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"Fani-Chuligani: rzecz o polskich kibolach: studium socjologiczne",
Jerzy Dudala, Warszawa 2004 :
[recenzja]

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fact that the work broadens our knowledge on the searched reality, is of a high methodological level, etc., otherwise, there would be no use in publishing the novel. Furthermore, a considerable part of 'the safe introduction' was written in a perspective, so-called, 'meta'- methodological one which was criticised, in spite of the fact that it was often justified, to a high extent for its being disagreeable with the Marxists thesis, or, at least with its applying in the countries of real socialism on the given transformation level (which was described as the level of socialism development).

One may be surprised by the form of the presented review to the concept of the given 'safe introductions.' If the review of the work 'The Sociology of Charity' was written with the aim of its contradiction to the social policy of Charles Murrey or others, then one can say that it is senseless. The theses depicted in his works have become a subject to numerous discussions; the same has happened with other writers' works, and fundamental criticism. Similarly, one can find very extreme evaluations of Margaret Thatcher's social politics in social sciences. The theses that in the sociology of charity one does not accept libertarianism, neo-conservatism, or the fact that neo-liberalism theses are not an accusation, but at least an information on the perspective of which the work has been written, a perspective which is close to Stanisław Ossowski's policy, a person second to Florian Znaniecki Polish sociologist that influenced the west sociology, and is still present in all important old-English encyclopaedia elaborations, a soci-

ologist who is thought to be the classic of the sociology policy. The student has the right to be irritated with the accepted by me perspective. If it is to help her start the scientific work so as to create some theoretical bases for generalisations of different directions than 'The Sociology of Charity', than I could be satisfied with the work results.

I cannot leave out the fundamental for science ethical issue. In spite of what the reader may think, the 'safe introductions' do play a very vital and positive role. Although they had to be written in the agreement with the present ideology, they helped neutralise the censorship. They enabled scientific perspectives pluralism to develop, and support, though in a limited scope, the publication of the most important elaborations, notwithstanding the ideological option they would be qualified to by a watchful censor. However, what is the aim, in the present times, of the student's professor review, one which warns us against the improper ideological understanding.

Jadwiga Królikowska

Piotr Skuza (rev.): Jerzy Dudala, Fani-Chuligani. Rzecz o polskich kibolach. Studium socjologiczne [Fans-Hooligans: On Polish 'Kibole' A Sociological Study], "Żak", Warszawa 2004, pp. 234.

When reading a book of a journalist and supporter, a graduate of the Political Sciences of Ślaski University and the doctor of humanistic sciences in sociology on the sport spectacle, I was accompanied by one

question, whether the phenomena of sport supporting has any signs of the emancipation movement? Above all one should start with the question, whether the amorphous mass of supporters of the quasi-tribal structure is a social movement? The existence of a social movement means the commonwealth of targets. It is a movement "from" towards something, above all, from the oppression towards freedom, from the chaos towards the structure of a new institution. Whereas a sport supporter seems to show the most animal human side, and his soul the anthropoid one¹ – using the words of Karol Gustaw Jung – it shows the matter of miserable time, that is the social anomy. It is, obviously, about the fall of the social structures, and the incapacity of the new ones, or relatively, their little influence. Is the pseudo fan marked with 'the social creation of the reality'², deformed subject production and peculiar enculturation? A sport supporter seems to be a wild person creating his/her own subculture. The question, whether the sport supporting is throwing

oneself in the whirlpool of amorphous cultural creature, one that is spontaneously grown like a cancer on a society, filled deeply with the anomy of transformation, stays open, however, Jerzy Dudała does not answer the question in his publication.

The suggested here reading contains an interesting exposition of complex social problems, it is also the voice of the supporters' emancipation, it is also a project of secondary socialization, and contains the germ of the nation pedagogy of a new face, consisting of supporters. The problem of sport supporting seems to be of a wider subject, that is the footballisation of the contemporary society. The footballisation is a sign of transformations and global processes. It is also a phenomenon derivative of the regeneration of a specific religiosity in peculiar forms, such as the cult of a football club, or the worship by the nation expressed by a strong identification with the national representation in the football world championship. Sport supporting is not only a stadium phenomenon. It is also a way of life, experiencing and instinct canalizing. The stadium liturgy, that is the match as a spectacle, is the only apogee of the phenomena. Its ecstatic character and the fact of infecting the crowd with emotions has got far-fetching effects. The conformation may be the words of Piotr Kowalski³: "If one day all the theatres in the world were closed, nothing would happen, but if one Sunday there was no

¹ "This is the anthropoid soul (underline P.S.) that does not enter or enters with the greatest unwillingness and not to the very end in the rational culture forms, and if it is possible, is opposed to the culture development. It is a situation as if libido all the time missed to the primary and unconscious state of unlimited wilderness. The way back, that is regression, goes back to childhood and even to the mother's body" (C.G. Jung, *Symbole przemiany. Analiza preludium do schizofrenii*, translation R. Reszke, Warsaw 1998, p. 421).

