These groups on Second Life and Facebook were used to create a community, a community that had it's own identity, appearance, and events. Twitter however did not have this capability. On Twitter users could "follow" pages, get updates,

and interact, but there was neither a 'group' set up nor the possibility to create an event.

Conclusion

Education professor Tara Brabazon (2001) wrote: "Much discussion of virtual communities is tangential to Anderson's work. Indeed, Howard Rheingold takes imagining styles beyond the national mode, arguing that 'people in virtual communities do just about everything people do in real life, but we leave our bodies behind' ("Introduction"). While a digitized citizenry is distanced from bodily collectivity, it is important to acknowledge that national communities are formed around language and print, rather than corporeal performances. Therefore, the Internet forms a meta-imagined community, a reflexive (re-)interpretation of 19th-century nationalism. ... Cyberspace is not a "social petri dish" ("Introduction"), but merely the continuation of an experiment." (p.2). In *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method* the authors concluded that: "because of their lack of worldness and embodiment, we do not consider social networks like Facebook or Myspace in and of themselves to be virtual worlds in our definition (though we recognize that as platforms they can occasionally contain virtual worlds within them through third -party applications, such as YoVille, Friends, or Farm Town)." (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012, p. 12). Club run Facebook and Twitter "like" pages are not third-party applications, however I found that Facebook does show the same characteristics as virtual worlds. It has created a space, it uses time for interaction purposes, members communicate with each other, and members express their identity on the page. Twitter on the other hand has more restrictions that prevent it from forming a socialized, collective community. It does not hold any events, and the word count limit prevents meaningful interaction. It serves as an update platform, but not a community.

Second Life is not the only meaningful virtual world that social media can be compared to. I choose to examine it because Tom Boellstorff inspired my research and I found it comparable since I used the same methods. However, Alex Golub (Golub, 2010) chose to study World of Warcraft, which is a virtual world that is a computer game. In his research user goals, ability, and friends,

played an active role in their ultimate success in the virtual world. This is different from Second Life and Facebook, both of which require no skill and do not have different levels. Despite this difference Second Life and World of Warcraft are considered virtual worlds. Ralph Shoroeder (2008) gives a simple definition of Virtual worlds as: “persistent virtual environments in which people experience others as being there with them - and where they can interact with them.” (p.2). While general, my conclusions by comparing Facebook to Second Life match this definition.

7.2 Fandom Community

“Football fans are part of an imagined community, whose borders as much as content are imagined by every individual member.” (Sandvoss, 2003, p. 92)

Benedict Anderson (1991) developed the notion of Imagined Communities as a way to understand nationalism. While Anderson focuses on the nationalism, fandom researchers have been able to apply his findings about community, loyalty, and membership to studying fan cultures, which include football fandom. In this section I will show research on football fandom’s imagined communities and compare social media in order to determine if social media club pages represent their own imagined community.

a. Members (insiders & outsiders)

The Encyclopedia of Social & Cultural Anthropology (Barnard & Spencer, 1996) presents four key community qualities: “smallness of social scale; a homogeneity of activities and states of mind of members; a consciousness of distinctiveness; and a self-sufficiency across a broad range of needs and through time.” (173). In this section I will focus on the membership qualities. Based on the description of community, members must have a common interest, social structure, and the group must be self-sufficient. In the past fan membership was reliant on where a person lived, often supporting the national or city club as it represented their own community identity. Nowadays, influenced by globalization, fan communities have expanded and created further subgroups. These subgroups can be examined based on race, location, gender, etc. Katharine W. Jones (2008) is one researcher who chose to look at gender membership and

commented that: “When women are mentioned in the literature on football fans, scholars often assume that they are less authentic and committed fans than men and that they operate outside of the “imagined community” of fandom (Anderson, 1991; Armstrong, 1998; Giulianotti, 2000).” (P.517). Although female fans share the same interest they are characterized differently by both other fans and researchers. Similarly to a nation football fan members are not treated equally. However unlike a nation a fan’s identity is not necessarily dependent on where they are from or where they live.

