

Mihaly Szerovay

Global and local
interactions in football:
Comparing the development
paths of Finland and Hungary



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"The only thing that has never changed in the history of the game is the shape of the ball."

Denis Law (Former Scottish striker)

ABSTRACT

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Finnish summary

Diss.

The aim of this study is to increase understanding of football's global and local contexts. More specifically, the development paths of Finnish and Hungarian football are explored and compared in four research articles from different perspectives within a global framework. These viewpoints, in addition to a historical-sociological overview in the article I, cover closely interrelated phenomena observable in the landscape of top-level football: the organization of elite youth football, the professionalization of players and the development of football stadiums. The main research question of the study is as follows: In what way have glocal interactions in men's football shaped the development paths of less developed football countries such as Finland and Hungary?

The theoretical framework is formulated around the globalization of football within the social sciences of sport. The main approaches applied are figurational sociology and the concept of the *duality of glocality*. The research data consisted of thirty-six semi-structured expert interviews with Finnish and Hungarian football practitioners, media and club documents and data from observation. The data were transcribed, coded and themed according to the research questions of each article.

The results suggest that the player pathways and the financing of elite youth clubs differ considerably in the two settings. In the 2010s, for example, the main source of income for Finnish clubs is provided by households. On the other hand, Hungarian clubs earn the majority of their revenues through a corporate tax scheme and support from the Hungarian Football Federation. Simultaneously, professionalization, growing amount of full-time coaches and expanding social networks are typical in both countries and suggest homogenization processes at work. Since the 1980s, football players in Finland have transitioned from amateur status into different levels of semi-professionals whereas in Hungary the movement has been from hidden professionals to professionals. The development of players' unions has mirrored the professionalization of players. However, in neither of the countries have football players achieved the status of regular employees to date. Regarding football stadiums in the 2000s, international and national governing bodies have strengthened their control over the different aspects of stadiums, indicating increasing standardization.

Importing knowledge, increasing specialization and the appearance of commercial elements have been typical trends in both countries. On the other hand, the size of the facilities and the types of playing surfaces have been adjusted to the given football environment. In addition, facility development and stadium management solutions have differed in the two countries.

The findings indicate that the interactions of local as well as global forces are reflected in the development paths of football. This means that the diverse roots and routes of football mirror the social, economic, cultural and political background of the given country. In Finland, it was a strong civil society and the amateur origins of football, while in Hungary it was the state socialist past and the strong national status of football. At the same time, however, both countries have been increasingly integrated into the global football system. Football practitioners can benefit from the understanding gained by discussing what the concepts of, for example, *youth football club*, *football academy* and *professional player* represent in different localities. Further practical applications are provided by exploring the increasing commercialization of football as well as the ways of acquiring knowledge in the various segments of the sport.

Keywords: football, globalization, glocalization, youth football club, professionalization, football stadium, Finland, Hungary

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Jyväskylä 23.10.2017
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FIGURES

FIGURE 1	Using the interview data throughout the study.	43
FIGURE 2	The development paths of Finnish and Hungarian football.	70

TABLES

TABLE 1	Articles and research tasks	29
TABLE 2	Background information about the studied football countries	34
TABLE 3	Fields of occupation of the informants	40
TABLE 4	Changes in Finnish and Hungarian football environments since the 1950s (Szerovay, Itkonen & Vehmas, 2017, 508)	55
TABLE 5	Glocal dimensions in elite youth football in the 2010s (Szerovay, Perényi & Itkonen, 2016, 30)	58
TABLE 6	The evolution of the status of top-level players in the Finnish and Hungarian top divisions since the 1980s (Szerovay & Itkonen, 2015, 122)	63
TABLE 7	Changing glocal context of football stadium development and management in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s (Szerovay & Itkonen, under review)	66
TABLE 8	Changing practices in football stadium management in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s (Szerovay & Itkonen, under review) ...	68
TABLE 9	Main themes identified in the research data reflecting global and local interactions in Finnish and Hungarian football	73

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

The present thesis is based on the following original articles, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals.

I Szerovay, M., Itkonen, H. & Vehmas, H. 2017. 'Glocal' processes in peripheral football countries: A figurational sociological comparison of Finland and Hungary. *Soccer & Society* 18 (4) 497–515.

II Szerovay, M., Perényi S. & Itkonen, H. 2016. Glocal processes in peripheral football countries: Elite youth football clubs in Finland and Hungary. *Hungarian Review of Sport Science* 17 (65) 26–33.

III Szerovay, M. & Itkonen, H. 2015. Suomalaisten ja unkarilaisten huippujalkapalloilijoiden aseman muutokset 1980-luvulta nykypäiviin [The professionalization of Finnish and Hungarian top-level football players since the 1980s] In H. Roiko-Jokela & E. Sironen (Eds.) *Urheilun toinen puoli. Suomen urheiluhistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja 2015* [The other side of the sport. The yearbook of the Finnish Society for Sport History 2015] (pp. 109–127). Suomen urheiluhistoriallinen seura.

IV Szerovay, M. & Itkonen, H. Global and local interactions in football: The changing field of professional football stadiums in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s. *Sport in Society*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FIGURES AND TABLES

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	11
	1.1 Connecting sport and global processes	11
	1.2 Football and globalization.....	12
	1.3 Lack of research on less developed football countries	14
2	GLOBALIZATION OF FOOTBALL AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	16
	2.1 Figurational sociology and global processes in sport	17
	2.2 Glocalization and the duality of glocality	20
	2.3 Further theoretical approaches to the globalization of football.....	22
	2.4 Conceptualizing periphery football countries.....	23
	2.5 Framework of the dissertation: Focus on glocal interactions.....	25
3	AIM OF THE STUDY	27
	3.1 Research questions	28
	3.2 Scope of the research.....	29
	3.3 The Finnish football context.....	30
	3.4 The Hungarian football environment.....	32
	3.5 Positioning Finland and Hungary in global football.....	33
4	METHODOLOGY	36
	4.1 Distinct voices of the researcher	37
	4.2 Semi-structured expert interviews.....	38
	4.2.1 Research process.....	40
	4.2.2 Access to the interviewees	43
	4.2.3 The interview sessions.....	44
	4.2.4 Conducting research in different cultural settings.....	46
	4.3 Thematic analysis.....	47
	4.4 Validity, reliability and research ethics	50
5	RESULTS, DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS OF THE FINDINGS	52
	5.1 Article I: Comparing the development paths of Finnish and Hungarian football since the 1950s	52
	5.2 Article II: Exploring player pathways and resources in elite youth football clubs in the 2010s.....	55

5.3	Article III: The development of football playing as a profession since the 1980s	59
5.4	Article IV: The changing field of professional football stadiums since the 2000s	64
5.5	Synthesis of the findings.....	69
6	CONCLUSIONS.....	74
6.1	Theoretical contributions to the field of globalization of football	74
6.2	Practical implications of the study	76
6.3	Limitations.....	78
6.4	Recommendations for future research	79
	YHTEENVETO (FINNISH SUMMARY).....	81
	REFERENCES.....	86
	APPENDICES.....	98

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Connecting sport and global processes

Sport is a collective activity through which people are interrelated in unique networks, developing certain sport products and performances (Maguire, 2011, 860). The meanings attached to sport and the way it is organized shifted throughout the 20th century: “No longer the province of the amateur gentleman, global sport was increasingly professional, commodified and driven by consumption” (Maguire, 2015, 520). For example, professional sport clubs presently operate as companies and produce spectator sport services. Many sport clubs have turned into capitalist actors and increasingly prioritize profit maximization to utility maximization (Andrews & Ritzer, 2007, 33). These changes are often linked to the controversial rise of neoliberal policies. To understand sport, the analysis of the sport world that produces it is required, with a focus on the interdependencies of that world (Maguire, 2011, 861). Yet studying the different aspects of what sport offers, apart from enhancing knowledge of the sport world, also widens the understanding of humans and society (Koski, 2015, 504).

In recent decades, the term *globalization* has become commonplace, but its meaning has been contested and defined in various ways. In academic discussions, globalization has been present in the field of politics, business and media (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, 127) as well as in sport and other social spheres (Giulianotti, 2015a, 440). The term has also been used as a synonym for other concepts such as internationalization or Westernization (Harvey, Rail & Thibault, 1996, 258). Elsewhere, the importance of exploring the economic, political and cultural dimensions of globalization has been emphasized (Donnelly, 1996, 239). Bloyce (2004) proposes that globalization may be a “more abstract synonym for lengthening chains of interdependency” (2004, 356). In the context of this research, globalization is understood as a complex historical process, the relevant driving forces of which are the varying interdependencies between the local and the global (Giulianotti 1999, xi; Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 60; 2009, xiv; Itkonen & Nevala, 2007a, 18; Krausz & Mitrovits, 2008, 8; Maguire, 2001, 40). In

comprehensive considerations of what *global* is, *local* may be understood as necessarily included within the global, so globalization suggests the connecting of localities (Robertson, 1995, 34). Unwrapping the social origins and social consequences of globalization processes is crucial to better understanding the present human condition (Bauman, 1998, 1).

Globalization is not a recent and one-dimensional process, but rather a long-term and multifaceted one and it should not be equated with “neoliberal economic policies or Western modernization” (Giulianotti, 2015a, 440). As for critical accounts related to globalization, Connell (2007, 368) emphasizes that the global North has provided the majority of the theoretical texts, and it is assumed that where they are written has no importance. As Bauman (1998) argues: “Globalization divides as much as it unites” (1998, 2).

Turning to the connection between sport and global processes, it seems that their relationship is currently considered self-evident (Maguire, 2015, 519). In terms of globalization’s influence on sport, some scholars have suggested processes of globalization, others Americanization, modernization, and even mundialization (Harvey, Rail, and Thibault, 1996, 259). Making sense of the evolution and characteristics of global sport at present is crucial (Maguire, 2015, 521). Sport is seen as one of the most globalized fields of culture, and thus in itself contributing to globalization (Dóczy, 2012, 166). In addition, sport has been inevitably connected to a wide range of social, political, economic and moral aspects “as a human endeavour and commercial enterprise” (Nauright & Pope, 2016). Maguire (2001, 89) highlights the relevance of global sport figurations, which are “shaped and contoured by a range of global flows, particularly of people, technology, capital, mediated images and ideologies”. In addition, globalization has often been conceptualized by applying the term *glocalization*, referring to the global and local interactions and the simultaneous production of both cultural homogenization and heterogenization (Robertson, 1995; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 46).

It should be noted that these processes have begun from dissimilar roots and occurred at different phases in distinct localities, with sport forms following various development paths. The particular interest of this dissertation is using sport, more specifically football, as a lens through which to view globalization processes.

1.2 Football and globalization

Modern football has a 150-year-old history. Nevertheless, it took a long time to develop into a truly global sport. Until as late as the 1980s, the FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) World Cup could have been called the “Euro-Latin American duopoly” (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, 294). Nowadays, it is the primary sport in most countries as well as the most popular spectator sport worldwide, followed by vast media coverage, increasing involvement of commercial partners and deterritorialized fan cultures. Football has

been a pioneer in creating global teams and global markets (Delaney, 2015, 136), especially in recent decades. Multinational ownership of clubs on the highest level of football has recently intensified. In addition, the sport is engaged with different levels of the society. Apart from its evident role as entertainment, football has been seen as reflecting cultural nationalism, distinctive ethnicity, communal identity and cultural specificity (Bandyopadhyay, Naha & Mitra, 2017, 547). Countries that play a marginal role on the international football stage may still have considerable football heritage and the sport may hold great significance in people's everyday lives (Bandyopadhyay & Mallick, 2008).

According to FIFA (2007), football is played by over 265 million people around the world, in 211 member associations (FIFA, 2017b). By adding the five million referees and officials involved, it appears that four per cent of the world's population is actively engaged in the game (FIFA, 2007). Goldblatt (2008) doubts if there is any cultural practice more global than football. The game is played by the same rules in all corners of the world. However, matches on the professional level have begun to be differentiated, for example, by the introduction of additional referees, goal-line technology and, most recently, video assistant referees.

Football as a field for sociological inquiry has become increasingly relevant (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012, 218). The changes brought about by the globalization of football have varied from locality to locality, and these provide a rich field of study. To illustrate, player mobility has been increasingly enhanced by globalization, but their routes depend greatly on what kind of setting players come from (Eliasson, 2009, 387). The challenges of globalization have influenced developed, developing and underdeveloped football countries alike, particularly in the last three decades, through processes of commercialization, professionalization and mediatization (Bandyopadhyay, Naha & Mitra, 2017). At the same time, club revenues have continuously grown from television rights and commercial partners, especially for the benefit of top clubs from the so-called core football countries (Krausz, 2008, 3, 16; Deloitte, 2017; UEFA, 2016a). Recently, new income sources from social media and regional sponsorships have emerged (Rohde & Breuer, 2017, 284). Equally important, it seems evident that the processes of globalization are also connected to the negative consequences in reference to football, such as wealth inequalities (Eliasson, 2009, 387; Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, 12), match-fixing scandals (e.g., Hill, 2008; Szerovay & Vehmas, 2012) and corruption cases.

The literature presented above highlights a range of diverse changes in football. In many cases, global processes have led to convergence. For instance, match events in professional football have started to resemble each other in a number of aspects (e.g., UEFA, 2011). In spite of these standardization processes, we can identify complex processes and trajectories in distinct localities that have moulded the context in which football stadiums are developed and managed. This is also evident in the case of the professionalization of players in different countries, which has shown distinct trajectories. Consequently, it would

be challenging to explore the changes in any locality without referring to global as well local processes.

1.3 Lack of research on less developed football countries

Research on football and globalization to date has mainly centred on the so-called core football countries, such as those with the Big Five leagues (the Premier League in England; Bundesliga in Germany; La Liga in Spain; Serie A in Italy; Ligue 1 in France). Research on less developed football countries in international academic literature include the book *Fringe Nations in World Soccer* by Bandyopadhyay and Mallick (2008), special issues of the journal *Soccer & Society* on peripheral countries (2011) and on Scandinavian countries (2009). This latter issue of the journal includes, for example, an article presenting Scandinavian football as a combination of welfare policy and the market (Andersson & Carlsson, 2009), another research examining the professionalization processes in Scandinavian football (Gammelsæter, 2009) and a paper discussing the sport/media complex in Norwegian football with a focus on gender differences (Skogvang, 2009). Other academic works in this area include research about the globalization of Israeli football in terms of labour, capital and culture flows (Ben-Porat, G. & Ben-Porat, A., 2004), and an examination of Maltese football in the context of its politics, culture and national identity (Armstrong & Mitchell, 2008). Football, as addressed in these texts, may serve as a lens through which we might better understand the context of the given country. Maguire (2015, 523) argues that there is a need to address global processes from a non-Western perspective as well.

Despite the aforementioned increasing research interest in this field, it is safe to say there is a lack of empirical research on the topic in Finnish and Hungarian settings (Szabados, 2008, 60). Accordingly, the recent social, cultural and economic impacts of globalization on sport have scarcely been given academic attention by academics in these contexts (Molnar, 2002, 3; Itkonen & Nevala, 2007b, 244; Dóczy, 2012, 166). The scholarly work concerning Finnish and Hungarian football and globalization include studies by Itkonen, Nevala and Heironen as well as by Molnar, Dóczy, Krausz, Szabados and Hadas, respectively.¹ It should be noted that, prior to 1990, few works on the sociology of sport were published in English from the Eastern bloc countries (except the *International Review of Sociology of Sport*), and these studies are often considered as lacking in quality. The close connection between sport and politics still often prevails in these countries, although the differences between countries are considerable. (Doupona Topič, 2015, 425.)

This dissertation explores these previously neglected topic areas of globalization and football in the Finnish and Hungarian settings. Yet before address-

¹ See the works of these authors in the bibliography.

ing the more specific research questions, it is necessary to identify the relevant literature and outline the employed theoretical framework.

2 GLOBALIZATION OF FOOTBALL AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of my dissertation is formulated around the globalization of football within the social sciences of sport. Sociologists started to address globalization as a field of inquiry in the 1980s (Donnelly, 1996, 244), and it has grown into an increasingly significant paradigm in the human and social sciences since the beginning of the 1990s (Featherstone & Lash, 1995, 1; Giulianotti, 2015a, 440). Since then, the global frame of reference has considerably influenced the social sciences (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, 128). Robertson (1992, 58-60) singled out five phases of globalization since the 15th century. It has been proposed that, in the 2000s, there has been a shift to the sixth phase of globalization, called the millennial phase, the main feature of which is the increasing interaction between the local and global (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007, 169). Urry (2003, 3) distinguishes between five major globalization debates, which represent different perspectives of looking at globalization processes. These aspects are structure, flow, ideology, performance and complexity.

Globalization as a concept has also been a target of critique. For example, Houlihan (2003) finds that it is often used in vague and indistinct ways, which hinders analytical accuracy. It has also been argued that the *global* has not been sufficiently theorized (Urry, 2003, 12). In addition, globalization, as it may refer to outcomes as well as processes, could lead to ambiguity. Globalization used to be often perceived as suggesting the observation of large-scale, mostly macro-sociological phenomena. This approach may be considered inaccurate, because an inquiry with a global perspective can equally refer to micro-sociological, local contexts (Robertson, 1995, 25). Similarly, Urry (2003) addresses the “systemic, non-linear relationships of global complexity that transcend most conventional divides in social science” (Urry, 2003, 123), such as agency and structure, or micro and macro. Accordingly, this dissertation explores distinct localities within a global framework.

Discussions about the processes and outcomes in global sport have provided a variety of accounts among scholars. The present state of global sport has often been considered as mirroring “the new and consumer-dominated

phase of Western capitalism" (Maguire, 2011, 1013). Consequently, the Western world is perceived to control the economic, technological, political and knowledge resources, and it therefore occupies a strong position in the power matrix of global sport. The anti-democratic and neoliberal features of the economic environment of global sport development have also been highlighted (Nauright & Pope, 2016, 1).

Simultaneously, global sport may be regarded as progressive and liberating, fostering opportunities for increasing human contacts, communication, and friendship (Maguire, 2011, 1013). Giddens & Sutton (2013, 101) coined the term social reflexivity, which suggests that people have to continuously reflect on the environment in which we live. The information age has increased the need for social reflexivity. The unevenness, complexity and conflicting nature of these developments should be considered as well (Ben-Porat, G. & Ben-Porat, A., 2004, 423; Giulianotti & Robertson 2007, 168). The concept of connectivity, a term that reveals the so-called social electricity of global processes, may provide a greater understanding of this unevenness (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 135). Connectivity is mainly related to the social dimensions of football. Although football clubs have, in general, been increasingly engaged in networks on a local and global level (Giulianotti 1999, 24), their connectivity is greatly uneven and may therefore register sociocultural inequalities and lead to disconnectivity (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007, 171).