² It seems to be an allusion to the publication: P.L. Berger, T. Luckmann, *Społeczne tworzenie rzeczywistości*, translation J. Niżnik, Warsaw 1983.

³ P. Kowalski, *Popkultura i humaniści. Daleki od kompletności remanent spraw, poglądów i mistyfikacji*, Kraków 2004, p. 263.

match transmission on TV, it would start a revolution. Maybe it is football that is our theatre?”⁴ And this is the way it is, of which example may be the numerous declarations of such authorities as Jerzy Pilch or Wojciech Kuczok, who with a great involvement talk about sport supporting. They confirm the fact, not fully conscious one, that sport supporting is a part of male habitus.

However, coming back to the discussed publication, one must say that the book of Jerzy Dudała is written with a use of a very informal language, one which is full of colloquialisms. The whole is divided into two parts. The first part is entitled: “The Theoretical Considerations on the Stadium Hooligans’ Problems”, whereas the second part is under the title “The Problem of Hooliganism on the Stands of Polish Stadiums on the Example of Zagłębie Sosnowiec Fans” and seems to be a research exposition of the Author. In the first part the Author has taken into an consideration issues such as: attempt to analyze stadium hooliganism (pp. 19–65), where one should especially pay attention to “The Calendar of Some Arguments Caused by Pseudo Fans.” (pp. 51–64). Further one can find a pseudo fans analysis as one of the youth subculture (pp. 66–80). Next we encounter a review of theories explaining the fans’ behaviours, where the Author discusses six of the theories (pp. 81–94). Then Jerzy Dudała makes an analysis of

the contemporary spectators during sport competitions (p. 96–125) and in the fifth subchapter one can see an important issue entitled “Media and the Problem of Stadium Hooliganism” (pp. 126–143). One should remember that the Author’s look is a trial to consolidate the three viewpoints: of a sociologist, journalist and fan. This is why the subchapter is a kind of a trial for the Author, who must protect the interests of various social groups. In the last subchapter he points out – according to the intention included in the title – the “Methods of Overcoming and Preventing the Stadium Hooliganism” (pp. 144–171). The second research part of the publication is more modest, and I think it has been reedited for the benefit of the book created on the basis of a doctor thesis. Keeping the continuity of subchapters numeration, in spite of the distinguished second part, the author explains: “Methodological Research Basis” in the seventh subchapter (pp. 175–182) so as to make “The Presentation of the Research Results” in the wide eight subchapter, the ninth subchapter is: “The Conclusions and Observations Resulting from the Researches” (pp. 217–225). The interesting bibliography, where I found twelve foreign positions, crowns the published book in the publishing house “Żak” with a photo on the cover presenting sport fans in the smoke of peatards with scarves in their hands, which they keep up in the stadium euphoria. On the back of the book one may find a photo of the author, and a bibliographic note, and a part of a review of the publication by the author Zbigniew Krawczyk. The title indi-

⁴ F. Marotti [taking part in a discussion:] *Misteria, inicjacje*. Text from years 1999–2000, Kraków 2001, pp. 14–15.

cates an attempt to make a dialogue with the fans, and shows respect to them. The use of the word 'kibole' I understand as a conscious acceptance of the language of the subculture. The question is whether it reflects any group self-consciousness, maybe the emancipating consciousness? – it is hard to understand it on the grounds of the book. These kinds of words are, undoubtedly, a kind of a manifestation of some linguistic capital introduced to the social and antisocial capital. However, such a formulation of the book title – maybe dissuaded by the publisher – somehow corresponds, but not very well, with the used 'pseudo fan'. The definition destroys the suggested strategy of conscious sympathizing with those who are tested, it is also not a descriptive notion – rather a normative one, and above all, contains the paternal connotation from the newspaper discourse, which means that the Author is not consequent in his point of view. I have a feeling that he gets lost between the neutral research perspective as a sociologist and the feeling as a sport fan and the look as a journalist. In my opinion there is no division into 'fan' and 'pseudo fan'. There is no substantiation for the division, and this is only a way of domestication of young men who want to avoid it. They want to experience the emotions regardless the social effects. One can talk about different states which a fan experiences, which is analogical to the interactive states distinguished by McLaren in the relation to a student, that is, the street state, student, home, and lofty one, and these are the styles of reacting by an individual as for the events and