In my research I found that all the members shared the same interest: football, but did not always share the same favorite club. Many fans “liked” and followed multiple clubs in order to receive updates but depending on the match their loyalty changed and therefore they did not always share the same loyalty as others in the group. I also found that Facebook members ranked each other based on what they considered loyalty. For example some members commented on the importance of location and how true fans reside in the club’s city, while other fans commented on how some fans are attracted to a club based on success and not actually because they care about the club and therefore they are not true fans. While I did see fans distinguish between members I did not see the club do this. The club posted comments, photos, and questions addressing all members. Some status updates were specifically targeted towards a specific group, for example FC Bayern often posted comments about fans in America, but overall the clubs addressed local, global, female, male, loyal, and flexible fans throughout the Champions League.

One aspect that is important for membership is that in my interviews I found that fans considered themselves part of a club’s fandom community, but most used Facebook and Twitter as an update method and not as a community. When asked if they felt part of a community many said no. Most described how Facebook was simply a way for them to get news fast and have the ability to interact with the news. I also found that Twitter was too limiting to include members. It was possible to view who “followed” a club, but in order for the users to interact with each other and the news they had to “share” the update

and at that point only their comments were expressed to their followers and no others. Twitter therefore did not accommodate to membership features and it was nearly impossible to determine any useful information from the users.

b. Community

In his text, The changing face of football: Stadiums and Communities, Bale (2000) notes: "Football is regarded as a 'representational' sport. Professional football clubs represent places large and small - villages, towns, cities and nations. Football communities exist in a number of forms. A community of fans is a social network of interacting individuals but it is not necessary for such a community to be concentrated in a defined territory such as a city. The development of television, international transportation and the Internet has meant that today and in the future fandom can and will exist as a community without propinquity. Football possesses its own community of followers but the sport also imposes itself on broader communities, upon which it has various impacts." (p.91). Bale chose to focus his research on clubs' local urban community. For many clubs this local community is essential to their history, identity, and image. Manchester United puts a strong emphasis on what the club's Manchester United Foundation has done and can continue to do for the Manchester community, particularly disadvantaged areas that need their help. (Manchester United). Community accepted morals do not only influence the local community, but the fan community as a whole. "Community, for Tönnies, involves an underlying collective moral foundation, shared in common among the members who feel themselves to be part of- and responsible to- the larger civic body. Without that foundation, we may have relations with others, but we will not have a community." (Giurffe, 2013). When a football fan enters the football community there is a general understanding of accepted morals. There is no official document but it is understood that clubs, stadiums, and international organizations such as UEFA, FIFA, etc. have the ability to ban fans from events based on their actions. While not all fans accept stadium or organization rules, these fans must abide by them in order to participate at open fan events, therefore only fans that accept the rules can be part of the clubs community.

Due to Europeanization and Globalization clubs' communities have expanded to include members of different heritage, locations, faiths, and languages. In the football fandom world physical space no longer defines a community. Fan communities use English to communicate with each other, and concerning the clubs I researched even in the smallest fan community it was impossible for all the fans to know all their fellow members. In this situation it is not the physical space that is important but the fact that the community is "a deep, horizontal comradeship." (Anderson, 1991, p. 7).

In my research I found that social media was a physical space that allowed local and global fan communities to communicate and interact with the fan community. It was a platform the clubs used to update fans, show their success (as seen in Image 22 where MU bragged about Miley Cyrus, a celebrity, being part of their community), and where fans can communicate with like-minded people. However I found that Facebook and Twitter did not represent an imagined community based on Anderson's explanation. Facebook and Twitter acted as a space to gather but there was no comradeship between online users and they identified with the club not the online profile. The club community required participation offline, and members identified with events, merchandise, and emotions that took place offline. My interviewees described the importance of social media as a shared space, but they did not identify with a club's Facebook or Twitter profile.