This dissertation is formed around two main theoretical approaches, which are discussed in the following two sections. First, figurational sociology, pioneered by Elias, Dunning, Maguire, Waddington, Liston and Bloyce, is employed because it facilitates the understanding of the evolution of professional sports, the relations between globalization processes and sport, and the global sport formation (Maguire, 2001, 5; Murphy, Sheard & Waddington, 2000, 95). As a second theoretical lens, glocalization, more specifically, the concept of *duality of glocality* coined by Giulianotti and Robertson (2007; 2009; 2012), is used. According to this concept, processes of convergence and divergence or homogenization and heterogenization occur simultaneously in cultures (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007, 60; 2009, 47).

In addition to the introduction of these two main accounts, one section is dedicated to further theoretical approaches that may be relevant to the analysis of globalization and football. The subsequent section addresses the concept of periphery football and the less developed football countries. In the last section, I specify the framework for this dissertation by synthesizing the most relevant aspects of the figurational sociology and the duality of glocality.

2.1 Figurational sociology and global processes in sport

Within the figurational perspective, which has become a notable approach in sociology in the 1980s and 1990s, especially in England and the Netherlands, sport has been considered a relevant field of inquiry (Giulianotti, 2015, 156).

Liston (2011, 160) points out that figurational research on sport has already evolved as a renowned and well-established paradigm within the sociology of sport and leisure since the 1970s. Maguire (2001) extended the mainly European perspectives of Elias's civilizing processes, and examined power networks and inter-civilizational relations within a global framework (in Giulianotti, 2015, 165). Elias, when discussing the so-called sportization processes beginning from England, in addition to the economic views provided by Marxists and hegemony theorists, offered explanations that consider social, structural and political developments about the process as well (Dunning, Malcolm & Waddington, 2004b, 9). It is also suggested that a global perspective is necessary because researching social change should not be limited to the internal changes of societies (Maguire, 2001, 38).

According to figurational sociology, individuals and societies form processes within a global figuration, where power is a function of interdependency ties (Dunning, 2010, 17). The dualism of structure–agency is considered imprecise and futile in this framework (Giddens, 2013, 88). Consequently, social figurations cannot be considered separately from the people who produce them (Elias & Dunning, 1986, 150). These processes are the intended and unintended consequences of the accumulation of intended individual actions (Dunning, 2010, 17). People are interdependently connected, enabled and constrained within dynamic networks (Bourke, 2003, 175; Dunning, 1999). In addition, these networks are formed by people as well as by spaces. People and spaces are connected on diverse levels and in many ways (Añorve Añorve, 2016, 4.). In the context of this research, this description may be exemplified by the interconnected actors in football, such as players, coaches, fans, owners, stadium management companies, governments, employees of youth clubs and so on.

Applying this framework enables an emphasis on “the multifaceted, multidirectional and complex sets of power balances that characterize the global sport process” (Maguire, 2001, 5). The development of any sport is a social process with complexity and it cannot “be reduced to the action of a single individual” (Dunning, Malcolm & Waddington, 2004a, 202). Figurations have become denser and these changes have shaped the behaviour of individuals, for example, in the form of increasing specialization and, as a result, growing interdependencies between them. Simultaneously, the roles and role expectations towards the actors of the figuration have kept changing.

Figurational sociology suggests that continuous dynamic interactions occur between the local, national and the global, involving the embrace, resistance or reinvention of different sporting forms (Maguire, 2001, 85). For example, African football has provided a tool for the cultural imperialism of the West as well as for the resistance to imperial intentions (Darby, 2002, 168). It is also exemplified by Gaelic football, the national sport of Ireland, which, despite global trends, remains amateur at the highest level, although elements of professionalism have diffused into the sport (Connolly & Dolan, 2013, 853). Finnish baseball, often called the national sport of Finland, appeared in the 1920s as an adaptation of North American baseball to local conditions and needs. Local and na-

tional experiences and interdependencies can be better captured by locating them within global flows. This particular conceptualization of social processes by figurational sociology undoubtedly aided the process of making sense of the changes in the various spheres of Finnish and Hungarian football.

Given that the figurational approach centres its attention on the analysis of social processes, it suggests that the focus should not be on the historical processes, but rather on the developmental processes. Sport, according to Elias, bears cultural and historical relativity (Eichberg, 2016, 5). In this context, it suggests that the meanings of the developmental paths and directions of different sports can only be explored through detailed empirical studies (Elias, 1986, 156). A historical sociological approach and long-term development has been of paramount interest to process sociology (Dunning, Malcolm & Waddington, 2004a, 191). Nevertheless, younger generations of figurational sociologists have often focused on the present and its applicability while at the same time preserving developmental perspectives (Liston, 2011, 166). This shift described by Liston is reflected in the choices of this research as well.

With respect to topic areas addressed, figurational sociologists have increasingly discussed the “diffusion of modern sporting forms on a global scale, linking this to broader globalization processes” (Murphy, Sheard & Waddington, 2000, 94). For example, *Sport Histories* by Dunning, Malcolm and Waddington (2004), is a collection of articles on the development of modern sports, considering a variety of sport forms in different countries. Curry studied the development of football (e.g., Curry & Dunning, 2016) while commercialization and professionalization are just two of the many themes figurational sociology and sport have covered (Liston, 2011, 166). Fry et al. (2015) explored the globalization of golf from the viewpoint of player approaches, applying Maguire’s (2001) concept of how diminishing contrasts increase varieties. This approach can somewhat be paralleled to the duality of glocality, as both concepts address the co-existence of sameness and difference. The working environment of golfers has, as a result of globalization and commercialization, been increasingly homogenized and standardized, considering, for example, playing style across golfers. Simultaneously, increasing varieties can be identified in players’ approaches, as the professional game has become more complex, and the venues, despite the standardization, differ in grass type, climate and altitude. Eichberg (2016), whose work can be related to the figurational perspective, suggested a configurational analysis for analysing sport as a specific modern game. He proposed that perceiving sport and body culture as a universal activity throughout history is problematic. The methodological dimension in the discussion of sport is of key importance, therefore sport should be observed as part of social patterns, changes, and connections, marked by achievement and suspense.

For the sufficient comprehension of the development of modern sport, Dunning, Malcolm & Waddington (2004a, 194) suggest that the “understanding on the development of the rules of the sporting contest is central”. In contemporary football, recent technological developments in refereeing, such as goal-line technology and video assistant referee, are exemplary phenomena to be ex-

plored. In order to better grasp the driving forces and power relationships around these changes in distinct localities, Dunning, Malcolm and Waddington's (2004a) view on the rules of the sport contest could be broadened and complemented with the changes in the regulative frameworks applied to the organization of sport contests. In football, these regulations have included, for instance, standards for stadium attributes and playing surfaces, requirements for commercial activities and services for different types of fans, and visibility of tournament brands in the stadium as well as in the media. In addition, a further dimension to be explored to enhance the understanding on the development of modern sport could be the regulative framework that has shaped the processes of professionalization of players.

Figurational sociology and its devotees have encountered criticism as well. The approach has been accused of not being original and distinctive by arguing, for example, that figuration and other ordinary concepts such as pattern and situation are related (Bauman, 1977, 11; Horne & Jary, 1987, 88). In fact, Elias selected the term *figuration* due to its linguistic properties (Dunning, 1999, 19) to evade the tension between structure and agency by referring to the figuration of humans (Eliasson, 2009, 387). A further criticism directed toward figurational sociologists suggests an ignorance of gender issues (Hargreaves, 1992). However, recent figurational studies on the sport-gender nexus include studies by Liston as well as Bourke on Irish football (see Liston, 2006; 2007). Liston (2007) discusses the exchanges between figurational and feminist scholars in the sociology of sport and suggests common themes for dialogues between the two positions.

In addition, the weakness of methods applied by figurational researchers has been noted as well, with suggestions that genuine testing of the approach's theories is absent (Rojek, 1995, 54-5; Giulianotti, 2015, 167). Its alleged Eurocentrism has also been highlighted, evidenced, for instance, by the lack of studies on Asia (Giulianotti, 2015, 167).

2.2 Glocalization and the duality of glocality

It may be plausible to introduce and use the concept of glocalization instead of employing the term globalization, because discussion of the latter "has tended to assume that it is a process which overrides locality" (Robertson, 1995, 26). The term glocalization goes beyond the binary oppositions and "registers the societal co-presence of sameness and difference, and the intensified interpenetration of the local and the global (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007, 168). In other words, *the local* is not merely considered as a pre-given opposition of *the global*, but can be better grasped as a transitional outcome of globalization (Robertson, 1995, 40).

Glocalization has been defined in various ways in a number of academic fields since the 1980s. The term itself likely comes from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, referring to "global localization" or "localized globalization" (Giuli-

anotti & Robertson, 2009, 45). In the 1980s and 1990s, it was often used as business jargon, more specifically in micromarketing, as the increasingly differentiated local markets began to require tailored advertising of goods and services (Robertson, 1995, 28; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012, 434). In football, this phenomenon occurs when clubs hire players from certain regions or countries in order to expand their markets and build fan base to those areas by selling, for example, broadcasting rights and merchandising products. Other research fields within the social sciences that adapted and applied glocalization comprise sociocultural theory, human geography and cultural studies, anthropology, social network analysis, cultural studies, literature and translation studies, migrations studies, media studies, and sport studies. More recently, its application has spread to the natural sciences as well (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012, 433).

In the context of this research, the concept of duality of glocality, framed by Giulianotti and Robertson, is employed. Duality of glocality enables a better understanding of the global and local domains in football by suggesting that processes of both convergence and divergence or homogenization and heterogenization take place simultaneously in cultures (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 47). As a result, “commonly diverse” cultures are created and develop side by side instead of substituting each other (Cowen, 2002, 16). Football appears to offer a rich area for applying the duality of glocality in terms of homogenization and heterogenization processes (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 47). This dissertation is one such attempt. For example, homogenization processes imply that football is played by the same rules all over the world under an international and global institutional framework. Heterogenization may refer to playing styles, competition formats, and media interpretation that varies across countries. There is a broad range of additional themes that enable the examination of the duality of glocality in football, including fan cultures, referee styles, management practices, professionalization processes of players and youth football frameworks (e.g., Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 49). Examples from areas other than sport concerning the co-existence of homogenization and heterogenization include the consequences of technological innovations, such as the standardization of time and space in the beginning of the 20th century (Robertson, 1995, 45). Although the duality of glocality offers a rather sociocultural perspective, I utilize this lens to discuss social, cultural as well as political and economic dimensions of football in this research.

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, there are various understandings and applications concerning the term glocalization (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012a, 439). For example, Ritzer (2003, 193) emphasizes heterogenization processes as they relate to glocalization. In addition, he coined the term “grobalization” as a complement to glocalization, suggesting the “imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations and other entities...” (Ritzer, 2003, 194). Sondaal (2013, 495) applied the concept of grobalization to Liverpool Football Club and came to the conclusion that homogenization processes derived from globalization effects “are not pre-determined and impact clubs differently based on the

local-societal setting and clubs' institutional capacity to withstand unifying pressures" (Sondaal, 2013, 495). Another view on glocalization is represented by Connell (2007, 374), who criticizes the application of this concept by arguing that it does not settle the local–global opposition from a conceptual point of view and refers to confirming a "static polarity". She also points out that the voices of different cultures should be better recognized and heard in sociology.

2.3 Further theoretical approaches to the globalization of football

This section provides an overview of additional theoretical approaches discussing the globalization of sport. Given that there are many competing explanations and accounts related to globalization processes and sport, I attempted to consider the most relevant interpretations from the viewpoint of this study. Nevertheless, it is by no means a fully exhaustive inquiry, as the globalization of sport has been extensively researched.

Many of the accounts that may be useful in grasping the globalization of football as well as the concepts of core, semi-periphery and periphery countries are based on a fairly economic standpoint, given that the main driving force producing globalization is economic (Eliasson, 2009, 387). Accordingly, the economic dimension, particularly the logic of the market economy, is necessary for the comprehension of this phenomenon (Krausz, 2008, 18). Nonetheless, it is suggested that the economic determinism advocated, for example, by Marxist sociology restricts their contribution to interpreting the long-term development of sports (Dunning, Malcolm & Waddington, 2004a, 192). Maguire also proposes that analysing the economic differences between countries or areas is not sufficient (Maguire, 2001, 49).

Wallerstein (1984, 155) suggested a world-system perspective,² in which the unit of analysis is the whole world. The world economy is characterized by a division of labour, and products are distributed via the market. This perspective, located in the field of political economy, addresses the "historical dynamics of capitalism" (Maguire, 2001, 18), and contributes to the understanding of the interconnected nature of world economy (Giddens, 2013, 130). According to this theory, the driving force of globalization should be found in the logic of the capitalist world economy. In addition, core, periphery and semi-periphery countries are identified, taking a primarily economic viewpoint. Wallerstein argues that peripheral countries have been exploited and impoverished by core countries through exercising their economic power (Darby, 2002, 167). This perception of the global sport economy may advance understanding about the dynamics of labour markets in sports (Giulianotti, 2015a, 444). However, world-system theory focuses on the economic dimension in social life and downplays the role of cultures in the processes of social change (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, 130). Although this theory comprises some relevant ideas for this research, it

² The world-system perspective has also been called world-system theory.

does not correspond to the proposed figurational framework, because the world-system perspective interprets the core-periphery links as uni-directional with the core countries inflicting their intentions on the periphery.

Dependency theory, which also adopts an economic stance, suggests core, semi-periphery and periphery distribution of countries as well (Harvey, Rail, and Thibault, 1996, 264). However, compared to the world system theory, it presents global inequalities in a more dynamic and diffuse way (Darby, 2002, 167). Dependency theory proposes “the ‘centre’ imposes conditions of unequal exchange on the ‘periphery’” (Maguire, 2001, 17).

Giulianotti (2015a, 446) observes that in the socio-cultural dimension, globalization may be seen as driven by cultural imperialism, which again suggests the prevailing economic and political status of certain societies, permitting them to dominate global culture. This view often utilizes the perspectives of Neo-Marxist scholars by highlighting the role of political economy as it relates to other areas of society (2015a, 446). Marxist and Neo-Marxist research has involved the primacy of class relations, which has been criticized by figurational sociologists (Liston, 2011, 169). Similarly, according to Dunning, Malcolm and Waddington (2004a, 196-7), the Marxist hegemony theory focusing on the analysis of class relations is insufficient for understanding the development of particular sports. Other social processes are relevant for exploration as well, such as unintended consequences and the international dimensions of development. Too much focus on the uni-directional and monocausal interpretations of global processes in some cultural imperialism explanations neglects the contradictory and contested features of global processes (Maguire, 2001, 21).

In addition to these concepts, the ideas of Häkli (2013), who applied Bourdieu’s field theory to explain transnational practices and global fields, seem to be reasonable to ponder in the context of this research. Social relationships create spaces, in which proximity is not primarily physical distance, but rather characterized by the intensity of social relationships. For example, football stadiums may be considered as spaces that connect football clubs globally within systems of international matches and tournaments. Yet these fields do not appear as so-called even playing fields, because some countries are more connected than others are.

2.4 Conceptualizing periphery football countries

In the world system of football shaped by globalization, some countries represent what is known as the core, with many other countries being on the periphery or the semi-periphery (Eliasson, 2009, 387). Maguire (2001) also proposes that the countries within the global sports figuration should be categorized as core, semi-peripheral and peripheral groups. The figurational approach, he says, along with multi-causal and multi-directional aspects and apart from the economic viewpoints, adds the political and cultural dimensions to the discussion. The angle from which the concept of periphery can be viewed may also be sport

success and geography. However, Bloyce (2004, 353), also a figurationalist, argues that conceptualizing the power relationships applying core-periphery perspectives is too abstract and static to capture the dynamics of power struggles.

Periphery countries can be characterized as “having marginal roles in the world economy and are dependent on ‘core’ countries in their trading relationships” (Social Science Dictionary, 2011). Similarly, the notion of periphery countries in football could be grasped as countries with less developed football cultures and lesser roles in the global football network. Maguire characterizes periphery countries by “unequal access to markets and unequal exchange for their raw materials” (2001, 17). Although this description refers to former colonized countries, it may be applied to the realm of sport as well by considering athletes, as Maguire (2001, 17) suggests, “human crops”. Peripheral territories in football are the larger parts of Asia and Africa, the Australian continent, some parts of Europe and Latin America and North America (Bandyopadhyay & Mallick, 2008, 1; Darby, 2002, 165). Giulianotti positioned Scandinavian countries on the semi-periphery (Andersson & Carlsson, 2011, 719).

Nevertheless, being on the periphery is not being in a static state but rather in a constant and dynamic shift. The recent advance of Icelandic football, the financial investment made by Chinese football both nationally and globally (e.g., Tan et al., 2016), and Qatar building its national identity through global markets (Campbell, 2011) are clear illustrations of this point. Hosting international mega-events with the purpose of repositioning states can be mentioned as well. Furthermore, hardly any country can be considered homogenous in terms of being peripheral (Goksøyr & Olstadb, 2009, 338). For instance, the centre of Norwegian football used to be the south, but shifted northwards at the end of the 1990s with the success of clubs from central Norway such as Rosenborg from Trondheim and gradually from other clubs from the north such as Tromsø (Goksøyr & Olstadb, 2009, 337). In the case of Finland, for instance, football’s core areas and cities are often those which are on Finnish baseball’s periphery. This seems to be the case the other way round as well, suggesting a power struggle between these two sports. In addition, regarding the geography of Finnish football, cores within the periphery can be identified, as cities have had stronger teams than rural areas (Kortelainen, 2007, 82). Core-periphery connotations can be also detected within the history of Hungarian football among, for example, club teams, highlighting national-religious-racial polarizations (Hadas, 2000, 50). In addition, until the 1980s, almost exclusively teams from the capital Budapest occupied the top places in the Hungarian highest division.

The concepts of core and periphery from a sporting perspective do not always mirror the economic or other perspectives of a given country or locality. Therefore, the categorization of core, semi-peripheral and peripheral frameworks differs from sport to sport and its application to football seems to be complicated. To illustrate, certain core countries from an economic perspective, such as Japan, USA and Finland have (semi-)periphery football cultures from the viewpoint of international success (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 40). This

may imply the “relative autonomy of sports, in terms of central concepts such as identity and belonging” (Goksøyr & Olstad, 2009, 337). Sport success, which may be an indicator of a country’s belonging to either core, semi-peripheral or peripheral groups, depends on several factors (Maguire, 2001, 90). When explaining success in football, the most crucial factors are experience, population, and income per capita of the given country (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, 36). Lamprech and Stamm highlight, slightly differently, domestic economy and traditions as the most significant factors (Schneider, 1996, 7). Measuring experience and traditions may be carried out, for example, by the amount of international games that a country has played. These calculations, however, are mainly quantitative, and therefore fall short of deeper cultural and social analysis.

Periphery–core conceptualizations may also involve players and clubs instead of countries. European football clubs, for instance, may be divided into group A as core, B as semi-periphery and C as periphery clubs (Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001, 225). From the perspective of professional football, Pierpoint (2000, 30) identifies “A-list clubs”, “UEFA-chasers” and “survivors” within the English Premier League. These categories were formed by measuring the annual turnover, operating profits, players’ salaries, and supporter bases of each club. In addition, the presence of players from the periphery in core clubs implies that the periphery is represented in the core. As mentioned previously, countries seem to have their own periphery as well (Dahlen, 2009, 338; Goksøyr & Olstad, 2009, 325).