they are of ideal type of character⁵. Some of the states in a very special way influence the basis and way of valuing of a given person. The advantage of the book is the fact that it is filled with examples of fans' attitudes which could be thought to be antisocial. And this is a discourse on the subject of stadium hooliganism. After an introduction to the topic, which is an analysis trial of the phenomena and after qualifying the pseudo fans to the youth subculture, the Author makes a review of the theory explaining the behaviour of a crowd. He refers to the theory of 'plague' by G. Le Bon, referring to the work of the psychologist entitled: *Psychologia tłumu [Crowd's Psychology]* (Warsaw 1997), and points out the process, when 'an individual being in an anonymous crowd, undergoes mutual (...) stimulation, or experiences the hypnotic state of excitement which induces some feelings, stimulus and actions" (p. 81). The thought is being developed by Wanat, which the Author mentions in the footnote (S. Wanat, *Socjologia zachowań chuligańskich w sporcie*, "Kultura Fizyczna" [Sociological Hooligan Behaviour in Sports, "Physical Education"] 1992, No. 7–8, p. 17). Next the Author describes the theory of convergence, in which the theory supporters can see the reasons of arousal to

⁵ L. Witkowski, *Wokół teorii i praktyki rytuałów szkolnych (studium recenzyjne)* [in:] *Nieobecne dyskursy*, Z. Kwieciński (edit.), Toruń 1992, part II, p. 126, reviewed position is: P. McLaren, *Schooling as a ritual performance. Towards a political economy of educational symbols and gestures*, Foreword by Henry Giroux, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London–Boston–Hendley 1986, p. 326.

take some action under the influence of unexpected incidents. It is thought that people possess common beliefs and feelings. The Author indicates a related theory of frustration – aggression, that is, that the frustration of individuals can always find an escape in the crowd. And here we can find the reference to the above mentioned publication of Wanat. The Author presents the next theory – so-called the normative theory or the theory of emergentive norms, but he does not describe it in details and the explanation is not very clear. Surely, this is about the situational norms in a crowd in spite of different viewpoints of the individuals who feel forced, as if ‘pushed to the wall’, to make the same activity and experience the same emotional state. What seems to be surprising, the discussion with the theory is included in an extended foreword and not in the very narration. The Author points out the prolonged state of experiencing the feelings by the fans. The next theory referred by the Author is the theory of added values referring to the conception of the group behaviour by N.J. Smelser. “Structural Pressures”, for example religious, ethnic or political antagonisms break out when there is “the structural alliance, which is the consolidation of group power in order to compensate the harm, and take revenge with a use of illegal methods, because the ones which are accepted seem to be inadequate, not very efficient. Finally one notices the conception of catharsis, which is relieving the emotions gathered during everyday social interactions, mainly at work or at home. The Author refers here to the work by

G. Schilling, entitled *Agresja i przemoc w sporcie*, [*Aggression and Violence in Sports*] Wrocław 1976. The two ascertainments made by the Author on the margin of discussing the conception are important. The first is that when relieving the negative emotions, “blowing out the steam” – according to the Author’s description – there take part not only the people from the social margin, but also people who perform vital social roles. The second is that the hooliganism manifestations are described in the categories of the youth opposition of the lower classes as for the commercialization of football. I think that the opposition is described as it should be, but there are several events which are the subject of the opposition, not only the commercialization of a sport game. The last conception which attempts to explain the stadium hooliganism is M. Smith model. The researcher using two criterions: beliefs’ legality level and their scope, distinguishes six conflict-causing situations encouraging disturbances. These are the structural factors, that is, the confrontational ones (the race, nation differences), and demonstrative (of political nature), as well as situational factors: failure in the competition, ban on entering the stadium, celebrating before the match, and victory celebration.

In the first parts of the work, that is, in the next chapters, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth we find deep considerations of the Author on the topic of sport fans behaviours. Some of the ideas are worth thinking about, and would require a separate reading. Above all the Author highlights the essential factor of fans’ hooliganism, which is the territory

defence. The next thing is that these are sport spectacles, not the theatre or opera ones, that cause the aggressive feelings. One may comment on it that sport supporter expects the states being more or less conscious. The next issue is that any match is treated deadly serious as if it was some liturgy. The supporters' engagements is very serious as well and authentic at the same time, and brutal, and never stays in the convention of a game (pretending). It is, according to Jerzy Pilch's words found in the very book, "that football needs madness. You cannot support the team a little" (p. 193, note 16).