Figure 22 (Taken by author)

Part Three – Conclusion

Chapter 8- Conclusion

“Social media mirror, magnify, and complicate countless aspects of everyday life, bringing into question practices that are presumed stable and shedding light on contested social phenomena.” (Baym & Boyd, 2012, p. 320)

This final chapter summarizes the core points of this thesis. Including my research design, the anthropology of football and social media, social media as a form of media, and finally social media as a virtual/ imagined community. I will then go over my original research questions and the results of my overall study. It is in this section that I will directly address the question: How is social media influencing football fandom? I will then conclude this chapter by discussing further areas of research that should be explored based on my research project.

8.1 Summary

“My discussion of virtual communities is tangential to Anderson’s work. [...] While a digitized citizenry is distanced from bodily collectivity, it is important to acknowledge that national communities are formed around language and print, rather than corporeal performances. Therefore, the internet forms a meta-imagined community, a reflexive (re)interpretation of 19th- century nationalism.” (Brabazon, 2001, p. 1)

The format of this paper was divided into three sections. The first section outlined my research objectives, theoretical review and my methods. The second part is where I discussed my specific research, and finally the third part is this conclusion. In this part of the paper I will review the main points from parts one and two.

Part one

In part one of my thesis I first introduced football fandom and social media as social phenomena. Football has a long standing as an important part of European culture, and social media is a relatively new social component that has yet to be fully explored. While many researchers choose to study at least one of these experiences, I wanted to create a new understanding by combining them. Both football and social media are an important aspect in many Europeans’ everyday life, a fact I learned from interviews while conducting a previous

research project on football fandom. Based on my personal interest and work experience I was able to successfully look at both pieces of culture and form research objectives that included looking at them as separate entities and combined in order to view the effects of the new on the old. It is in this section that I gave specifics about what I planned to study, who I planned to study, and where I planned to conduct my research.

After developing my research question I then looked at the theoretical aspects I wanted to explore in my thesis. Based on preliminary research I concluded that my focus points would be: fandom (which heavily includes identity (Billings, Burch, & Zimmerman, 2014)), digital anthropology (including media), communities, and globalization. I choose to heavily focus on Benedict Anderson (1991)'s notion of Imagined Communities and it's relationship to current football fan communities. I then reviewed how I would analyze this information, and concluded with discussing past and current research on my theoretical perspectives.

The final chapter in part one included a summary of what methods I used during my research. I found the book: *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method* to be my strongest resource for developing methods. In this manual four anthropologist, who study different virtual worlds, discuss the methods they used in their research. With this resource I was able to successfully form an ethnographic research design, which included literature, interviews, and fieldwork. It is in this chapter that I discuss how I participated on Facebook and Twitter club pages, made and circulated a survey, developed and conducted structured interviews, and used literature to compare my findings, the findings that will be discussed in section 8.2.

Part two

Part two of this thesis included four chapters, which compared the theoretical perspectives developed in part one to what I observed during my research. This section included both results from my ethnographic research and literature from researchers in various fields.

Part two started by introducing the UEFA Champions League and past anthropological research on football fandom. This section reviewed notions of

Identity, Globalization, and Economy and their relation to football fandom. Along with identity, nationalism was discussed and it's relationship to a club's residing city and stadium. Globalization and Europeanization were then analyzed based on their current and progressing influence based on regional championships, international players, and new technology. Finally the business components discussed how clubs and social media use symbols and language to reach larger audiences and increase the value of their brand. Chapter four then discussed the specific clubs in this research project. The CL is a European championship that takes place over 21 weeks and begins with 32 international clubs. Based on the scale of the Champions League this research focuses specifically on the final eight clubs. Continuing to discuss football fandom this section then goes on to discuss various types of fans, which include distinctions based on location and intensity. The chapter then concludes by discussing new technologies, specifically television and social media, in relation to the CL, a topic that will be further discussed in section 8.2.

Due to the understanding that both football fandom and social media are parts of many Europeans everyday life chapter five discusses football off the pitch. It is in this chapter that literature on football fans' everyday lives are compared to themes observed during my research. The first part looked at how social media allows clubs to participate in events outside of football, which include international events and ideologies such as racism. The chapter then continued by discussing memory and the importance memory and Habitus have in creating lifelong habits and support. The chapter concluded by discussing social media as a method of capitalism for football clubs.