Discussions about the concept of periphery football and the positioning of periphery countries within the global football system, as well as the core, semi-periphery, periphery debate were mainly included in the primarily theoretical article I. Finland and Hungary may be also referred to as *less developed football countries*, a less theoretical term than *periphery country*.

2.5 Framework of the dissertation: Focus on glocal interactions

The following is a synthesis of the main elements of the theories and concepts that form the essential content of the theoretical foundation of this dissertation. My choices are illustrated by providing examples using the results of this study as well as other relevant scientific football literature. I attempted to synthesize and employ somewhat distinct sociological approaches, which can lead to a better understanding and explanation of the social world (Giulianotti, 2015, 168).

For both figurational sociology and duality of glocality, the explanatory framework must have a global perspective (Maguire, 2001, 38; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012a, 448). Dunning (1999, 125) points out that the processes of globalization and Europeanization should be used as a framework to better understand the restructuring of football. The development of FIFA, for example, cannot be understood without taking into account broader global processes (Darby, 2002, 163).

In addition, global-local interactions are considered by both figurational sociology (Maguire, 2001, 39) and the concept of duality and glocality (Giulianotti & Robertson 2012a, 448) as multifaceted social processes in constant flux rather than as binary structures. Nevertheless, figurational sociology places more emphasis on exploring changing power balances and the unintended consequences emanating from these processes (Maguire, 2001, 39). The central aspects of the figurational approach that are used throughout this research comprise the complex and multifaceted development paths of football. This can be exemplified by studying the changing power balances and interdependencies between the increasing number of actors involved in the development and operation of football stadiums, as explored in article IV.

Furthermore, duality of glocality was particularly useful, because it enables the identification of homogenization and heterogenization processes. The topic of article II, analysing how the interaction of local specificities and global influences have shaped the operation of elite youth clubs in Finland and Hungary, illustrates this point clearly. The changes in professional football have shaped the organization of youth football as well (Vincze, 2008, 20-1). Accordingly, managerial methods and organizational structures, typical of top-level sport, began to appear in youth sport in large measure (Itkonen, 2013, 7). This shift suggests homogenization processes in the field of youth football. On the other hand, particular environments are often characterized by diverse working practices (Relvas et al., 2010, 182). These distinctions highlight the importance of local characteristics and suggest the relevance of heterogenization processes.

Finally, Dunning's typology of professionalism (1999, 115), developed from a figurational perspective, was a beneficial model for the analysis of different levels and attributes of sport professionalism, as addressed in article III. For this reason, it may enhance our understanding, for example, of the processes of players' professionalization. This typology includes nine types of professionalism based on two features: how open the professionalism is and where the financial support enabling the production of the sport performance comes from.

In the case of non-legitimate/covert professionalism, which can also be called *shamateurism*, financial support may be granted in the form of state support, resources from private companies, university grants, and hidden payments from match-day income. In contrast, in the legitimate/overt professionalism, there are five distinct sources of financial resources: rich patrons, the fundraising from fans and members, match-day revenues, and commercial revenues through selling sponsorships as well as revenues from broadcasting rights (Dunning, 1999, 115). In the context of contemporary football, it seems reasonable to broaden this model by taking into account the international dimension of revenue streams. Revenues from participation in competitions organized by the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and the investments of foreign owners, among other sources, can be relevant as well (e.g., Rohde & Breuer, 2017). The different forms of sport professionalism mirror the changing power relationships between the range of actors within the football figuration.

3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this doctoral dissertation is to gain more understanding of the global and local interactions in football. More specifically, the development paths of Finnish and Hungarian men's football are explored from different viewpoints within the global framework. These viewpoints cover closely interrelated phenomena observable in the landscape of top-level football: the organization of elite youth football, the professionalization of players, and the development of professional football stadiums. One article is dedicated to each of these intertwined topics, while an introductory article with a historical-sociological perspective precedes the aforementioned texts.

In article I, I described how Finnish and Hungarian football have been integrated into the global football system since the 1950s. An attempt was made to explore the processes behind the distinct trajectories of the sport. Article II examined the similarities and differences of the operation of elite youth football clubs in the Finnish and Hungarian contexts. The focus was on the analysis of the player pathways and the available resources for running the clubs. In addition, I located youth football in relation to the role of football in society and football's position in a global context. Article III addressed the distinct development paths of player professionalization in the studied countries, and identified phases regarding the changes in the status of players since the 1980s. Finally, article IV dealt with stadiums in professional football. I explored the changing context of developing and managing football stadiums since the 2000s. For this purpose, case studies of top clubs from both countries, namely HJK (Helsinki, Finland) and Ferencvárosi TC (Budapest, Hungary) were used as lenses for the inquiry.

Article I functioned as an introduction and foundation for the study by mapping the Finnish and Hungarian football environments from a global perspective. The subsequent articles provided a deeper analysis of three interconnected topics that can be viewed across a continuum from the perspective of the football player. Typically, the first phase of the player pathway begins in youth football clubs. After participating in youth football, there may be an opportunity for players to join the first team of the given club and even play football as a

profession. The so-called stage for this profession is represented by football arenas.

This dissertation explores the circumstances of, the drivers behind and the interdependent network of people involved in the construction of sport as a social product in the Finnish and Hungarian contexts. In accounting for the social construction of sport, “we must emphasize the social and probe the production, distribution and reception of athletic performances” (Maguire, 2011, 858). In the context of this study, stemming from the topic areas covered, I focus on the production and distribution dimensions of sport.

3.1 Research questions

The main research question of the study is as follows:

In what way have glocal interactions in men’s football shaped the development paths of less developed football countries such as Finland and Hungary?

The research tasks and research questions addressed in the articles of this study are the following:

- I. Seeking to understand the development of Finnish and Hungarian football within the global football figuration since the 1950s.
 - a. What characterizes the global football figuration?
 - b. In what way can periphery countries be defined in the football context?
 - c. Why are Finland and Hungary considered periphery football countries?
- II. Discovering the main features of the operation of Finnish and Hungarian elite youth football clubs in the 2010s.
 - a. In what way do the operations of Finnish and Hungarian elite youth football clubs differ in the 2010s?
 - b. In what way does the glocal dimension appear on the youth level in the 2010s in these countries?
- III. Exploring the changing role of top-level football players in Hungarian and Finnish top divisions since the 1980s.
 - a. In what way has the status of top-level football players changed in the Finnish and Hungarian football cultures?
 - b. What different phases and differences can be identified in the professionalization of Finnish and Hungarian top-level football players since the 1980s?
- IV. Exploring the changing field of professional football stadiums in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s.
 - a. In what way has the context of stadium development and management changed in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s?

- b. In what way have the practices in managing football stadiums developed in these countries?

One article is dedicated to each of the four research tasks above. Table 1 provides an overview of the topics and names of the articles, the journals in which the articles have been published, the theories applied, and the periods covered.

TABLE 1 Articles and research tasks

Topic	Article / Journal	Theories employed	Timespan
I Positioning Finnish and Hungarian football	'Glocal' processes in peripheral football countries: A figurational sociological comparison of Finland and Hungary <i>Soccer & Society</i>	Figurational sociology Duality of glocality	1950s ->
II Organization of elite youth football	Glocal processes in peripheral football countries: Elite youth football clubs in Finland and Hungary <i>Hungarian Review of Sport Science</i>	Duality of glocality	2010s ->
III Changing status of top-level football players	The professionalization of Finnish and Hungarian top-level football players since the 1980s <i>The other side of the sport. The yearbook of the Finnish Society for Sport History 2015</i>	Duality of glocality Figurational sociology Typology of professionalism	1980s ->
IV Evolution of professional football stadiums	Global and local interactions in football: The changing field of professional football stadiums in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s <i>Under review</i>	Duality of glocality Figurational sociology	2000s ->

3.2 Scope of the research

The main scope of this research covered men's top-division football and boys' elite youth football in Finland and Hungary. In Hungary, I considered the top 15 youth clubs included in the Double Pass youth academy audit, commissioned by the Hungarian Football Federation, to be elite (Double Pass, 2014). In Finland, I took as elite those youth clubs selected for a Finnish Football Association pilot programme launched in 2013 for developing a quality system (Finnish Football Association, 2012). Youth football clubs are understood as consisting of several teams and playing groups in different age groups. Eliasson (2009, 388) argues that globalization has influenced women's and men's football in differ-

ent ways both from the point of view of individual players and football in general. Moreover, the trajectories of Finnish and Hungarian women's football seem to be highly different.

Women's football has been increasingly researched in recent years. For example, Williams (2013, 56) dealt with the emergence of the first women professionals at the beginning the 1970s. Bourke (2003) and Liston (2006) addressed women's football in Ireland. Migration in women's football has received increasing attention (Agergaard, Andersson, Carlsson & Skogvang, 2013; Agergaard & Ryba, 2014; Engh, Agergaard & Maguire, 2013). In the Finnish context, the migration routes of Finnish women players have been studied in the framework of gender and globalization (Itkonen, Nevala & Giulianotti, 2014, 157). In addition, the history of women's football in Finland since the 1970s has been addressed by Vehviläinen and Itkonen (2009). The topic area of women's football in the Hungarian context has not yet attracted the interest of scholars.

Regarding the period covered in the dissertation, article I stretches back to the 1950s. Article II, on youth football, concentrates on the present, that is, the 2010s. This scope is justified by the availability of interviewees and the time constraints of the doctoral thesis process. Article III, which addresses the changing status of top-level players, focuses on the period from the 1980s to the present. There are two reasons for this decision. First, significant changes occurred in both countries during this period in the professionalization of players. Second, the availability of interviewees allowed data in sufficient depth and breadth to be gathered. Migration, however, was not the focus of that article. The migration of Finnish and Hungarian players has been addressed in some academic studies (e.g., Itkonen & Nevala, 2012; Molnar, 2006; Molnar & Maguire, 2008). It should also be noted that migration may shape local context and cause cultural tensions (Donnelly, 1996, 252). Article IV, on the evolution of football stadiums, covered the 2000s. This period was chosen because HJK's home ground, Sonera Stadium,³ opened in 2000 (HJK, n.d.), which initiated a new era in stadium management in Finland.

3.3 The Finnish football context

The Republic of Finland is situated in northern Europe, with a climate that can be challenging for playing football. The basis for the national sports movement was formed by civic activities in the early 1900s. The Football Association of Finland (FAF) has played an exceptionally strong role, given that it was granted a central sport organization status. In other domains of sport, there was a split between non-socialist and workers' sport movements until 1993 (Makinen et al., 2016, 267–8).

³ From April 2017, Sonera Stadium has been called Telia 5G Areena. The change occurred when the sponsoring company, TeliaSonera, dropped "Sonera" from its name and was combined with its subsidiary Tele Finland to create the new Telia brand (Veikkausliiga, 2017).

Finland participated in international football tournaments as early as the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm, when it was still a grand duchy of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, before the first series format was established in the 1930s, the organization of competitions was modest. The development of a market-oriented environment for sport has been hindered by the strong and well-functioning civic sector in Finland. The trajectory of Finnish football according to amateur principles was reinforced by a decision made by the Football Association in the 1920s to promote amateur football (Itkonen & Nevala, 2007a, 13-4).

The emergence of professional football was also impeded by the agricultural economic structure, less-developed urban society and a lack of quality facilities (Itkonen & Nevala, 2012, 579). Football in Finland has always been a sport of the cities and urban areas, and its diffusion to the countryside was relatively slow (Kortelainen, 2007, 72). The fault lines between larger towns and rural areas marked a centre-periphery division (Kortelainen, 2007, 81).

Although football is the most played team sport when measured by the number of registered players, it has been suggested that this broad base of participants on the grassroots levels has not been converted into international success or evident growth in attendance (Itkonen & Nevala, 2007a, 20). Consequently, Finland belongs to those countries that have undergone modernization and nation-building processes without any significant addition from football. In those countries, football's social and cultural importance did not emerge until the postmodern era (Giulianotti, 1999).

According to Itkonen and Nevala (2007a, 19), Commercial actors began to occupy a growing role in the changing sport environment in the 1970s. Operating a club on the competitive level started to demand increasing resources, making the involvement of the market necessary. Simultaneously, market actors began to call for increasing publicity. As a result, the sport product-market-media trinity began to evolve, characterized by growing interdependencies between network actors. Meanwhile, the first players transferred abroad to become professionals already in the 1950s. With these developments in mind, it can be argued that Finland has been increasingly connected to the international football landscape and thus has become more involved in the global football figuration since the 1970s (2007a, 19).

The league system was established in 1989 with the founding of the Veikkausliiga as the highest division in men's football. While this is evidence of differentiation in the Finnish sports landscape, up to now no considerable football business has evolved in Finland. Even currently, Veikkausliiga is characterized by different levels of semi-professionalism. As for the Women's League, it was founded in 2006 (Football Association of Finland, 2016).

The growing number of international games at all levels as well as the intensification of player transfers point to the further integration of Finland into the international football system. For instance, the increasing number of foreign players in the Veikkausliiga and Finnish players in other leagues underscores the effect of globalization in Finland (Itkonen & Nevala, 2012, 576). One inter-

esting piece of evidence for the multifaceted processes of integration and Europeanization is Finland's participation, since 2012, in the Baltic Cup (Breuil, 2016, 132). The Baltic Cup was a traditional tournament staged in the 1920s and 1930s between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and it was relaunched in the 1990s. Regarding its role in the international football network, Finland can be seen as a transit country for players (Itkonen & Nevala, 2012, 580).

3.4 The Hungarian football environment

In the former Eastern bloc, prior to the transition that began around 1990, football and sport in general were used by politicians to demonstrate the positive aspects of state socialism (Doupona Topič, 2015, 426). Molnar (2002, 3) argues that in discussions on Hungary, it is necessary to note that Hungarian scholars were under state control during the socialist period, meaning they were forced to act as some sort of organic intellectual and express the opinion of the official ideology. This means there is a scientific gap to be filled in the scholarly literature on Hungarian sport (2002, 3).

Hungary is located in Central Europe. In contrast to Finland, Hungarian sport has lacked a strong civil society. Nevertheless, football has been the country's most popular sport, and accordingly, has played an essential role in socio-historical processes and the development of social identity (Molnar, 2007, 313). From 1949 to 1989, Hungary had a state socialist system, in which top-level sport was financed centrally and its autonomy was heavily restricted. Consequently, the activity of sport clubs was limited and mainly focused on managing their resources (Kozma & Nagy, 2002, 6). For example, Ferencvárosi TC, the most popular club, was supported by the ministry of agriculture and Budapest Honvéd, parent club of Ferenc Puskás, a legendary Hungarian football player from the 1950s and 1960s, by the national army. During this socialist period, the private sector was non-existent. In this system, formally amateur athletes were often employed by state-owned companies and were, in practice, professionals (Breuil, 2016, 127). During this era, the political regime utilized football "to symbolize their cultural and societal equality or superiority to Western cultures" (Molnar, 2007, 304) and in addition, used it as a tool for legitimacy.

Based on the performance of the national and club teams, Hungary could be considered a core football country before 1990. However, player migration to the West was strictly controlled given that Hungary formed part of the Soviet bloc. Players and coaches were not permitted to transfer abroad during this period (Molnar, 2002, 76). Despite this ban, teams and clubs from the communist bloc, including Hungary, were well integrated into European competitions after 1950 (Breuil, 2016, 129). Compared to common citizens, top athletes were in a privileged situation due to the opportunity to travel abroad to play international games with the Hungarian national or club teams. Accordingly, one path to social mobility was to become an outstanding athlete (Molnar, 2007, 305). Nevertheless, a number of players and coaches fled Hungary to seek better living

standards in Western Europe. These emigrants contributed significantly to the diffusion of the then-progressive Hungarian style of playing football. In the 1980s, regulations and attitudes related to player migration began to loosen.

As football's political significance began to wane in the 1970s and 1980s, the allocation of resources to the clubs was curbed by the state, and an overall decline started. After the beginning of the political and economic transition in 1989–1990, the development of sport shifted to be more in line with the practices of Western countries (Kozma & Nagy, 2002, 5). Political developments are connected to globalization processes, including the collapse of communism in Eastern European countries in 1989 (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, 135). Hungary opened its markets at the beginning of the 1990s. At the same time, the state ceased to fund football and other sports, which, in a country with lack of capital, led to an overall decline of sport (Krausz, 2008, 15). Along with the transition to a free-market economy, a vacuum emerged in the football market, indicating a lack of information, professional knowledge, organization and, above all, money (G. Róka, club director of DVSC⁴, personal communication, 3 April 2013). Football became a sport product that had to be marketed, but sport practitioners lacked the necessary expertise. At the same time, an unstable social as well as football environment arose, mainly as a result of absent proactive behaviour of the Hungarian football clubs and the prevailing regional, economic, political and social conditions (Molnar, 2006, 464). The function of sport has been shaped in various ways as well during this period. The expression of national pride, for example, was no longer restricted to sports (Dóczy, 2012, 169). In addition, even after the transition, sport still seems subject to political manipulation, although it has been presented in rather indirect ways.

At present, the OTP Bank Liga⁵ is, similarly to the Finnish Veikkausliiga, mostly considered a stepping stone to stronger leagues (G. Róka, club director of DVSC, personal communication, 3 April 2013).

3.5 Positioning Finland and Hungary in global football

Table 2 provides background information on the studied contexts. According to per capita GDP (based on purchasing power parity) in 2015 (World Bank, 2017), Finland may be considered, from an economic perspective, a core country and Hungary a semi-periphery one. In terms of their international success in football, the Finnish men's football team has never reached any major tournaments (World Cups or European Championships). The women's team has, however, qualified for European Championships three times in the 2000s (UEFA, 2017).

⁴ DVSC (Debrecen Vasutas Sport Club) is a professional football team currently playing the Hungarian highest division. The team qualified for the UEFA Champions League group stage in the 2009-10 season, and reached the UEFA Europa League group stage in the 2010-11 season.

⁵ OTP Bank Liga has been the name of the highest division in Hungarian football since 2011.

In contrast, Hungary is known for its significant football traditions in men's football, with two silver medals at the FIFA World Cups and three gold medals at the Olympic Games. However, the quality of play began to decline in the 1980s, and the men's national team has not reached a major tournament since 1986. In 2016, the Magyars qualified for the UEFA EURO held in France and reached the round of 16. The Hungarian women's national team, up to now, has qualified for the European Championships on one occasion, in 1991 (UEFA, 2017).