A very important note included in the position is the description of supporting as "living in the sport suburbs" (p. 102), which becomes the substance of life, also the one outside the stadium. The emotions experienced by a sport fan are irrational, which the Author explains that "they are not a consequence of the cognition processes" (p. 112), and are similar to those experienced by fanatics. Moreover, the identification of sport supporters with the team is very strong, leading sometimes to suicides in case of failure of their favourite team. The last sentence may be a proof of the existence of fans group identification. However this is not the point of the Author, he attempts to oppose the stereotypes that being a sport supporter means automatically being a hooligan. The stereotype – according to the author – is kept by the media who is only waiting for sensations. In order to support his observations, he mentions the words of Jerzy Pilch, a very loyal Cracovia fan (p. 139, note 30). The important thing that is included in the

book by the Author is the fact of showing the lack of young people's preparations for being a sport supporter. This is a very important topic for pedagogy. Presenting the point in the process of education becomes a petition for stopping the ignorance of sport supporting in educational practice. In my opinion it is not about the social role but about being in the state of supporting, especially in the street state being responsible for one's actions. There is a vision, owing to the analysis and opinions of sport supporters which are included in Jerzy Dudala work, of Thomas Hobb, a man who always struggles with everybody. Although the vision is partial, undoubtedly it does contain a part of truth on some aspects of human nature. A realistic attitude towards the phenomenon of sport supporting should take into account the existence of conflicts and disturbances of fans. The ones which are inevitable and irremovable. There is also a category of some boredom as a tool explaining the aggressive fans' behaviours. This is another pedagogical topic mentioned on page 168 and on the further ones. It occurs to be a very important reason and even *furor pedagogicus* in the face of the fact of Lech Witkowski's "grumblings"⁶ that the category of boredom is not elaborated on, and in consequence not an appreciated pedagogical category.

However, the substance of the book, for sure a penetrating research work, is the ex-

⁶ L. Witkowski, *O zaniedbaniach katedralnych i teoretycznych pedagogiki w Polsce* [in:] *Pedagogika u progu trzeciego tysiąclecia – materiały pokonferencyjne*, A. Nalaskowski, K. Rubacha (edit.), Toruń 2001, p. 272.

position of a subject, place and time of the tests, hypothesis and the research results. The Author explains that the tests were made in the period 1998–2000 on the population of Zagłębie Sosnowiec (GKS Zagłębie) fans. The aims of his research he presents in the form of seven groups of questions (p. 177–178), whereas the general hypothesis (four) and the detailed ones (eight) one may find on page 179. As a sociologist – empiricist he did use a survey method but the questionnaire of the survey consisted of 17 closed questions and 7 opened ones. The questionnaire was filled in by 318 people. He did not shorten his research to the number strategy because he made several interviews, which is a very valuable advantage of the work. What is interesting is a characteristic of sport fans taking into account the type of attendance in the sport spectacle. And the situation is that all the supporters are the football supporters, they take part in supporting other disciplines, for example hockey. The research of Jerzy Dudała confirmed the total engagement of the fans in their passion also outside the matches. The identity of a sport fan seems to be the central identity, whereas their passion is continuously fed by various rituals and practices such as all the notes on the walls. The observations included in the book finish with the chapter entitled “The Conclusions and Observations Resulting from the Research”. The included thesis, especially the highlighted with the spaced-out writing are exceptionally essential. And in this way the thesis that: “the majority of the sport supporters initiating the stadium dis-

turbances are young people of lower education” needs some specification. There was the word used “education” and because of the kind of the sentence it is too general and unclear. The correlation of the hominisation level (the result of home and school education) and the aggression of stadium behaviours is, undoubtedly worth pointing out. The next thesis: “Among the most fanatic supporters there are more people who take part in stadium disturbances” is quite interesting because under the epithet ‘fanatic’ there is hidden the whole psychological space, the content of the individual, and group consciousness, and it is worth a separate exploration. The next thesis saying that ‘the sport results achieved by the team do not influence the number and activity of the most fanatic sport fans’ confirms the autonomy of experiences, of which source is not necessarily situated in the watched spectacle. A note summarizing that the reference system for a supporter is the club and that the relation exhausts the whole set of being worth paying attention to by the supporter, is a paraphrase of the thesis of Stanisław Wanat and a conformation of protoscientific observations. At the very end the author makes an inclination that “pseudo fans are better and better organized, use the Internet and mobile phones”. The statement results in asking the question on the level of sport supporters emancipation. The issue is not taken into consideration by the Author and the only thing that he wants to achieve through his researches is to change the stereotype as for sport supporters.

Piotr Skuza