The final two chapters in part two focused on social media. Chapter six first analyzed social media as a form of community based heavily on social interactions and then as a form of interactive media. It is in this section that notions of interaction, space, visuals aspects, and traditional news updates were discussed. Finally chapter seven first compared my study to Tom Boellstorff's study on Second Life and second compared it to current understandings of football fandom as an imagined community.

8.2 Results

“Despite early assessments of the revolutionary nature of the Internet and the enormous transformations it would bring about, the changes have been less dramatic and more embedded in existing practices and power relations of everyday life.” (Wilson & Peterson, 2002, p. 449)

My central research question was: How is social media changing the fandom experience? In order to answer this question I developed sub questions based on fandom, media and community. In this section I will discuss these questions and discuss my conclusions.

Regarding fandom and social media my questions included: Are there new forms of fan participation through social media, and how does instant interaction, availability, and updates influence a fan’s feeling of belonging and identity. I found that fans on and offline use similar forms of participation, which included buying fan merchandise, supporting a club through slogans, watching matches, etc. However both Facebook and Twitter allowed for further interaction with the club and fans around the world. Facebook included features like the “like” button, which clubs attributed to meaning a specific feeling or comment, as seen in image 21. Additional fan participation featured on both Facebook and Twitter included hashtags that both showed support and the ability to look for information regarding a specific topic, and “share” or “retweet” features that allowed members to not only follow and receive updates from the club but also share them on their personal network. In the end I found that Facebook and Twitter allow for traditional interaction to take place and for new forms of participation to be created. Not only were new forms of participation formed but also new forms of identity and belonging.

Unlike Second Life, Facebook and Twitter allowed for fans to extend on their current fan identity. They supported the clubs that they supported in their actual lives and used social media to gain a stronger sense of belonging. However social media still allowed for altered or private identities. As Wilson and Peterson (2002) paraphrased Turkle and wrote: “Turkle described online interaction spaces as places where an individual could take on multiple identities in ways never before possible and indeed bring about changes in conventional notions of identity itself (Turkle 1984, 1955)” (p.457). In the end I found that

although fans may not change their fandom identity, they can use Facebook or Twitter to identify as a different gender, they choose what age to post, what to wear in photos that are posted, and what clubs they can follow. I saw negotiated fandom and observed times when fans used Facebook to increase their belonging to a club by being more involved and by “liking” or “following” a club that they do not always identify with, but the lack of commitment allowed for more flexibility.

The second sub-topic I asked involved community. Questions here included: are social media “like” pages a form of imagined community in themselves, or do they enhance an already existing imagined community? And finally: how does the accessibility of social media change the fandom demographics? Facebook and Twitter are international websites that include users from all over the world. The accessibility to fans around the world allowed for fans to receive regular and fast updates from international clubs. This dramatically influenced fan demographics. It allowed fans from all over the world to communicate with other like-minded people using English as a common language, and it allowed for non-traditional fans such as females to participate in a non-traditional space. I found that Facebook pages could be comparable to imagined communities, but in the end the club run Facebook and Twitter pages that I studied increased the already existing football fan community. While Facebook pages consisted of the necessary requirements for an imagined community such as a common language (English), socially constructed space, and interactivity between members (but still the possibility for a large group where it is impossible for everyone knows each other). However club pages did not consist of belonging or identity specific to the Facebook or Twitter page. I found that members identified with the club and that included the social media pages, website, stadium, etc., but being a member on the social media page was dependent on being a member of the fan community first. This aspect made the social media pages sub-cultures to the larger imagined community. While it is still possible for a subculture to be it’s own imagined community (i.e. a nation and then the football club with in that nation), these specific pages are still too new. There are no traditions, rituals, habits, etc. that are specifically developed

solely on social media; everything is in connection to the actual community. However this is changing and with time I do see the possibility of the online club pages becoming a separate community. I came to this conclusion by comparing my research to established forms of virtual communities, imagined communities, and media. As Wilson and Peterson (2002) wrote: "One way to situate computing and Internet practices is to compare them with previously existing media and communication technologies, as new forms of technologically mediated language and human interaction." (p.454)