TABLE 2 Background information about the studied football countries

	Finland	Hungary
GDP (PPP, 2015)	USD 42,236	USD 26,457
Population	5.5 million	9.9 million
Registered players (All/W) (2016)	140,000 / 32,000	208,000 / 15,000
Achievements in men's football	No major tournaments	1938 & 1954 WC runner-up
FIFA ranking (M/W; since '93 / '03)	57 / 19	52 / 35
UEFA club ranking (2015/16)	36	33
Big 5 players (As of August 2017)	6	8

Regarding the current position of the countries in international men's football, a study by CIES (Centre International d'Etude du Sport) Football Observatory on the financial level of European football leagues is revealing. The 31 leagues included in the investigation were grouped into four categories according to the average budget used for personnel expenses (Poli, Besson & Ravenel, 2013). According to the results, both the Finnish and Hungarian highest divisions belonged to the lowest category, indicating that less than three million euros per year are spent on the player budget by the teams in 2012. However, a more recent report by UEFA on club finances reveals that, in Hungary, an average first league team's total revenues accounted for 5.5 million euros in 2015 (20th among European countries), compared to 2 million euros per team in Finland (30th; UEFA, 2016a, 69).

In the UEFA international rankings of its 55 member countries by country coefficient for the 2015–16 season, Finland is 36th and Hungary 33rd (UEFA, 2016b). These rankings are formed according to the performance of each association's clubs in the past five UEFA Champions League and Europa League seasons. In the FIFA world rankings, the average position of these countries in the men's ranking has been 57th for Finland 52nd for Hungary for men, while for women Finland has ranked 19th and Hungary 35th (FIFA, 2017b).⁶

The figures shown above indicate that, when looking at football performance, Finland may be regarded as a peripheral country and Hungary as a pe-

⁶ FIFA World Ranking was created in 1993 for men, and in 2003 for women (FIFA, 2017b).

ripheral or semi-peripheral one. However, as discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4, the concept and categorization of countries as core, semi-periphery and periphery is highly complex and the characteristics largely vary by country. The term *less developed football countries* may be a reasonable alternative. Hess (2014), in his analysis of Swiss soccer, has utilized the phrase “small-country soccer”. The roots and trajectories of Finnish and Hungarian football can be viewed as considerably different, though their recent performance in men’s football and the level of play in their highest division is rather similar, Hungary being slightly ahead of Finland, according to the rankings. The population of both countries can be considered to be small. For these reasons, the comparison of these two localities in a global framework is well founded. However, in order to acquire a deeper understanding of the complex processes behind the development trajectories of football in these countries, there is a need to look behind the rankings and numbers and explore the countries’ political, economic, social and cultural dimensions.

4 METHODOLOGY

Given the lack of research on glocalization and football, a qualitative inquiry was chosen to provide deeper insights (Creswell, 2009, 18). “Qualitative research considers reality not as a fixed, objective, and constant construct but as a more fluid, ephemeral and ever-changing thing” (Cooper & White, 2012, 6). Accordingly, this research relies on the underlying philosophical assumption of relativist ontology, constructionist epistemology and hermeneutical methodology (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, 11-14). Qualitative research has the ability to highlight the dynamics of the social processes (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, 17).

The chosen figurational sociological perspective emphasizes that individuals and institutions are interlocked in different processes. With regards to the applied methodology, Elias, the founding father of figurational sociology, made “only very few explicit comments on explicit methodology and methods” (Baur & Ernst, 2011, 118). Nevertheless, he triangulated many kinds of data in his research, such as research elicited data, visual data, verbal data and also quantitative data (e.g., surveys and social bookkeeping data; Baur & Ernst, 2011, 126). Elias argued that adequate methods should be chosen for the research problem at hand. According to Bloyce (2004, 91), applying a figurational approach implies that diverse methods of data collection, including both quantitative and qualitative, could be utilized along with emphasizing practically useful knowledge (Dunning 2002, 213). In research on sport, according to figurational sociology, figurations need to be the basic entities that are examined (Elias 1986). A figuration involves the interconnected groups related within the sport domain (Dunning, 1986, 207; 1999; Bourke, 2003). In the context of this research, players, coaches, managers, employees, and representatives of the football federations as well as processes and power relationships within the football figuration are studied.

In the study of global phenomena such as football, Holton (2008, 199-200) suggests employing methodological glocalism. This analytical framework takes into consideration the multidimensional interactions, including accommodation or conflict of the global and the local or national realms (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 172). Methodological glocalism enables exploration of the “interac-

tion between the multiple scales on which social action takes place” and “opens up more subtle prospect for the analysis of global complexity” (Holton, 2008, 200). This mindset is shared by the concept of duality of glocality, which makes it, alongside figurational sociology, a useful theoretical lens for this research. This approach can be applied, for example, for analysing the operation of professional football clubs, because they are integrated both nationally and internationally.

The selection of data collection methods was guided by the theoretical framework. Data were acquired for this research from semi-structured expert interviews, media documents, club documents and data from observation. Multiple sources of data via triangulation provided the presented evidence more validity (Creswell, 2007, 45). First, as the key method applied, semi-structured expert interviews were carried out with representatives of professional football clubs and officials from the Hungarian and Finnish football associations. Eliasson (2009) and Añorve Añorve (2016), among others, have applied figurational sociology and used interviews for data collection. The term *semi-structured* indicates a certain extent of standardization of interview questions, and a certain extent of openness to responses by the interviewer (Wengraf, 2001, 62). Second, club documents and different media sources such as newspapers, magazines, journals, books and the internet were utilized. Third, observation was carried out during three professional football games.

4.1 Distinct voices of the researcher

To help the reader grasp the research process and the interpretations made from the data, it is reasonable to identify and reflect on the distinct voices that appear throughout this dissertation. Regarding my background, I formerly played football in Hungary as a professional and semi-professional (2001–2006) and subsequently in Finland (2007–2012). In addition, I worked for a youth football club in Finland as the head of youth and coaching in 2012–2013. I have been a doctoral student at the University of Jyväskylä in Finland since 2011, and have been employed by the university since 2013 (in 2015 and 2016 as a grant researcher).

As I reflect on my lengthy involvement in football, my understanding of the football context in Finland and Hungary has brought additional knowledge and awareness to this study. The selected methods of data collection were also underpinned by my previous background in the research topic. My familiarity with the field of professional as well as youth football allowed me to employ a moderately structured interview design with the possibility to react to significant themes identified during the interview sessions. Furthermore, my experience and my networks in the field of football have, in many cases, facilitated contacts and access to informants and research sites.

On the other hand, the aforementioned circumstances may have shaped the research process and my interpretations of the data, despite my attempts to

remain as objective as possible. My own assumptions, prejudices, biography and their relationship to the study have obviously influenced the quality of the research (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, 19). For social scientists, complete detachment seems to be impossible. Accordingly, qualitative research is inherently reflexive: it refers both to the reflexivity of the participants and the researcher (Schreier, 2012, 23). For instance, receiving answers during the interview always reflects the presence of the interviewer and her or his way of asking the questions (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 49). However, the aim should be to maintain a proper balance between being an ordinary member of the surrounding society and a scholar, and at the same time establish the undeniable dominance of the latter (Murphy, Sheard & Waddington, 2000, 94). Due to the nature of the figurational approach, I have attempted to apply a combination of involvement and detachment in the research process in order to acquire reliable or so-called reality-congruent knowledge, given that the traditional division of subjectivity-objectivity may not be a proper stance for understanding the social world (Dunning, 2002, 212).

4.2 Semi-structured expert interviews

The key research data of this study consists of semi-structured expert interviews. Interviews seemed to be a reasonable choice because, as pointed out by Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2008, 35), the topic area is relatively uncharted, and it was challenging to anticipate the directions of the answers during the interview sessions. There was a need to acquire in-depth knowledge and frame clarifying questions. In addition, the data collected was meant to link to a broader context (2008, 35). In the Finnish academic domain, this type of interview is called a thematic interview, a name that implies that certain themes are talked through during the sessions. The interaction progressed in the framework of these themes (2008, 48), and this approach enabled a certain flexibility. The questions within the themes were slightly modified according to the informants' background and area of knowledge.

This interview type determined in what way the interview data could be used. The primary purpose of expert interviews is to bring information to the surface through the interaction of the interviewer and the informant (Alastalo & Åkerman, 2010, 389). Information is sought from the participant about the researched phenomenon and processes. In an expert interview, a specific person is interviewed for the knowledge she or he assumed to have (Alastalo & Åkerman, 2010, 372). The differences related to whether an interviewee is an expert or just one member of a culture are crucial: in cultural studies the interviewees are considered experts on their own life and culture (Alastalo & Åkerman, 2010, 374). In cultural studies, therefore, data are gathered related to being member of a culture and the experience of the informant. For expert interviews, by contrast, the experts are rare and not easily substitutable. Access to the interviewees can be challenging, and there may be a need for gatekeepers. Gatekeepers are those

individuals that “provide access to the research site and allow or permit a qualitative research study to be undertaken” (Creswell, 2009, 229). Given that in expert interviews facts are searched for, wrong answers are possible; therefore triangulation should be used across different types of data to ensure accuracy (Creswell 2009, 91).

Data collection for this research took place between January 2014 and June 2016. Altogether 36 interviews were conducted. Six interviews were completed via phone, two through Skype, and the remaining 28 in face-to-face sessions. In addition, on five occasions complementary data was obtained by personal communication via phone or face to face. Skype and phone interviews were necessary in those cases when I did not have the possibility to travel to Hungary from Finland or from Jyväskylä to some other parts of Finland where the informant resided. In these cases I adapted to the interview setting and presented the questions slower and more clearly (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 65). I tried to keep these sessions more concise as well. I aimed at collecting enough data to have sufficient depth and breadth for all four articles. The transcribed interview data amounted to 283,921 words and 1,342,625 characters without space. The overall time of the interviews added up to 43 hours and 34 minutes. Out of the 36 interviews, 26 were transcribed verbatim and notes were taken from 10. This decision was justified due to the differing relevance of individual interviews and time constraints of my doctoral studies. For example, some shorter interviews provided complementary information to a given article and a couple of sessions contained only limited amount of meaningful information to my research, therefore, I decided not to fully transcribe them. All the interviews were conducted in the mother tongue of the informants, either in Finnish or in Hungarian. The length of the interviews varied from 30 to 120 minutes. I conducted 34 out of the 36 interviews myself. The list of interviewees, their present or former positions relevant to this research and details about the interview sessions can be found in Appendix I. The informants’ areas of expertise are demonstrated in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3 Fields of occupation of the informants

Domain of football	Role	Number of informants	
		Finland	Hungary
National governing body	President / general secretary	3	1
	Employee	2	2
Professional club (board)	Board member and/or shareholder	4	1
Professional club (executive)	Managing director	3	2
Professional club / stadium management	Employee (marketing, events)	2	3
Professional club (first team)	Coach	1	1
	Player	4	4
Elite youth club	General manager / manager	2	3
Players' union	Managing director	1	1
Football expert	Sport economist	1	3
	Sport sociologist		1
Player agent			1
Media	Journalist	1	1

Note: there are interviewees that are marked to various sections due to multiple roles.

Data was obtained from the different levels of professional and youth football clubs, such as management level, employee level, first team level, and grass-roots level. In addition, representatives of the national federations and the player associations were interviewed. The choices for these particular participants were made to ensure the collection of comprehensive data from different segments of the football figuration. This is in line with qualitative research being typically case-oriented, and concentrates on cases in a holistic way (Schreier, 2012, 25).

4.2.1 Research process

I chose to write a compilation dissertation, which consists of four original articles and this compilation part. The so-called primary data for this dissertation consists of interviews with eleven Finnish and eleven Hungarian football experts (i.e. officials in professional football clubs, former professional players, managers of the player associations and sport economists)⁷ carried out between January 2014 and August 2015. This phase of data collection included a three-

⁷ I conducted altogether ten interviews with Hungarian experts for the primary data. One of the interviews was carried out with two informants.

week research visit to Budapest, Hungary (20 May–8 June 2014), during which nine face-to-face interviews were conducted.

The informants comprised three former international players and one first league player, a former national coach and three sport economists from Hungary. The Finnish informants comprised one former international player, two former first league players, one of whom was also acting as a coach. Other interviewees included club managers and football association officials from both countries. Many of the informants had, in terms of this study, multiple roles, such as being former players and present club directors, player agents, or coaches. The first four interviews of the primary phase can be considered pilot interviews. They helped me to learn to ask the right questions, develop a reasonable order for the themes and manage time (Hirjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 72). I conducted these interviews with a less structured design and took the opportunity to rehearse interviewing. In addition, I acted as the instructor for a course on research methods in social sciences of sport provided by the Department of Sport Sciences at the University of Jyväskylä in March 2014, whereby Finnish second and third year students of social sciences of sport practiced carrying out interviews under my guidance. I used a fairly similar interview guide for that course, which I myself piloted beforehand with three local youth football clubs from Central Finland. This was a great opportunity for me to acquire deeper theoretical and practical knowledge about qualitative interviewing.

Article I of the dissertation focused on theoretical considerations with regards to football and globalization in the Finnish and Hungarian contexts, in which fewer empirical data were employed. Nevertheless, the final phases of writing that article in 2014 coincided with the beginning of data collection and analysis, thus seven interviews from the primary data were utilized to provide added value to that text. I recognized the emergent design of qualitative research (Creswell, 2009, 175) during this phase, as the research design and research questions could be narrowed down and further clarified.

For article II, we conducted two structured interviews in Finland and three in Hungary with general managers of elite youth football clubs in 2014 and 2015. These included Ferencvárosi TC (Budapest), Vasas Kubala Academy (Budapest) and Debrecen Football Academy (Debrecen) from Hungary as well as HJK Youth (Helsinki) and JJK Youth (Jyväskylä) from Finland. The interview with JJK Youth was conducted by one of the students of the aforementioned research methods course. The session with Debrecen Football Academy was completed by one of my supervisors, Szilvia Perényi. The reason why three clubs were interviewed in Hungary was to secure the depth of data, and to show the clubs' different relations to schools. Many clubs/football academies use boarding school systems, but some have opted for distinct solutions, such as cooperation with regular schools. Although this article came third chronologically in the research process, I discuss it as article II for the sake of the whole dissertation.

For article III, three additional interviews were conducted by phone in March 2015 with the leaders of the football players' unions of both countries, as

well as with one player who migrated from Hungary to Finland in 1990, and thus played at the highest league in both countries. The data obtained from these sessions turned out to be crucial for the interpretations made. This article was published in Finnish.

During the spring and summer of 2016, I conducted three semi-structured, face-to-face interviews in Finland and four in Hungary with football practitioners who had a considerable amount of experience in the field of football stadiums. I visited Helsinki to carry out interviews with the event managers of the Football Association of Finland as well as HJK Ltd (8 April 2016). The same day I performed fieldwork at HJK-VPS Finnish first league (Veikkausliiga) football match in Sonera Stadium. In July I witnessed the SJK-FC Lahti Veikkausliiga match at OmaSp Stadion in Seinäjoki, Finland (23 July 2016) and interviewed one of the board members of SJK Ltd.

Regarding the Hungarian setting for article IV, I made a week-long research visit to Hungary in April 2016, where I conducted four additional interviews and undertook fieldwork at a professional football match between Ferencvárosi TC (FTC) and Újpest FC in Groupama Aréna, Budapest (23 April 2016). I had the opportunity to spend the time with the assistant of the CEO of FTC Football Ltd from three hours before the game until the press conference ended about 30 minutes after the game. In addition, I interviewed the current and former managing directors of the company operating Ferencvárosi TC's stadium (Groupama Aréna), and the former managing director of the Hungarian Football League.⁸ I also interviewed the chief financial officer and licensing manager of the Hungarian Football Federation (HFF) together.⁹ During the final stages of the analysis for article IV in autumn 2016, football experts and one of the interviewees were consulted for additional information and clarifications via phone calls lasting between 15 and 20 minutes. Notes were taken during these calls.

I gained further insights and inspiration that helped me finalize article IV via consultations with Dr Paddy Dolan. I was awarded a grant from the Science Council of the University of Jyväskylä, which allowed me to undertake a research visit to the Dublin Institute of Technology in October 2016 for a month. The visit took place during the writing of the aforementioned text.

In addition to the additional interviews, the primary data gathered for the previous articles of my doctoral dissertation has also been used for all articles. Furthermore, a considerable amount of club documentation and media documents (e.g., strategies of the Finnish and Hungarian football associations, websites of the studied football clubs and their stadiums, materials and reports related to the use of stadiums and regulations and guidelines issued by FIFA and UEFA) about Finnish and Hungarian football were utilized.

⁸ The Hungarian Football League (MLL) was a sub-organization of the Hungarian Football Federation from 2000 to 2007. The MLL consisted of the teams of the first and second divisions. The MLL was commissioned to organize and run the competitions of the first two divisions (András, 2003, 103).

⁹ The number of interviewees for article IV in Hungary was six, because two of the four interviews had two interviewees.

Figure 1 demonstrates the use of interview data in the different phases of the research process.

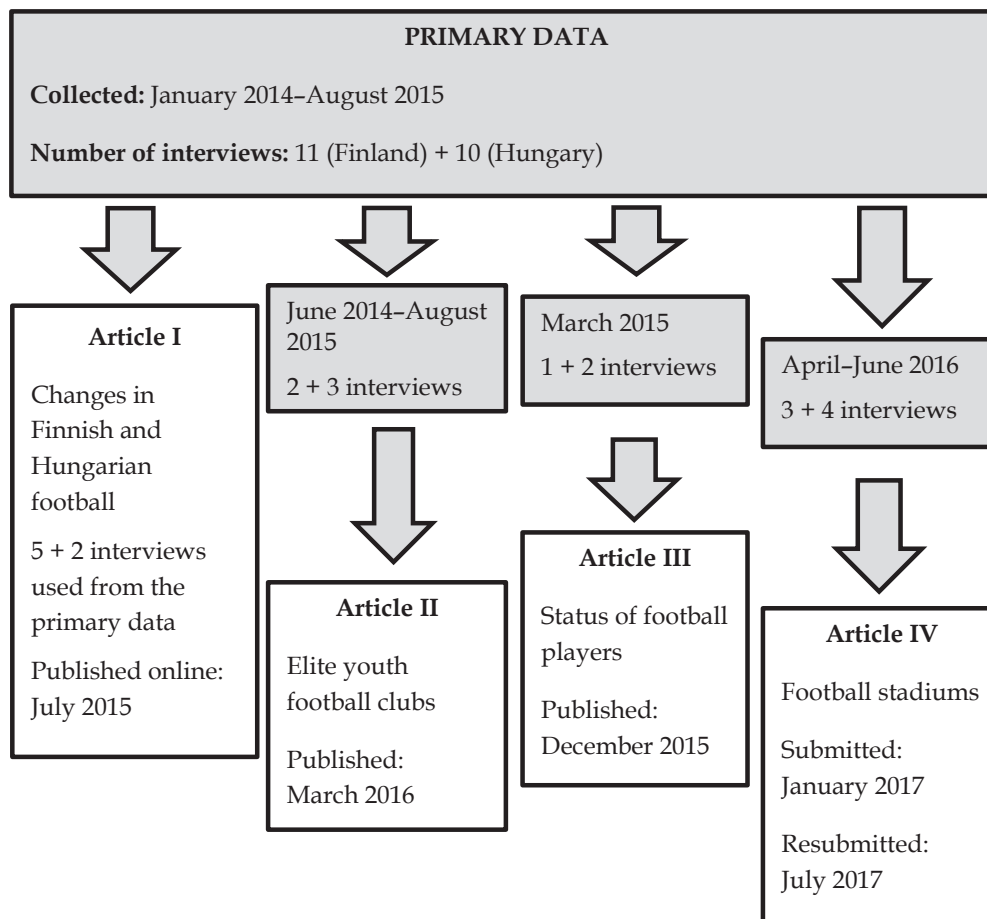


FIGURE 1 Using the interview data throughout the study.