Back to my original question: How is social media influencing football fandom? In the end I found that social media allows fans more possibilities to participate, allows clubs to remind fans of past victories, habits, etc., and it allows fans to be more involved in a fans everyday life. Due to social media football fandom is growing, expanding, and becoming more inclusive. Social media allows for the football community to grow, it creates new space for the fans, it allows for visual aids, and most importantly it takes place in real time. At this point the club pages are growing at an exceptionally fast rate and this trend does not seem to be stopping anytime soon. Social media pages will continue to alter the football fandom community regardless of the actual world. Now all major international clubs have social media pages, invest in these pages, and are attempting to continue to grow these pages.

One final topic that should also be considered when examining the influence of social media on football fandom is business. It highly likely that the business components connected to social media are allowing the clubs to become stronger multinational enterprises. Social media provides a platform for the clubs to become better known, advertise to a larger audience, and conduct market research. Further research needs to be conducted in order to fully grasp how much social media influences football, but it is safe to say that business is a strong component that influences both social media and football fandom.

8.3 Further research

The goal of this thesis was to determine what exactly Facebook and Twitter were, either a form of media or imagined community, and explore their relationship to and influence on football fandom. Now that this study is

completed there are many areas in this paper that could be extended on, researched in another way, and more research questions could be formed based off my conclusion. This section of the paper will discuss possible future areas of research regarding this topic.

The first, and in my opinion most important, study that should be conducted following this is a study on the difference between Facebook and Twitter. This research project included both due to both being considered social media, their linked profiles and popularity, but in reality they are very different and should be researched and compared to football fandom individually. Based on this realization the study from Anatoliy Gruzd, Barry Wellman, and Yuri Takhteyev (2011) would be very useful. Like me, they asked if Twitter was an Imagined Community, and concluded that: "Studying Twitter is useful for understanding how people use new communication technologies to form new social connections and maintain existing ones. (p.1294). Football fandom often involves both new and old connections. In my research I found that most fans' fandom originated through connections to other fans, however one of my participants discussed how he started watching football on his own and originally did not have any friends or family members that were fans. In this case it would be interesting to see how fans use social media to form connections to new groups.

Another research project that could be done based on my research is studying the dichotomy of offline and online. I only observed fans online. However many aspects of their everyday life can not be seen online, and the overall influence of social media on their offline community and culture can only be observed by studying both their virtual and actual life. This type of study could be done in regards to football or another theme. Daniel Miller (2011) conducted a similar study where he observed both the online (specifically Facebook) and offline actions of participants. His study focused specifically on Facebook's influence on relationships, however it would be noteworthy to observe how social media is influencing habits, or other aspects of everyday lives.

The final theme I will discuss in this section is the negative and positive consequences of social media on communities. In my research I wanted to find out if social media was a community. If I had more time I would elaborate on its influence on football fandom communities, specifically positive and negative effects. Robyn Bateman Driskell and Larry Lyon (2002) discuss how “community was seen as being lost from its original environment, the local place, typically a village or a residential neighborhood. Then came the claim that community could be regained in the environment of shared space, typically voluntary associations or work groups. The most recent candidate for regaining community is the digital environment of cyberspace.” (p.373). Throughout my research and through informal conversations I found that despite social media’s popularity many viewed excessive social media use as a negative use of time. However my end results concluded that social media enhanced the football fandom experience by giving fans more possibilities, holding football clubs accountable for their actions, and creating a shared international space for like-minded people to interact. If I continued my research I would ask: Is social media positively influencing the football fandom community by helping it grow, or is social media hurting the football community by making it more general and taking away the face-to-face interaction?

It should be noted that this is merely a short list of topics that arose during my research. It is impossible for this section to include the endless amount of possible studies that can be done on these two important social phenomena. My goal for this thesis is to have a better understanding of social media and football fandom, but my hope is that these two themes will continue to be discussed and explored. Both social media and football strongly influence culture, politics, language, etc. By having a clear understanding of social media’s influence on football fandom I hope we will have a clearer understanding of it’s influence on society as a whole.

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Curriculum Vitae

Ashley Engquist B.A.

EDUCATION

Universität Wien M.A. in Cultural and Social Anthropology Present Program: CREOLE: Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes; A Joint Master Program in Social and Cultural Anthropology Focus: National Identity, Visual Culture	2013 -
Deutsch in Graz Österreichisches Sprachdiplom Deutsch B2 Certificate: Ösd B2 Certificate	2012
Arizona State University B.A. In Political Science 2012 Minor: German, Anthropology Certificate: International Studies Graduated Cum Laude	2009-
Franklin College Switzerland International Relations 2009 Spent two semesters at Franklin College and then transferred to Arizona State University to complete my degree	2008-

STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE

Universität Regensburg German as a second language 2012 Study abroad year through Arizona State University	2011-
Arizona State University & University of Kazan Critical Language Institute 2012 I spent eight weeks completing an intensive language program in Arizona and then spent three weeks in Kazan, Russia living with a host family and attending language courses at the local University.	2011-

WORK EXPERIENCE

Berlitz, Graz, Austria English Teacher I teach professional English to adults.	October 2014- present
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Institut für Europäische Ethnologie der Universität Wien

Student employee

2013 – July 2014

I work at conferences providing duties as needed, read and correct English text written by my non-native English-speaking colleagues, and perform organizational services for the EU-wide research project „The Anthropology of European Football: Fusions and Fissions“

October

Voitsberg, Stmk

Au-Pair

2012 – August 2012

I lived with an Austrian family and immersed myself in the language and culture. I worked with two children teaching them English and American culture while also improving my German and my understanding of the Austrian culture.

May

Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ

Research Assistant

2011 – May 2012

I worked on a transdisciplinary project “Urban Organization Throughout the Ages” leading a group who researched Semi-Urban settlements from an anthropological point of view. I also worked as the office assistant in charge of volunteer scheduling and maintaining office organization.

August

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

Tucson Dressage Club, Tucson, AZ

Seasonal show volunteer

I volunteered at many horse shows performing needed duties for the show to run smoothly

Present

Arizona State University Study Abroad Office, Tempe, AZ

Exchange Buddy

2011 – May 2012

I helped incoming exchange students adjust to life in America by introducing them to local establishments, helping when they had cultural questions, and serving as an American ambassador.

August

Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ

Office Volunteer

2009 – May 2010

Worked under a professor and his Ph.D. students performing office duties (Xeroxing, scanning, etc.)

August

Pima County Teen Court, Tucson, AZ

Teen Attorney

2007 – May 2008

Served as a teen attorney in an experimental program, which allows teens who have committed misdemeanor offenses to be represented by teens and judged by teens. I was taught the skills that a prosecutor and defense attorney would use.

August

Aspect Foundation, Tucson, AZ

Volunteer

August

2003 – May 2008

I assisted various exchange student coordinators by planning meetings between high school exchange students and coordinators. I also organized cultural tours for the students.

4-H, Tucson, AZ

Club President

August

2006 – May 2007

Served as President of my local 4-H club. I organized meetings, club requirements, and events. 4-H is a youth development organization that uses real-world experience to create positive opportunities for youth to be involved in the community and gain leadership skills. I was a member for six years and participated in various volunteer projects throughout that time. I was often in charge of organizing and encouraging fundraising opportunities for our club and community.

PUBLICATIONS AND PAPERS

Smith, Michael E., et al. "Neighborhood formation in semi-urban settlements." Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability 8.2 (2015): 173-198.

LANGUAGES

English- Native Speaker

German- B2 ÖSD certified in Writing, Speaking, Reading, and Listening

MEMBERSHIPS

National Collegiate Scholar Honor Society

SOFTWARE/SYSTEM SKILLS

One of the webpages I set up for an Anthropology course: <http://engquist2012.jimdo.com/>

- Microsoft office: Word, Excel, PowerPoint
- Proficient in using Apple and Microsoft programs
- Experiencing with scanning, Xeroxing, and Photoshop
- Experience using large format scanners
- Elementary experience with web design