4.2.2 Access to the interviewees

Gaining access to interviewees in the world of top-level football can be a challenging task (Magee & Sugden, 2002, 423; Elliott, 2013, 742). Without knowing the so-called gatekeepers, gathering data from this closed world may be difficult. As a former professional player in Finland and a semi-professional player in Hungary, I have acquired a wide network of formal and informal contacts, and these facilitated my access to experts and efforts to obtain relevant data for the dissertation. In addition, my Hungarian supervisor enabled me to obtain additional contacts in the field of Hungarian football, as the University of Debrecen, her employer at the time of the data collection, has cooperated with the local football teams. Simultaneously, it was necessary to clarify my role as a researcher to avoid any conflicts of interest.

Purposeful criterion sampling was applied, which aims at the selection of competent informants and suitable cases for in-depth research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, 245; Wengraf, 2001, 103). Snowball sampling, which uses current informants to find other informants, was also employed (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, 71). As Table 3 shows (Page 41, on the fields of expertise of interviewees), the aim was to gather similar data from Finland and Hungary. Nevertheless, there were differences with regards to the access of the interviewees. For example, contact information of football practitioners in Finland, even in high positions, can mostly be found on the internet and thus they can be reached directly. In most cases I received a positive reply in a few days and was offered the possibility to carry out the interview. In one case I needed a gatekeeper to establish the contact. In another case I never got a reply from the potential interviewee, but I did interview someone else with similar experience from the same organization. In Hungary, the access to informants in higher positions ended up being more challenging compared to Finland. For example, when I contacted football club Ferencvárosi TC, they were very helpful, and I got access to their CEO and his assistant, as well as to other employees. However, the club was careful in granting access. Concerning the Hungarian Football Federation, I needed the assistance of a gatekeeper to be able to gather data. I was able to jointly interview the chief financial officer and the license manager of the HFF, which resulted in invaluable data for the dissertation.

4.2.3 The interview sessions

The process of the interviews starting from the first contact until possible follow-up questions was designed and carried out thoroughly. A covering letter was sent to the informants around two weeks before the interview. Then, a few days later I called the informant and agreed on the exact time and place of the interview. After that, about two or three days before the session, I sent a reminder via email, together with the topics to be covered during the interview. In case I was interested in figures such as the number of registered players or the size of the club budget, I indicated this in this message. This protocol facilitated the interview sessions and ensured that the participant was prepared for the interview beforehand.

The protocol for the schedules of the interviews was designed by the combination of Wengraf's (2001, 192) suggestions and my own experiences of the pilot interviews. Just before the interview, I typically used around 30 minutes to set up everything, such as the room in which the session took place, the audio recorder and the interview guide. When the informant arrived, around 10 minutes were spent on pre-interview arrangements and some small talk. The interview itself, as mentioned earlier, took between 30 to 120 minutes. On average the interview lasted around 70 minutes. After the interview, another 10 minutes was taken for saying goodbye. As the informant left, I utilized approximately 30 minutes for de-briefing, meaning to write up my feelings throughout the interview session, observations about the space and the behaviour of the informants. Thus one whole session typically lasted between two to three hours.

The interviews took place in various settings depending on the accessibility of the informants. I aimed to organize a relaxed, undisturbed environment in which the interviewee could feel safe (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 74). In Finland, some interviews were held at the Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences at the University of Jyväskylä, where there are suitable seminar rooms for this purpose. Other sessions were conducted via phone and Skype. These situations were clearly more challenging and demanded more concentration. When transcribing these interviews, once in a while I asked my native Finnish colleagues to confirm the meaning of certain words and expressions. During my research visits in Hungary, I met some of the interviewees in their office and some of them in the centre of Budapest in, for example, a cafeteria. The interview guide, a digital tape-recorder and notepads were used in every case.

All interviewees gave permission to use their names in the articles. The permission for using the informants' names is relevant because the content of what they were saying is linked to who they are, particularly when conducting expert interviews. To illustrate this, the comment of a football association's event manager on the organization of a professional football game is most likely to be more credible compared to an ordinary fan's opinion. Some of the informants had further wishes related to use of transcripts, which I fulfilled in all cases. One of them asked me to send the transcription to him. Another interviewee requested that I send him anything that I would like to publish related to the interview carried out with him, so that he could give a written confirmation of his approval.

I used two separate, but rather similar interview guides during the interviews. The first one was for semi-structured interviews, and the second was for moderately structured interviews used for the youth article. The interview guides focused on the following topics: role of the interviewee, range of roles in the organization/club; embeddedness in the local environment; resources; goals of the club/organization; publicity; and sporting activities, competitiveness and coaching (See Appendix II for the interview guide). These dimensions are based on Itkonen's (1991) framework, in which the main dimensions related to the operation of sport clubs were examined. These themes were broad enough so that their manifold richness could emerge during the sessions. More detailed articulation of the research problems and research questions progressed alongside the data collection (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 66-67).

As for the individual encounters, I slightly modified the interview guide for each interviewee prior to the session so as to adapt to each one's unique and particular knowledge. The focus of the interviews, for instance, in the case of player interviews, was to a great extent on their own experiences, whereas when interviewing a CEO, the emphasis was rather on the operation of the professional sport club. This is a typical procedure when conducting expert interviews. The focal points of the interviews were also adjusted to the respective research themes. It should be further noted that people are unable to remember all details about a given phenomenon perfectly. In addition, experts, especially in higher positions, may be used to speaking on a too general level when they

are interviewed, therefore it may be a challenge for the interviewer to attract the facts to the surface. It is also common for informants to give socially accepted answers as well as overrate their own roles in the studied phenomenon. Accordingly, it is relevant to get prepared for the interview by doing so-called homework on the informant and her or his organization prior to the session. (Alastalo & Åkerman, 2010, 378–385.) Following these procedures helped me to identify relevant issues to concentrate on during the interviews as well as facilitated the asking of follow-up questions. For example, by getting familiar with the history and the organization of the football club HJK, I was able to present follow-up questions at the interview that guided the flow of the interview in the desired direction. I could at times point out inaccurate information as well owing to my careful preparation for the sessions.

As mentioned previously, I used around 30 minutes for debriefing after the interviews. Wengraf (2001, 142–3) suggests that making notes immediately after the session is essential in order to capture feelings, content and processes that are in the short-term memory and cannot be retrieved later. By this free-associative writing, in addition, the analysis started in the brain (2001, 142–3).

4.2.4 Conducting research in different cultural settings

The entire research process was influenced by the multilingual nature of the study. Cultural and linguistic factors must be carefully considered when conducting cross-national research (Hantrais, 2009), thus my knowledge of the studied cultural settings and languages as well as my familiarity with the football domain provided an advantage during the research process. It was relevant that the interviews took place in the mother tongue of the interviewees, either Finnish or Hungarian. Because the analysis and writing took place largely in English, three languages have been used throughout the study, of which Hungarian is my mother tongue.

According to Pietilä (2010, 412), when working with data in a foreign language, there is, in addition to command of the language, a need to know the culture, history and habits of face-to-face communication. In addition, the differences between carrying out the research in the researcher's native tongue and in a foreign language should be considered (Pietilä, 2010, 411). The role of the researcher in the communication process is central to the analysis. For instance, data collected by the researcher seems to be a great advantage. Reflecting on these aspects of the study is increasingly important when the interview is conducted in a foreign language. I experienced that informants talked to me in a normal way as if I were Finnish. In instances when I did not understand something, I asked for clarification. Nevertheless, informants at times explained phenomena related to the history of Finnish football in more detail. The context of the interaction was possibly more international as well, with comparisons made between Hungary, Sweden and other more developed football countries.

The internationality of the research influenced the interview sessions carried out in the Hungarian setting as well. Accordingly, the topics that emerged during the interactions were international to some extent. In addition, I had the

feeling while interviewing the Hungarian informants that they dared to be relatively open and critical, which may result from two reasons. First, being an informant in an academic study may enhance the development of trust towards the interviewer. Second, although I am Hungarian, I conducted the research at a Finnish university, which could mean that the informants experienced me as a neutral researcher.

The aspect of language also influenced the data analysis. Therefore, the results needed to be interpreted with care. A number of expressions and concepts are understood in different ways in the contexts being studied. At times, it was also challenging to translate and define the various names and concepts. At the same time, these aspects could enrich the study, because by questioning and defining self-evident truths interesting themes and interpretations could emerge. One example of a theme that emerged through this process is the forms of employment of football players in different periods in Finland and Hungary.

In order to enhance the quality of the research, data from direct observation were used as well. Observation may be used as an additional method of data collection alongside other methods (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 37), interviews in this case. I performed observation on several occasions during this research process. The first was during my research visits to Hungary, at Debrecen Football Academy and at the home ground of Ferencvárosi TC in 2014 as well as at Vasas Kubala Academy in Hungary in 2015. One interesting example that emerged during observation, and which highlights the differences between the two studied contexts, is that in Finland many of the parents are actively involved in the operation of youth club teams in roles such as coach, team leader and kit manager. By way of contrast, in Hungary, it could be observed that a number of parents were standing next to the pitch during the practices, which could offer a possibility for involvement. Despite this, the practices were held by paid coaches, and parents had no role whatsoever in running the teams.

In addition, during the data collection for the match event article in spring and summer of 2016, I performed observation as I was guided around the stadiums before the professional games I attended in Helsinki, Budapest and Seinäjoki. I had a perfect view during the games as well from the VIP sections and the players' corridor. Moreover, I have drawn on my involvement in football as a player, as a coach, as an employee and as a board member of youth clubs throughout the years.

4.3 Thematic analysis

Data analysis turned out to be a cyclical process with data collection and they were intertwined with each other (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 136; Alastalo & Åkerman, 2010, 378). Data analysis had already begun when I was preparing for the interviews and collecting information about the background of the interviewees as well as the studied phenomenon. Creswell (2009, 184) argues that qualitative data analysis is "an ongoing process involving continual reflection

about the data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the study". This description is suitable also for my research. Although a factual approach was applied in my expert interviews, the interview data are considered to be produced in interaction between the interviewer and the informant (Ruusuvuori & Tiittula, 2005, 12). At the same time, a critical perspective is needed, because the facts are produced in a specific interview context in a particular moment. Crosschecking of the facts by comparing other interviews and documents was necessary to ensure the trustworthiness of the data (Alastalo & Åkerman, 2010, 377).

Furthermore, a rigorous thematic analysis was carried out. This approach can be useful for highlighting differences and similarities in the data set as well as for summing up the key aspects of a large amount of data. Thematic analysis is not linked to a specific theory, and it is a relatively flexible mode of qualitative analysis. (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 96; Sparkes & Smith, 2014, 124) I followed the six phases of analysis that Braun and Clarke (2006, 87) suggested, which consist of the following steps: getting familiar with and transcribing the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming the themes and producing the report. Hirsjärvi and Hurme's (2008, 173) understanding of thematic analysis can be applied to this study as well: those themes were examined in the analysis that emerged among many of the informants. Nevertheless, I prefer to say that I identified the themes in the data rather than that they emerged from the data.

During this research, all 36 interviews were recorded with a digital recorder. As mentioned above, 26 of the interviews were transcribed verbatim in the original language, in either Finnish or Hungarian, using the Express Scribe transcription software. In line with Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2008, 140), this phase required the most persistence and time during the research process. Transcribing one hour of interview data took six to seven hours in Hungarian, and eight to nine hours in Finnish. At this stage I began to add comments and marked preliminary codes in the text. For the remaining ten interviews, notes were taken. On a few occasions the recorder was still running after the official part of the interview was over. In those cases I decided not to transcribe unimportant small talk. Nevertheless, I marked those sections in the transcription and took notes in case relevant information came up.

For the next step of the analysis, the transcribed texts were imported to the Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software. I then went through all the interviews of the primary data (11 Finnish and 10 Hungarian interviews) and carried out initial coding, which can be considered as the pilot phase of the coding process. I coded the data, and by grouping the codes I identified meaningful themes as a combination of theory and data-driven coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 88; Creswell, 2009, 187; Schreier, 2012, 33). Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009, 96) calls this approach theory-bound analysis. This method suggests that there are theoretical links to the analysis, but it is not directly based on theory. Nevertheless, theory can assist in advancing the analysis. The codes or units of analysis are usually chosen from the data, but previous knowledge guides or facilitates

the analysis. Other scholars call this approach abductive reasoning (2009, 96–7). If we consider this approach as a continuum between theory and data-driven analysis, in the context of this study, it is positioned closer to the data driven approach than to the theory-driven one. In the process of building the coding frame, the earlier phases of analysis were more data driven, while in the final phases theory received a more relevant role.

Subsequently, I went through the whole material once more and performed the coding for smaller categories, which allowed me to acquire more depth for data interpretation. A coding frame was created with the help of the “Network view” function of the Atlas.ti software, which allowed the visual appearance and grouping of the numerous codes. Afterwards, the coding frame was transferred to Microsoft Excel, which provided a better platform for performing further reduction, more reasonable organization and, eventually, synthesis of the findings. The tables constructed as a result of this process were included in the articles. In most cases the tables attempted to capture processes, or more specifically development paths, in various domains of football in Finland and Hungary. This analytical process was performed altogether three times after collecting additional interviews for articles II, III and IV (See Figure 1 on the research process on page 46).

Regarding article II, on elite youth football clubs, the topic of that paper was identified through its link to article III, namely, the professionalization of the players. The pathways of football players, after progressing through various age groups in youth clubs, include continuing as semi-professional or professional players on the first team. Moreover, my personal involvement in the management and coaching of youth clubs in Finland brought additional motivation for studying this topic. When reviewing the five interviews carried out for this particular article, I identified two meaningful distinctions between the studied countries in terms of the typical player pathways in the youth clubs as well as the range of resources available for the operation of the clubs. Therefore, these two themes were chosen as a means to more thoroughly examine the differences between the countries. Again, I presented the main findings in tables. The time frame of this article was limited to the 2010s due to the availability of data.

The main result and interpretation of article III were three phases of development in the profession of football player since the 1980s in the Finnish and Hungarian top divisions of football based on six topic areas. As I reviewed through the data for the first time and carried out the initial coding, I found that aspects related to this theme were mentioned and discussed by many of the informants, even though the interview questions were not directly related to the status and role of football players. It seemed that, ultimately, when talking about the different aspects of top-level football, the focus of the conversation, not surprisingly, was directed at the players. After all, players are the most visible elements in the football figuration.

For article IV, it was a rather long process that took months before I managed to identify and narrow down the topic area. I went through all the tran-

scribed data once more, and realized that I needed to deepen the data before I could write the article. The topic on the changing field of professional football stadiums had gradually evolved, and I decided to return to the field to gather additional data from both localities on this topic. Seven additional interviews produced a large amount of data, which allowed me to narrow down the focus and identify the key changes related to the development and management of stadiums in the Finnish and Hungarian contexts. The main results were presented in two tables, which are included in the results section (5.4 on page 64) of the dissertation. In addition, I used a number of citations from the informants, which I translated myself from Finnish and Hungarian into English. Translating interview excerpts for the article was challenging, but also provided an opportunity to gain new insights (Pietilä, 2010). The nature of the data allowed me to discuss the changes from the 2000's to date.

I used a number of online and manual tools during the research process. I applied them flexibly, always according to what the analysis required. These tools include Express Scribe, Atlas.ti, mindmapping, drawing, Microsoft Excel and OneNote. Atlas.ti proved to be a useful tool for the data analysis because I had a considerable amount of interview data. Nevertheless, I identified a couple of features that would have been useful but were not available. For example, the program did not allow different levels of codes to be created when putting together and visualizing the coding frame, which demanded other tools be used for the analysing process such as manually drawing in the notepad or the Microsoft OneNote.

The analysis of the data was carried out in several steps. First I applied the network view function of the Atlas.ti software. This allowed me to perform the major part of the analysis for articles II and III. I could almost directly create a table in Excel from the coding frame created in Atlas.ti. However, for article IV, I continued the coding in Excel tables due to the large amount of data and codes.

4.4 Validity, reliability and research ethics

There are controversial opinions about the application of validity and reliability in qualitative research (Hirjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 185; Schreier, 2012, 27), and these concepts have connotations that are distinct from those in quantitative research (Creswell, 2009, 190). Qualitative reliability means transparency and consistency in the researcher's work across different researchers and projects (Gibbs, 2007), and lack of errors (Schreier, 2012, 26). For qualitative research, validity refers to the accuracy and soundness of the findings (Creswell, 2009, 190).

For the analysis phase, Braun and Clarke (2006, 96) suggest adhering to the 15-point checklist to ensure its quality. The five phases within this checklist comprise the following points. The transcriptions should be done to a suitable level of detail. The coding process should be thorough, inclusive and comprehensive. Throughout the data analysis, data needs to be "interpreted, made

sense of – rather than just paraphrased or described” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 96). In addition, all phases should be dedicated enough time. The written report should include detailed explanation of the thematic analysis. In addition, methods and analysis have to be consistent. The role of the researcher is active, meaning that themes do not just emerge by themselves.

In this research setting, reliability indicated the consideration of all relevant data for analysis, the quality and high consistency of the coding frames and accurate transcription of the interview recordings (Hirjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 189). The validity and trustworthiness of this research were ensured using the following procedures: justifying the methods used, piloting the interview guide, triangulating different data sources, checking available information about the informants (e.g., CVs and career paths), transparent and thorough presentation of the data collection as well as the coding process by way of thick description, and explaining my potential bias as a researcher (Creswell, 2009, 191; Schreier, 2012, 167). I also used what Creswell (2009, 192) calls peer debriefing, such as asking for feedback from fellow researchers and practitioners in the field of football, at different stages of the project to improve accuracy of my research. In addition, given that the study was carried out in two distinct settings with a comparative nature, this design could help enhance in understanding and identifying the processes and variation in global football, which added to the validity of the study.

With regards to ethical issues in this dissertation, the practice of good scientific practice was followed throughout the whole research process, from the design to disseminating the study. The points discussed above about the reliability and validity contributed to achieving this goal. Informed consent (Creswell 2009, 89) was granted by all informants. The goals and context of the research was explained to all participants. Permission to record the interview and archive the collected interview data was given by the informants in all cases. Informants were informed that they could refuse to answer questions or withdraw from the interview at any time. Collected data were used only for the purposes of the study. In a couple of cases the informants indicated during the interviews that certain statements by them should not be used in the articles, or could be used but should not be associated with them. These requests were respected.

5 RESULTS, DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS OF THE FINDINGS

5.1 Article I: Comparing the development paths of Finnish and Hungarian football since the 1950s

As indicated previously, article I functions as the introductory text for the dissertation. The writing process required reviewing and analysing the existing literature, as well as applying empirical data from the interviews gathered for the dissertation. In the process, the theoretical framework and the topic areas for the whole dissertation could be identified and developed. It seems reasonable to say that writing this type of article, as the first publication, was crucial for the doctoral process and my development in the academic field. Given that this article set out the theoretical foundations of the dissertation, part of the areas addressed in that text were covered in the theoretical framework section of this summary part of the dissertation (2. on page 16). These points included justifying why figurational sociology and the duality of glocality were considered beneficial and what main elements of these approaches were applied in the context of this research to form the theoretical framework. In addition, I also explored the concept of *periphery football country*.

In this article, I first discussed the processes of the global football figuration. In the figurational approach, the main aspects used throughout this paper were the focus on the manifold and multi-layered trajectories in football. This was achieved by identifying the interdependent actors who are in constant interaction and bound by power relationships. In addition, I employed the concept of duality of glocality in the framework. Given that this concept places the principal focus on global and local interactions with an emphasis on the co-existence of homogenization and heterogenization processes in football cultures, it could enhance the comprehension of the changing Finnish and Hungarian football landscapes. Exploring the trajectories of football countries with a global perspective enabled a better understanding of the changes.

In the process, I gave an overview of the economic, social and cultural dimensions of the recent changes in top-level football in general. It seems that within the football figuration, international governing bodies such as UEFA and FIFA, together with the media, have acquired great financial power. In addition, club owners have sufficient power to make key decisions (Malcolm, 2000, 102). The fans appear to be the least powerful part in the figuration (Dunning, 1999, 127). The power ratios among these actors have shifted considerably in recent years (Malcolm, 2000, 102), and they continue to change. In the past decades professional football clubs have started to operate as companies and the number of stakeholders involved has grown. Simultaneously, polarization has taken place between the top clubs and the rest of European football. Clubs are increasingly connected nationally and internationally, and the liberalization of the player market has contributed to the creation of multinational team squads over the past decades. Increasing player mobility can be identified, but player paths have depended greatly on the setting players start from (Eliasson, 2009, 387). Increased connectivity also contributes to disconnectivity, suggesting that certain areas have been unable to create many reference points with global flows (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007, 171). The duality of glocality offers a range of engaging themes to be explored in football by identifying homogenization and heterogenization processes. To illustrate, homogenization in football suggests that the game is played by the same rules across the globe, under the governance of national federations and international umbrella organizations. Heterogenization points, by contrast, to distinct media interpretations, competition formats, playing and refereeing styles, the status of football players and so on.

Second, the concept of periphery football country was discussed. In the process, I focused on social patterns, meaning that not only historical, but rather development processes were examined. For instance, different forms of sport have followed distinct routes, and to exploring these there is a need for empirical studies about the changes (Elias, 1986, 156). Regarding the concepts of core and periphery, the sporting dimensions do not always correspond to the economic or other dimensions of the countries. International success may be one factor that can be considered as an indicator of whether a country belongs to core, semi-periphery or periphery football countries. Many theoretical approaches that can be connected to the discussion of core and periphery have emphasized the economic viewpoint. However, Maguire (2001, 91) proposes a multidirectional approach and highlights the relevance of the political and cultural dimensions to these debates.

In accordance with previous studies, it was suggested in this article that the strict conceptualization of periphery football should be avoided. Instead, the countries' diverse development paths should be analysed. It seems that being a peripheral country with respect to football is not in a static condition, but rather reveals constant shifts of power, which is a function of core-periphery interdependency ties. As a result, we can detect both homogenization and heterogenization processes. For example, in recent years mainly one-directional communication flow from the core to the periphery countries could be observed. A good

example to illustrate is the expansion of broadcasting of the English Premier League all over the world. On the other hand, by employing players from developing countries, the core countries have been at least partly peripheralized themselves (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 40).

Third, this article provided an analysis of the trajectories of Finnish and Hungarian football from a figurational sociological stance, including economic environment, social practices and cultural meanings. The development paths seem to be fairly discrepant, characterized by both homogenization and heterogenization processes. The peripheral features of these countries were also addressed. It has been argued that countries cannot be regarded as homogenous in terms of being peripheral due to the changing interdependencies and power struggles within countries. For instance, powerful core-periphery asymmetry characterized Hungary during state socialism (1949–1989) with the dominant capital, Budapest. Since the 1980s, the power balance in top-level football has begun to shift slowly towards regional towns such as Győr (Győri ETO FC), Debrecen (DVSC), and Székesfehérvár (Videoton FC). As for Finland, football has been the sport of larger cities. In terms of success, the cities of southern Finland – such as Helsinki (HJK), Lahti (FC Kuusysi, FC Lahti), Valkeakoski (FC Haka) and Turku (TPS, FC Inter Turku) – have won the most championships. However, when looking at which areas have produced the players of the national team (2004–05), cities from the Northern part of Finland, such as Kemi, Tornio and Oulu, have performed successfully when measured by the national team players per registered players (Kortelainen, 2007, 77–9).

As noted previously, football's interpretation and traditions differ from one another in these countries. In Hungary, football has clearly been the major sport in the sport figuration. During the era of state socialism, top-level sport was state-controlled and centrally financed, resulting in considerable international success across many sports. Nevertheless, the gradual decrease of the state support demolished football's economic base. In the 2010s there has again been an increase in state involvement, but its long-term consequences remain to be seen. Meanwhile, Finnish football has been dependent on volunteers, which has impeded the development of professional sports and contributed to the lack of achievements on the international level. The chosen path, according to which amateur principles were to be upheld, was confirmed by a decision of the Football Association of Finland in the 1920s (Itkonen & Nevala, 2007, 14). With regards to the figuration of Finnish sports, football has played a significant role, but cannot be regarded as the major sport. At present, ice hockey is the number one spectator sport. Table 4 summarizes the processes in the Finnish and Hungarian football environments since the 1950s.

TABLE 4 Changes in Finnish and Hungarian football environments since the 1950s (Szerovay, Itkonen & Vehmas, 2017, 508)

<i>Finland</i>	<i>Hungary</i>
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIMENSIONS	
Agricultural economy → highly industrialized mixed economy	Planned economy → market economy
Democratic country with civil actor nature of sport based on volunteerism	Nowadays democratic, former state socialist country with state-supported sport lacking a strong civil society
Towards market-oriented sport	Towards market-oriented sport
Amateur football → overt, legitimate type of sport professionalism and semi-professionalism	Covert non-legitimate type of sports professionalism → overt, legitimate type of sport professionalism
Division between the bourgeois and working class sport organizations → reduced role of politics	Football as a tool of legitimation of the political system → politics is still present in football
No significant sport business	No significant sport business
CULTURAL DIMENSIONS	
Football has not been the top spectator sport / Football is the most popular amateur team sport	Football has been the top sport in terms of spectators and participants
Football has not been significant in social identity formation	Football has been a significant component of socio-historical processes and social identity
Periphery football country	Core → periphery football country
SOCIAL DIMENSIONS	
Transit country / Supplier in the football market	Restricted mobility of players → Supplier in the football market
Peripheral inclusion in the global football figuration	Peripheral inclusion in the global football figuration

The following three articles aimed at presenting deeper analyses of selected topics emerging through the discussions in article I. This introductory article proved beneficial in mapping the field of Finnish and Hungarian football and identifying meaningful areas to explore more in detail.

5.2 Article II: Exploring player pathways and resources in elite youth football clubs in the 2010s

I selected youth football as a relevant topic for enhancing the understanding of the football domains in Finland and Hungary. This choice was reinforced by the

international report on youth academies, which highlights the need for “a real detailed and coordinated mapping and understanding of the different models of youth development that exist from across Europe” (European Club Association, 2012, 11). It seems that scientific literature on youth football is insufficient (Vincze, 2008, 100). It is safe to say that Finnish and Hungarian youth football took off from rather different origins. Football in Hungary saw constant financial problems, a loss of social status and interest together with poor results during the post-communist transition, bringing about “degraded football talent identification and support” (Molnar, Doczi & Gál, 2011, 263). However, with the arrival of the new government in 2010, sport turned into a strategic area of development. In Finland, sport clubs have been primarily based on volunteer activities. Nevertheless, in recent years, many football clubs have shifted towards a more professional operation and simultaneously a consumer orientation has emerged.

This article addressed the following research questions: In what way do the operations of Finnish and Hungarian elite youth football clubs differ in the 2010s? In what way does the glocal dimension appear on the youth level in the 2010s in these countries?

The duality of glocality was employed as a theoretical framework for this article. Given that the maximum length of this text was limited to ten pages, I decided to draw on one framework only. By applying the duality of glocality concept, I was able to identify how interconnected local specificities and global influences have shaped the operation of elite youth clubs. Changes in football on the professional level have also affected the organization of youth football. As a result, youth sport has seen the influence of practices of top-level sport, such as managerial methods and organizational structures (Itkonen, 2013, 7). These developments suggest homogenization processes in the field of youth football. Simultaneously, particular environments are often characterized by distinct working practices (Relvas et al., 2010, 182). These variations show the importance of local characteristics and suggest the relevance of heterogenization processes.

I identified two major distinctions in the operation of Finnish and Hungarian youth clubs in this article. First, the scope of activities provided by the clubs to the members and other participants was revealed by visualizing the routes of player pathways. Finnish youth clubs typically have more players, given that they may offer activities for children as young as two years in the form, for example, of family football. The player pathway is not only longer, but also wider in Finland, suggesting that there is more than one team in a single age group. In contrast, Hungarian elite youth clubs may have two teams per age group before the age of 12, but after that the best players are collected on a single team. The teams for ages 14–18 are called academy age groups. The role and concept of football academies are considerably different in the two countries.

The second meaningful difference observed was the sources of income of the clubs. The main source of income in the 2010s for Finnish clubs is payments by parents in the forms of club membership fees and monthly team fees. On the

other hand, Hungarian clubs earn as much as 80% of their revenues through a corporate tax scheme (TAO) and support from the Hungarian Football Federation. Apart from these heterogenization processes, there have been similarities concerning the operation of youth clubs. These points are mainly related to professionalization and globalization.

These results allowed the research questions to be answered and some conclusions to be drawn. Finland has been characterized by a strong civil sector in which volunteers have played a key role. Football has been mainly organized on an amateur basis. Market-oriented elements have gradually appeared and become an organic part in the operation of elite youth clubs, suggesting a shift towards consumer logic (Van der Roest, 2015). Various services offered to participants have contributed to the financing of the operation of the clubs. Nevertheless, the third sector and civic activities still represent the driving forces behind running the clubs. Accordingly, the role of volunteers remains extremely important. By drawing on the figurative examples of Koski (2010) about the different notions of the sport clubs, the operation of Finnish clubs may be captured through the metaphor of the supermarket providing activities for all levels of participants. In this system, households cover the majority of the costs. Participation has become more expensive, there is increasing demand for the clubs to operate more professionally and develop talent. These processes have created tensions and conflicts among third sector organizations. The changes can be linked to the wider trends of using voluntary organizations to provide services in the Nordic countries, partly aiming at preventing the public sector from further growth (Alapuro, 2010, 19). The involvement of the private sector, based on market-based service provision, has also been increasingly encouraged (Ilmanen, 2015, 34). In addition, strategic planning, productization and customer orientation, appearing since the 1990s, are reflected in the operation of Finnish youth clubs (Koski & Heikkala, 1998, 168–70). The emerging marketization processes and managerial ideologies in sport governance in the 1990s influenced this shift (Makinen et al., 2016, 276).

As opposed to Finnish elite youth clubs, the focal point of operation at Hungarian clubs is on elite player development, as so-called production plants, here again applying Koski's (2010) framework. This emphasis reflects the history and traditions of top-level sport in the country. Sport clubs have had access to a large amount of resources since 2010, when the new political leadership took charge. In the process, simplified taxation for sport professionals who are employed at football clubs, such as coaches and other practitioners, and a tax benefit scheme for supporting the operation of grassroots clubs were introduced. As the role of the state has grown considerably, in spite of the growing number of actors, these developments may suggest the appearance of corporatist elements. Hungary may have the opportunity to develop its peripheral status in this new environment, but if the political platform changes, even the basic operation of the clubs may be jeopardized. Moreover, the civil sphere may be impeded by the expanded involvement of the state from self-maintenance and further establishing its independence (Perényi, 2013, 97). In addition to process-

es that refer to heterogenization, a range of homogenization processes can also be identified in the Finnish and Hungarian youth football environments. These comprise the professionalization of both administrative and coaching staff, considerable importation of knowledge as well as the spreading of local and international social networks and integration.

To answer the second research question, an increased understanding of the findings from the first research question was sought. To achieve this goal, a framework of three intertwined levels was constructed to illustrate the glocal environment in which youth football clubs operate, considering both homogenization and heterogenization processes (Table 5). The first level includes specificities of the youth systems in both countries; the second level comprises football in the subsystem of sports; and the third level addresses the position of Finnish and Hungarian football in the global football system.

TABLE 5 Glocal dimensions in elite youth football in the 2010s (Szerovay, Perényi & Itkonen, 2016, 30)

	Finland	Hungary
(1) Specificities of the youth football system		
<i>Evidence of heterogenization</i>		
	Activities for a variety of participants	Elite development
<i>Focus of operation</i>	Market-oriented elements; Consumer logic has appeared	Focus on maximizing support
	Supermarket	Production plant
<i>Human resources</i>	Contribution of volunteers	Higher amount of employees
<i>Main financial resources</i>	Parents	TAO; Support from the HFF
<i>Evidence of homogenization</i>		
	Professionalization; specialization; internationalization	
<i>Other</i>	Growing amount of full-time and part-time employees	
	Expanding social networks; importing knowledge	
(2) Football in the subsystem of sport		
<i>Role of football</i>	Most practiced team sport / Not the top spectator sport	Top sport in terms of both spectators and participants
<i>Sport policy</i>	Sport for all	Focus on elite sport
	Distinct development paths of professionalism	
<i>Other</i>	Different legal and taxation environment as well as role of the three sectors	
	Different role of media	
(3) The place of Finnish and Hungarian football in the global football system		
	Transit / supplier countries in the football market	
	Growing amount of international networks in both professional and grassroots football (tournaments, cooperation)	
	Peripheral inclusion in the global football figuration	

These findings highlighted how the organization of youth football mirrors both the distinct development paths of local football and global impacts. Top-level youth football is understood and organized according to distinct concepts in the studied localities. These approaches reflect the countries' social, economic, political and cultural background, and suggest heterogenization processes.

It can be concluded that youth football fulfils a significant role in these countries with football being the most practiced and most popular sport in Hungary, and the most practiced team sport in Finland. However, it is suggested that it is highly challenging for these countries to compete on the global market of football. In addition, further work should be carried out on youth football with a more developmental perspective as well as on comparing the operation of clubs from peripheral and core football countries.

5.3 Article III: The development of football playing as a profession since the 1980s

Article III addresses the processes that have contributed to how football playing as a profession has emerged in the context of the Finnish and Hungarian highest division in men's football since the 1980s. I attempted to shed light on professionalization processes in the glocal context, and traced the different levels of professionalism as well as their impact on the everyday life of players.

The professionalization of football players has taken place in a rather diverse time scale and with distinct features in different countries. According to FIFA (2010, 9), "a professional is a player who has a written contract with a club and is paid more for his footballing activity than the expenses he effectively incurs in return. All other players are considered as amateurs". This article started with the premise that the concept of professional player is defined as those athletes, who "earn their principal income from sports" (Vehmas & Ilmanen, 2013, 52). The amateur-professional notion is not seen here as consisting of two opposites, but rather as a continuum.

The research questions posed in this article were as follows: In what way has the status of top-level football players changed in the Finnish and Hungarian football cultures? What different phases and differences can be identified in the professionalization of Finnish and Hungarian top-level football players since the 1980s?

The results suggested that the distinct origins and development paths of the role of top-level players in Finnish and Hungarian football reflected the social, economic, cultural and political backgrounds of the given country. Accordingly, the concepts of top-level football and professional player have been understood differently in these countries. At the same time, global influences have been reflected in the roles of different actors in football.

Hungarian football, for example, was characterized by a covert, non-legitimate type of sport professionalism before the transition from state social-

ism to democracy and capitalism began in 1989. During this time the state financed sport by means of state-owned companies. These companies typically had their own sport clubs. In this framework, officially amateur athletes were on the payroll of these companies, and thus employed in so-called sport jobs. As the state socialist regime collapsed in 1989, sport clubs found themselves in a situation where they needed to search for new revenue streams and operate in a market-oriented environment. However, the transition with respect to the employment and status of athletes was a long and complex process. The altered political and economic system did not yet offer a clear and sufficient regulative framework on taxation and other administrative matters related to athletes. Therefore, the arrival of an overt, legitimate type of professionalism took much longer than expected.

Consequently, state money was still, to some extent, flowing into football in the 1990s from, among other sources, sponsorships by state-owned companies. András (2003, 132) argues that football clubs lacked capital and many failed to fulfil obligations to pay taxes. At the same time, clubs accumulated huge amounts of debt (2003, 132). It was common in the 1990s and 2000s that players did not receive what they were their contracts entitled them to. Clubs preferred having debts towards players rather than other stakeholders. This example also demonstrated the players' weak power in the football figuration. Examples of avoiding paying taxes included, at that time, players paid for via limited partnerships and even bonds at that time. "The interaction of the local and the global," as suggested by Molnar (2007, 72), "resulted in a hybrid formation of organizing the sport market".

The forms of employment, including self-employment and working contracts, have changed several times. Self-employment, contrary to FIFA and UEFA regulations, was allowed for football players in the 2000 Sport Act (András, 2003, 49). In practice it meant that players needed the assistance of an accountant. Consequently, players were forced to unknown territories. The global scope of these processes in the case of Hungary is especially meaningful due to the constant transition of the social subsystem of sport in recent decades, partly due to changes caused by globalization processes in general, and partly by the transition of the country's economic and political system that occurred in 1989–1990 (Dóczy, 2012, 166). By the 2010s the employment of players had shifted to a more transparent level. Starting in 2014 professional players have been allowed to apply the simplified entrepreneurial tax and contribution regime (EKHO), which came into force for facilitating the employment of sport professionals, including coaches and players. This has meant fewer taxes and allowances to pay, but at the same time resulted in weaker social security. Unregulated income for players and coaches is still present in the lower divisions.

In the Finnish top division, during the course of the 1990s Finnish club teams slowly started to shift towards professionalism with an increasing number of players becoming full-professionals. According to Dunning's typology of professionalism, in the 2010s it may be reasonable, at first sight, to talk about an overt, legitimate type of professionalism, in which income is acquired from

commercial actors as well as gate receipts. However, when analysing the situation thoroughly, it turns out that even nowadays only a few of the teams in the highest division are fully professional, which suggests that the concept of semi-professionalism needs to be discussed as well. According to the website of the Finnish Sport Museum (Urheilumuseo, n.d.), even nowadays, most of the clubs can be considered to include differing levels of semi-professionalism.

Markus Juhola, general manager of the Football Players' Association of Finland suggests that, instead of the professional vs. semi-professional classification, it is more reasonable to apply full-time, part-time and enthusiast categories for players in the Finnish context. Throughout all five so-called top-level series defined by the Football Association of Finland, practically every team has all three types of players mentioned above. Top-level series include *Veikkausliiga* (men's league), *Miesten ykkönen* (men's first division), *Miesten kakkonen* (men's second division), as well as *Naisten liiga* (women's league) and *Naisten ykkönen* (women's first division).

A further notable finding in this study related to the development of the players' unions. These organizations mirror the evolution of football as a profession. The international umbrella organization of professional players, FIFPro was established in 1965. The players' unions were founded in 1992 Finland and 1990 in Hungary, joining FIFPro in 2001 and 1996, respectively. By way of comparison, the English Professional Footballers' Association (PFA) was founded in 1907 (FIFPro, 2015). The foundation of players' unions indicates the spread of football playing as a profession, but their much later establishment highlights relatively late professionalization in these countries. The players' unions offered fruitful examples for the discussion of the duality of glocality, given that both homogenization and heterogenization processes could be detected when examining the development of these organizations.

There are meaningful differences between the Finnish and Hungarian players' associations. The names themselves reveal a major distinction: the Finnish players' union is called *Football Players' Association of Finland*, while in Hungary it is known as the *Organization of Professional Football Players*. Accordingly, the scope of the union in Finland covers top-level football instead of professional football, including the five top-level series mentioned previously. In contrast, the Hungarian players' union emphasizes the professional status of its members, concentrating at present on the two highest leagues in male football. Neither is there much reference to women's football nor are there any women on the board. However, there are plans to expand the activities to lower leagues and women's football in the future. In Finland three out of the nine members of the board were women in 2015.

To summarize, the primary goal of article III was to introduce the development of the changing status of top-level football player in Hungarian and Finnish domestic series since the 1980s. Hungary has started from its state socialist way of organizing top-level sport, whereas Finland has a strong tradition of civil society and volunteerism. These features can be clearly seen in the development of the football player profession. For example, the role of state has

remained significant in Hungarian top-level football even after the changing of the system in 1989. The political dimension has become stronger again after 2010 with the current political platform, which is manifested, for instance, in the simplified taxation for football players. As for Finland, Veikkausliiga teams have been struggling to establish football in a market-based system, which has obviously had an impact on the professionalization of players as well. Even nowadays only a few league teams can be regarded as fully professional.

It is safe to say that both countries have been increasingly integrated globally. The activities of the players' unions serve as an illuminating example. A standardization process can be identified within the regulative framework concerning players, and a growing amount of stakeholders are involved. The signing of an agreement on the minimum requirements in professional players by FIFPro, UEFA and the European Commission is a primary example (FIFPro, 2012). In spite of these developments, it is clear the status of professional players is not on the same level as that of so-called ordinary employees in either country.

Conceptualizing the results presented above enabled the second research question to be answered. Three phases of the professionalization of top-level players in the top tiers of Finland and Hungary were identified. These phases are presented in Table 6. The table illustrates the distinct position of players in the national football environments as well as suggests a different understanding of top-level football. The phases define sufficiently different periods and at the same time capture the differences between the studies countries.

TABLE 6 The evolution of the status of top-level players in the Finnish and Hungarian top divisions since the 1980s (Szerovay & Itkonen, 2015, 122)

FINLAND			
	1980s & 1990s	2000s	2010s
Period characterized by	Emerging professionalism	Increasing integration globally; "Golden generation"	Towards a clearer framework for top-level players
Player status	Amateur/part-time; Increasing number of full-time players	Part-time/full-time	Full-time/part-time
Employment	Civil work	Working contract with the club	Working contract with the club; Shift towards the status of "ordinary" employees
Earnings	Compensation	Salary and bonus	Salary and bonus
Player transfers	Growing amount of players moving from and to Finland	Best years of the "golden generation"	Supplier country; Increasing number of professional agents
Club form	Association	Business organization	Business organization
HUNGARY			
Period characterized by	Hidden professionalism; Slow transition begins	Searching for ways to regulate players; Increasingly integrated globally	Increasingly favoured environment for employing players
Player status	Shamateur; Full-time player	Full-time player	Full-time player; "Business professional"
Employment	Employee at state-owned companies; Limited partnerships	Self-employment; Working contract with the club	Working contract with simplified regulation
Earnings	Salary and bonuses; bonds; avoiding taxation	Salary and bonuses	Salary and bonuses
Player transfers	Transfer market gradually opening up since 1979	Supplier country; Increasing number of professional agents	Supplier country; Almost entirely via pro agents
Club form	Multi-discipline clubs before 1990; Later football sections typically separated	Business organization (by law)	Business organization (by law)

Finnish players were typically amateur or part-time players in the 1980s. Nevertheless, the number of full-time players started to grow, and in the 2000s they

were more likely part-time and full-time players. At the same time, clubs have had limited resources which rarely allow full professionalism in the Veikkausliiga in the 2010s. Under state socialism, players in the Hungarian top division played as *shamateurs*, which in practice meant full-time professionals. In the 2000s they are again full-time professionals, but their status has become that of overt professionals.

The changing role and status of top-level players in Finland and Hungary are part of broader processes of the increasing market orientation and commercialization of football. Globalization and the subsequent professionalization have contributed to changes in the practices and administration of football clubs. Simultaneously, the status of top-level players has been in constant change. These processes regarding the changes and the organization of football made the figurational approach a suitable way to approach the material.

5.4 Article IV: The changing field of professional football stadiums since the 2000s

Article IV explores the changing landscapes of professional football stadiums in Finland and Hungary. More specifically, case studies of the most successful clubs, HJK from Helsinki, and Ferencvárosi TC from Budapest, respectively, were employed to discuss how the development and management of stadiums have changed in the 2000s. In the process, I conducted interviews and carried out observation concerning the stadiums of HJK's Sonera Stadium and Ferencvárosi TC's home ground, Groupama Aréna. I selected HJK and Ferencvárosi TC because of their exceptional positions among Finnish and Hungarian football clubs. These positions stem from their roles in the national football history and culture, the quality and location of their stadiums, and their relatively large number of fans. The following research questions were addressed: In what way has the context of stadium development and management changed in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s? In what way have the practices in managing football stadiums developed in these countries?

Stadiums in professional football have started to resemble each other in a number of respects (UEFA, 2011). Standards for various features of the stadiums, instructions for commercial activities, services to be provided for different fan categories and compulsory visibility of tournament brands in the venue as well as in the media are just a few examples of what regulations cover. As a result, the standardization of football stadiums can be clearly observed, which can be considered as evidence of homogenization processes in football cultures and markets. At the same time, there has been a shift in competitive sport from an institutional logic where the emphasis is primarily on performance towards adopting a more commercial logic, a shift that can also be seen in the increasingly detailed and compulsory stadium requirements (Alm, 2016, 468). As a consequence of the marketization of football, a new generation of facilities has

appeared “which are more than football stadiums” (Bale, 2000, 93). Meanwhile, new or refurbished football stadiums are mainly built without an athletic track, and dedicated primarily to football (Feddersen & Maennig, 2009, 180). It has also been noted that broadcasting and commercial incomes have generally grown in top-level football, especially in the core countries, to which the increasing control over the quality of the sport product in the stadiums has greatly contributed.

These changes have occurred within a global regulative framework, which reaches beyond country borders. Within this framework, the most relevant football authorities consist of the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA), the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and the national football federations.

Despite these previously outlined processes of standardization, the field of professional football stadiums has been shaped by complex processes and trajectories in different contexts. In other words, the local responses to global forces to develop and operate stadiums reveal differences. The local refers to the context in which stadiums operate, including the political, economic, social and economic contexts. The local is not necessarily homogenous, because within one country the locality of different football clubs and stadiums can be highly distinctive.

The results of this article are displayed in two tables. First, in Table 7, the context of developing and operating stadiums in Finland and Hungary since the 2000s is presented in terms of the nature of facility development, stadium ownership, forms of stadium management and types of potential revenue streams available for the clubs. This table enables the first research question to be answered. The left-hand column presents the main themes I identified in the research data that reflect global and local interactions. The second column describes the attributes of changes in these countries in general related to the given theme. The third and fourth columns provide typical examples from both countries.

TABLE 7 Changing glocal context of football stadium development and management in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s (Szerovay & Itkonen, under review)

Theme	Common features	Finland	Hungary
Facility development	Complying with UEFA standards	Various actors involved in stadium development	State-driven facility development
Stadium ownership	Football stadiums as state / municipality infrastructure	Shift towards mixed models in the future	State-owned
Stadium management	Commercial actors appearing	Owner, operator, and tenant of the stadium as separate actors	
Broadcasting revenues	Competition with football core countries for viewers	TV broadcast revenues almost absent	Broadcasting rights held by public TV
Commercial revenues	Often lacking market logic	Largest proportion of annual revenues from partners	Central revenue streams from the Football Federation as most relevant
Lack of significant sport business	More market-oriented operation needed	Structure of club budgets unhealthy	Distorted football market
New stadium enables additional revenue streams	Creating new services for consumers both on match-days and non-match-days		
International flow of money	UEFA money relevant for less developed football countries	Lack of success: UEFA coefficient ranking 36th	Lack of success: UEFA coefficient ranking 33rd

In recent decades, international governing bodies such as UEFA and FIFA as well as national football associations have extended their control over the various aspects of football stadiums. Increasing control has attempted to ensure the quality of the sport product in different venues. These changes have led to the standardization of stadiums, which can be taken as evidence of homogenization processes in football.

Nonetheless, the themes identified in our data reflect the interaction of global and local forces and mark the co-presence of both homogenization and heterogenization processes. For example, football stadiums have been built and updated both in Finland and Hungary in recent years, yet the type of actors involved and the way of financing has been considerably different. In Finland, multiple actors are involved, such as the local municipality, the Ministry of Education and Culture and, increasingly, private actors as well. In contrast, Hungarian projects have been financed by the state. In addition, commercial actors

have gained increasingly active roles in both countries. These actors include the enterprises undertaking the construction of stadiums and companies providing services in the stadium on match-days as well as on other occasions. Nevertheless, commercially led processes vary in different social contexts (Dunning, Malcolm & Waddington, 2004b, 12).

Results also highlight that the revenue structures of football clubs have differed noticeably in the two countries. Because football is not the primary spectator sport in Finland, broadcasting revenue is almost totally absent from clubs' revenue streams. In Hungary, sport has, since the 2010 election of a new government, taken on more significance as a strategic area. Accordingly, the state has become one of the key actors, providing both direct and indirect channels for supporting football. Resources have been granted by, for instance, facility development, sponsorships, broadcasting rights and tax schemes. The findings suggest that both countries lack significant football business. Nevertheless, new stadiums may enable additional revenue streams to be generated. Additionally, international prize money from UEFA can be a significant source of income for the top clubs in less developed football countries.

Alongside the changing context for stadium development and management, the practices required for the operation of stadiums have been shaped as well. These processes are presented in Table 8, which addresses the second research question of this study. The second question sought to explore the changing practices in managing football stadiums in these two countries, focusing on HJK's home ground of Sonera Stadium and Ferencvárosi TC's stadium Groupama Aréna.

TABLE 8 Changing practices in football stadium management in Finland and Hungary in the 2000s (Szerovay & Itkonen, under review)

Theme	Common features	Finland / Sonera Stadium	Hungary / Groupama Aréna
New stadiums as multifunctional spaces	From multisport stadiums to multifunctional arenas for football and other commercial events		
Stadium maintenance requires knowledge	Specialists appear in, e.g., pitch management, security	Increasingly common football turf	Pitch maintenance becoming sophisticated
New functions that require knowledge	Emerging football match related & other practices	Wellbeing manager hired	Networking for business consumers
Acquiring knowledge	Specialization	Stadium management by local actors (club/municipality)	Global player entered in stadium management
		Importing knowledge	
Learning processes	Adapting imported knowledge to local conditions	Adapting ideas from ice hockey	Selling previously unknown services is challenging
Stadium as a resource for (re)positioning football	Increasing connectedness internationally / globally	Good enough for Europe League games	The first stadium positioned as a conference and event centre

Recently built stadiums appear as multifunctional spaces and comply with strict regulations. Other than being venues for football games, these facilities offer various business opportunities for a range of stakeholders, which indicates changes in the function of football games as well as in the types of actors involved. As a result, stadium maintenance has become more complex and new functions and roles have appeared that require specialized knowledge. For example, considerable specialization has occurred in areas such as pitch management and security. International knowledge import via memberships in international organizations and the exchange of expertise with foreign clubs have also become increasingly common in both settings and are considered beneficial. Parallel to these homogenization processes related to the practices of stadium management, we identified processes that imply heterogenization. Stadium management at Sonera Stadium has been handled by a company owned by HJK, whereas at Groupama Aréna a multinational company entered the football figuration to run the facility and act as a marketing agency for Ferencvárosi TC. Learning processes have also shown discrepancies. For instance, in the case of Sonera Stadium, examples have often been taken from ice hockey. In addition, stadiums may be utilized as tools for repositioning the club, or football in gen-

eral, in a particular country and internationally, resulting in potentially stronger connectivity to the global football system.

The multifaceted developments outlined in this article have been shaped by the interdependencies and power relations that have linked football practitioners to an increasingly complex web of actors. Due to distinct local histories and conditions, football figurations have displayed dissimilar development trajectories, as the Finnish and Hungarian localities explored in this article demonstrate. These development paths reflect the economic, social and cultural backgrounds of the studied countries.

This article provided new insights about different ways of responding to the tightening requirements in the field of professional football stadiums as well as about the development of the network of actors involved in the football domain. For instance, the varying forms of stadium management, commercial services and imported knowledge presented in this article may be beneficial for organizations and practitioners in the field of professional sports and sport facility management in Finland and Hungary as well as in other venues with recently developed stadiums.

Future studies could be conducted on football stadiums with a specific focus on certain aspects. These could include changes in architecture and design, the evolution of commercial activities within the stadiums and the shifting roles and role expectations of actors participating in stadium maintenance and management. The design and procedures of this research could also be applied in other less developed football countries as well as to other sports that have become increasingly global.

5.5 Synthesis of the findings

This section attempts to address the main research question of the dissertation by providing a concise synthesis of the key findings. I proposed the following main research question, which captures the key dimensions of this research: In what way have glocal interactions in football shaped the development paths of Finnish and Hungarian football?

Figure 2 below demonstrates the synthesis of the findings and the storyline of my dissertation by visualizing the key points of the four articles and demonstrating the relationship between them.

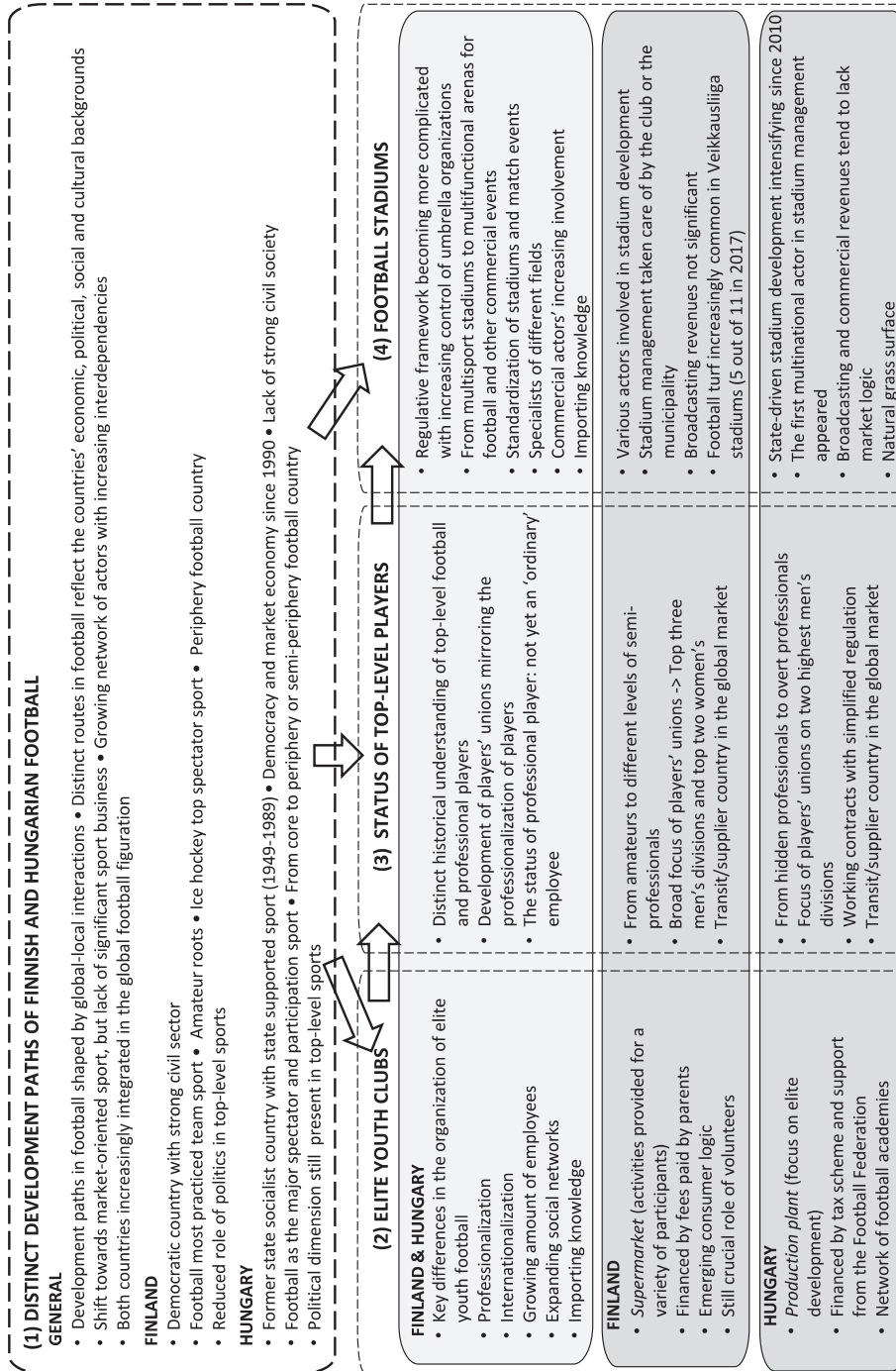


FIGURE 2 The development paths of Finnish and Hungarian football.

The focus of this dissertation was placed on the global and local interactions of football in distinct localities with the aim of exploring the processes within the global football figuration. Article I provided theoretical discussions on this topic area and formed a basis for the whole dissertation. A number of changes that have guided football cultures in the same direction were identified. At the same time, local environments have made varied responses to and engaged in different ways with globalization processes.

Article II indicated that homogenization processes have emerged in, for example, training methods, the employment of full-time coaches and the increasing participation in international tournaments. Coaches have had growing opportunities to exchange ideas and learn from colleagues from other countries through club visits and international coaching courses, as travelling and communication have become easier and materials for coaching more accessible than before. Intensifying competition and the desire to learn have pushed teams to take part in increasing number of international tournaments. Simultaneously, there have been major differences in managing youth clubs in Finland and Hungary. As Maguire suggests (2001, 85), local environments may embrace, resist, or reinvent certain aspects of sports. Embracing can be seen, for example, in the application of the Double Pass youth academy audit, commissioned by the Hungarian Football Federation (Double Pass, 2014), while reinventing is exemplified by Finland constructing its own quality assurance system for football clubs (Football Association of Finland, 2015). The financing of the operation of clubs, the variety of activities provided to participants, the types of facilities used are all illuminating examples of heterogenization in these football contexts.

Article III addressed the changing status of football players in the highest division of both countries since the 1980s. These changes share many features, such as the demand that player contracts must nowadays fulfil certain minimum requirements, and player status is typically either semi-professionals or professionals in the highest divisions. In spite of these developments, in neither of the countries have players achieved the status of an ordinary employee to date, which reflects that playing football for a living has been a relatively new phenomenon and still not fully appreciated. In Finland, the status of elite sport nowadays is less than what it was during the country's golden sporting era from the early 1900s to the 1950s (Koski & Lämsä, 2015, 437). This situation is clearly linked to the low status of sport business in these countries as well. With regards to the differences, this research has shown that the professionalization of players emerged from distinct roots in Finland and Hungary. One significant finding to emerge from this study is the role that the players' unions have played in the football figuration. These organizations were established relatively late compared to, for example, those in England, which is indicative of late professionalization. In addition, local processes are reflected in the players' unions, given that local players with experience via playing for foreign clubs were involved in setting up these forums when they returned home. In addition, their operations and the names of the organizations exemplify the distinct focal

points of football in the two settings, reflecting, as explained earlier, the role of sport in these societies. When taking a general look at the status of players, it seems that the position and treatment of football players have improved in many countries. Nevertheless, FIFPro published the Black Book Eastern Europe in 2012, in which bullying, violence, non-payment and delayed payment, racism towards players and other forms of mistreatment were revealed, showing their still-vulnerable situation on the labour market (FIFPro, 2012).

Article IV explored the changing field of professional football stadiums since the 2000s. Stadiums built in recent years have started to resemble each other worldwide, which reflects strengthening global control over the game. Typical trends in both localities include importing knowledge, fulfilling requirements of the governing bodies such as FIFA and UEFA, the increasing specialization evidenced by employing subcontractors and pitch masters and the shift towards commercial operation. On the other hand, there were considerable differences identified beyond the increasingly standardized stadiums. For example, the size of the facilities and the types of playing surfaces have been adjusted to the Finnish football environment and climate. The financing of facilities has been rather different in the two countries as well. In Hungarian football, for instance, the presence of the political dimension and the appearance of corporatist elements can be clearly observed.

Figure 2 highlights the connections between the topic areas addressed in the four articles and provides a framework for the dissertation. Article I established a basis for this framework by presenting a historical-sociological analysis of Finnish and Hungarian football from the glocal perspective. The subsequent articles discussed three interrelated key areas in the football figuration. This framework may be best grasped from the perspective of the football players. The player pathway starts by joining and playing in a youth football club (article II). For the most talented players, the pathway may continue to the first team, where there may be an opportunity for them to become a semi-professional or professional player. Nevertheless, as presented throughout this study, professionalism takes place on a number of levels (article III). On the highest level, as article IV suggests, the stadium becomes a sort of stage where players perform.

The underlying idea of the four articles is that the features of the football areas examined in this dissertation have mirrored the economic, political, social and cultural backgrounds of the two countries. At the same time, however, strengthening global impacts have been detected. Table 9 presents the main themes as they relate to these topic areas. These themes were identified in the research data and enabled an exploration of the processes, which, resulting from global and local interactions, have produced diverse trajectories in football.

TABLE 9 Main themes identified in the research data reflecting global and local interactions in Finnish and Hungarian football

Theme	Common features	Finland	Hungary
Context of football	Shift towards market oriented top-level sport	Strong civil society background	State socialist past
Activities organized by elite youth clubs	Increasing number of employees; Importing knowledge	Diverse group of participants	Focus on elite development
Resources of elite youth clubs	Growing amount of resources needed	Fees paid by households; Increasing market logic	Financed by a tax scheme and the Football Federation
Professionalization of players	Towards a clearer regulatory framework	From amateurs to different levels of semi-professionals	From hidden professionals to open professionals
Players' union focus	Reflecting the globalization of football	Broad focus	Focus on professional football
Facility development	Complying with UEFA standards	Various actors involved in stadium development	State-driven facility development
Stadium management	Commercial actors appearing	Stadium management by local actors (club/municipality)	Global player entered in stadium management

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Theoretical contributions to the field of globalization of football

The findings of this research contribute to the growing body of sociological discussions on football and globalization processes in distinct localities. My primary purpose was to deepen the understanding of these particularly complex processes in men's football. The field of sport sociology has lacked publications on post-socialist countries in the 21st century (Duopana Topič, 2015, 427). Moreover, there was little scholarly discussion "concerning Hungarian sport life and its relation to first world countries" (Molnar, 2002, 3) during state socialism, a gap which this work aims to fill.

The findings highlighted the importance of applying a global perspective, and the need for comprehending "trans-societal flows" (Featherstone & Lash, 1995, 2; Maguire, 2001, 38) for this study, which has developmental and comparative features. Accordingly, the theoretical lenses employed - i.e., the figural approach building upon the work of Elias (1978; 1986), Dunning (1986; 1999; 2004; 2010) and Maguire (2001; 2005; 2011; 2015) and the duality of glocality (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007; 2009; 2012) - have proven to be applicable for analysing and comparing the glocal environments and changes of Finnish and Hungarian football.

In line with Elias (1986, 154), the results of this dissertation support the choice that figurations should be the basic entities when studying sport, given that the trajectories of football localities can be grasped only when they are explored in the framework of interrelated groups and their power relationships. Illustrative examples of these power relationships include the struggles for dominance between football and Finnish baseball in certain cities and the interdependency between the football domain and the political sphere in Hungary.

In addition, this study demonstrated that the concept of the duality of glocality could be applied to illuminate the changes of Finnish and Hungarian football from a glocal perspective. Accordingly, it further demonstrated how

homogenization and heterogenization processes take place simultaneously. Consequently, the findings enhanced the understanding of the local and global interactions in the two localities under study. The comparative nature, providing an intensive analysis of Finnish and Hungarian football, was a central dimension of this research.

Homogenization processes could be observed in a range of ways. These include, for example, how clubs operate as companies, the emergence of a market-oriented environment in the different domains of football (Rohde & Breuer, 2017, 271), the increasing international connectedness of youth and professional clubs, the shift towards employment of semi-professional and professional players with more detailed regulations, and the standardization of football stadiums. At the same time, heterogenization processes in the Finnish and Hungarian football environments are exemplified by the distinct political significance of football, the range of different activities provided by youth clubs, the development trajectory of player professionalization and the practices of facility construction and development.

These changes are interrelated and multifaceted, so any simplified causal explanations should be avoided. To illustrate, the renewed political concern for Hungarian sports in recent years has shaped the financing of youth football clubs, distorted the market for broadcasting rights and sponsorship markets as well as contributed to the development of football facilities. These findings support the previous observations by Molnar that a mixture of Hungarian and Western ways of organizing the sport market emerged as a result of interaction of the local and the global, thus creating a hybrid formation (2002, 72). In Finland, the central role of volunteers has ensured the operation of youth clubs, but may have also hindered the development of the quality of coaching. This study contributes to research on youth sport as well. These contributions come in areas where a need has been identified for more comparative work from economic as well as sociological perspectives about the organization of youth and childhood sport in different countries, focusing, for example, on the cost of participation, the opportunities of equal access to sport, and how competitive sport is organized (Delaney, 2015, 139).

Equally important is that the results confirmed that the diverse origins and development paths of football in Finland and Hungary reflect the social, economic, cultural and political background of the given country. In fact, earlier research also pointed out that globalization's influence over sport is shaped by local, national and regional environments, so these should be researched empirically taking into consideration the particular economic, political and cultural contexts (Ben-Porat, G. & Ben-Porat, A., 2004, 433). Changes in Hungary have been triggered by the political-economic transitions in the country as well the globalization of sport in general (Dóczi, 2012, 166). In the Finnish context, Koski (2012) points out that sport clubs have reflected wider changes in society.

In addition, the results shed light on the distinct histories and understandings regarding several features of the Finnish and Hungarian football environments, such as youth sport clubs, football academies, professionalization and

professional players. It is therefore suggested that when undertaking comparative studies, the meaning of these features should not be taken for granted and should be interpreted in the given local, or preferably glocal, context.

I share the view with Giulianotti and Robertson that, as a global cultural form, the full recognition of the transnational and sociological status of football, in method as well as theory, is necessary (2009, 172).

6.2 Practical implications of the study

The findings of this research provide a number of practical implications for a range of stakeholders in Finnish and Hungarian sports, such as youth clubs, top-level clubs, players' unions, sponsors, partners and other affiliated organizations and actors. The Football Association of Finland, the Hungarian Football Federation and the players' unions from both countries together with other football practitioners have already expressed interest in the published articles. My intention has been to share these articles extensively throughout the football community. Although this research had a limited scope, it may raise additional significant themes for future discussions.

The comparative analysis of Finnish and Hungarian football and their positioning within the global football system revealed distinct trajectories. In the process, I attempted to uncover the antecedents as well as consequences of the diffusion of commercial logic in sport into a country with an amateur tradition in sport and another country with a state-socialist tradition. I shed light on the increasing market orientation and commercialization of football from various perspectives by introducing the operation of youth clubs, the changing status and professionalization of football players and the development of football stadiums. For example, as youth football has become more professional, the environment shifted towards a more commercial mindset. It is necessary to further discuss in what way, for example, traditional Finnish sport clubs based on volunteer activities will change.

Regarding the activities clubs provide for participants, it seems that Finnish youth clubs dealt with in this research have not clearly articulated their profile, because their approach is to offer something for everyone. In contrast, Hungarian elite youth clubs are, at present, more competitive, focusing only on the most talented players and maintaining cooperation with other clubs to ensure that players at all levels are given playing time. Meanwhile, Finnish elite clubs provide more options for player pathways within the clubs.

Player pathways in Finnish youth sports have been addressed by Aarresola (2016) in her doctoral dissertation. She emphasized the importance of recognizing the variety of existing player paths together with the meanings young people attached to the physical activities. In addition, Finnish clubs have recently expanded their activities to schools as well. In this way tension may emerge between sport clubs and those in charge of physical education in schools, as clubs have increasingly penetrated schools' after-school activities. On an aca-

demic as well as a practical level, further discussion has been suggested on what the aims and scope of youth football club activities should be regarding competitiveness, recreational purposes and other aspects of their operations. When addressing these questions, changes in sport culture need to be considered.

In the Hungarian framework, the consequences for youth clubs should be pondered in case the present corporate income tax scheme (TAO) that supports them is eliminated. According to a decision by the European Commission in spring 2017, the scheme may continue for another six years in the same form (Nemzeti Sport, 2017). Simultaneously, questions of transparency and ethics have emerged linked to the financing of Hungarian youth clubs. As state support has grown, has the demand for transparency grown as well? Has the system demanded and made greater transparency possible?

The empirical findings of this study provide a new understanding of the changing roles of actors in the football figuration, which often varies across localities. This was achieved by exploring the development of the network of actors involved in football, especially those around the development and operation of stadiums, and increased the understanding of the power relationships and interdependence between them. Accordingly, this research challenged the taken for granted roles and responsibilities, and enabled football clubs, stadium management solutions and players to be viewed from various perspectives. The increasing role of commercial actors as well as specialists of different fields, such as in catering, pitch management and stadium security in both countries, and the considerable involvement of the Hungarian state in stadium development illustrate this point clearly. Moreover, varying forms of knowledge importation and learning processes related to these changing roles have also been revealed. Comprehending these processes is central to understanding the global development of sport.

In Finland, it has been noted that the development of sport facilities may have also created unintended consequences. For instance, in recently built modern stadiums fewer volunteers are needed for catering and other organizational tasks, because those services are typically outsourced to subcontractors. This may endanger club spirit, and may be economically detrimental as well, especially at smaller clubs (Airola, 2015). Most of the Veikkausliiga clubs use volunteers at their match events, except HJK. These findings may be useful for youth and professional clubs when developing their organization and devising new strategies.

The domain of elite football is typically a closed world, and gaining access to it can be challenging. This work has offered insights in this respect as well, by uncovering, for example, issues related to the everyday life of professional players. For instance, it is often thought that professional players earn too much, but the reality is that it is rare for anyone playing outside the top leagues to become wealthy playing football (Szymanski & Kuypers, 2000, 83). In addition, the public often only sees the more glorious aspects in the life of professionals, so the media may be conveying a distorted picture. For youth players, it would

be important to gain a better understanding of how aware they are of the life of professional players and what sacrifices are currently needed to become a professional.

Nowadays, it is commonplace that top-level football operates in a highly competitive global market. It seems that both Finland and Hungary have continuously aimed to catch up to the Western core football countries. Nevertheless, Koski and Lämsä (2015, 438) argue that the professionalization of top-level sports have diminished the chances for small nations to compete in an international setting. By reflecting on the present situation of these countries within global football, football practitioners could consider the following issues: What kind of development paths are the diverse range of actors in football planning and expecting for the future? In what way can possible additional connection points to the global football systems be established? What is the function of professional football in these localities? In what way can aiming for international success in football be justified? How should success in football be defined and measured in the first place? Would it make sense to consider the development of a quality sport product (i.e., national leagues) with a higher number of homegrown players that is valued by fans, partners and other stakeholders but which lacks international competitiveness and does not employ professional players? Consequently, there are many topic areas to be considered when reflecting on the present situation and potential future trajectories of Finland and Hungary within the global football figuration.

Nevertheless, as the cases of Finland and Hungary examined in this study have shown, football can still play a significant societal role in a given country despite a lack of success in men's football on the international level.

6.3 Limitations

Sport and globalization is a broad topic area that has been addressed by researchers in the social sciences from a large number of perspectives. Finding suitable conceptual frameworks and particular themes to address in this study turned out to be a challenging and time-consuming task at the outset of the research process. There are many other themes that deserve attention within the context of globalization, including women's football, the migration of players, changes in fan identities, the social responsibilities of football clubs, and professionalization in refereeing.

With respect to the applied methods, the interviewees in the study were often in positions of power within the realm of football, and presumably intended to give a favourable picture of their own role and football in general. Interviews with people from other levels of football rather than just those in high positions could have been beneficial. In addition, interviews are considered most useful when dealing with contemporary phenomena. Therefore, I could have used more secondary data and apply documentary analysis to have

the opportunity to better grasp the past and the dimension of change, but the resources for this research set limits on what could be examined.

Using three different languages throughout the research may be a limiting factor, given that certain concepts and practices were, at times, challenging to translate and comprehend. In addition, out of the three languages, only Hungarian is my mother tongue. However, this characteristic could contribute to the richness of the study and increase the understanding about the variation of concepts across distinct football environments.

Generalization should be used with caution in qualitative research (Creswell 2009, 193), as the findings are bound to specific contexts and times. For example, the football clubs dealt with in this research were all popular and relatively big as measured by the number of participants, and all located in larger cities. Consequently, the varying features of the clubs should be noted. Koski (2010), for instance, highlighted the differences between urban and rural sport clubs in Finland. Mayring (2007) differentiates between eight levels concerning the aims of generalization in qualitative research, based on the degree of abstraction. "Universal laws" comprise the strongest level of generalization, and the "procedures" for gaining insight in particular situations is the most modest level of generalization. Drawing on this model, this dissertation attempts what Mayring (2007) called "context-specific statements", which highlights the specific conditions and times of the study when pondering the potential generalizability of findings. In addition, the procedures and the framework of this research may be generalized, meaning that this research can offer implications on how to address similar research tasks in the future.

6.4 Recommendations for future research

Football and globalization offer an enormous amount of directions for future research. Some of the potential themes have already been mentioned in the previous sections.

The changes in Finnish youth football may have considerable consequences for the country's sport culture, which has traditionally been based on voluntary activities. Consequently, the transformations have affected a number of societal issues, such as equality and communality, so future accounts should address these topic areas as well. For example, Koski (2012) addressed the changing field of sport clubs in the Finnish context. In addition, good governance and transparency related to the operation of youth and professional sport clubs, as well as facility development are relevant in both the Finnish and Hungarian contexts, given that the amount of money involved from different sources has grown and organizations and their decision-making processes have become more complex.

Future studies on the development and position of women's football are also necessary in different countries. In addition, further studies need to be carried out on the professionalization and player paths of individual players, ap-

plying phenomenological and anthropological accounts as well, to reveal the experiences and treatment of players. According to the FIFPro Black Book Eastern Europe (2012), for example, many players suffer different forms of abuse in Eastern European countries.

In terms of theoretical considerations, Dunning's taxonomy of professionalization (1999) could be further developed and deepened to gain more understanding about the nature and development of different types of professionalism. The concept of periphery football should be addressed to better grasp the power dynamics between and within countries. In addition, spaces used for football and other sport activities, the control over them and the meanings attached to them by the participants (e.g., Hasanen, 2017) should be further explored as well in order to create safe, enjoyable and efficient spaces that promote physical activity.

Finally, frameworks with a glocal and figural approach similar to this research could be applied to explore different localities, sports and eras to gain in-depth knowledge about these complex processes.

YHTEENVETO (FINNISH SUMMARY)

Jalkapalloilua globaalisti, paikallisesti ja glokaalisti: Vertaileva tutkimus Suomen ja Unkarin lajikulttuurin muutoslinjoista

Jalkapallosta on tullut viime vuosikymmeninä yhä tärkeämpi sosiologian tutkimuskohde. Lajista on kehittynyt globaali ilmiö, jota luonnehtivat suuret harastajamäärät, lisääntyvä pelaajien kansallinen ja kansainvälinen liikkuvuus, seurojen kasvavat liikevaihdot, monikansalliset seuraomistukset ja toimijaryhmien laajeneminen. Ammattilaistumisen, kaupallistamisen ja medialisoinnin myötä jalkapallon jatkuvasti muuttuvat käytännöt ovat kokeneet myös haasteita. Negatiivisiin seurauksiin lukeutuvat muun muassa seurojen talouden jatkuvat epävarmuudet, maailmanlaajuinen organisoitu ottelumanipulointi, monessa maassa pelaajien kohdistuvat solvaukset sekä seuroihin, pelaajiin ja järjestöihin liittyvät korruptioskandaalit. Maailman eri alueet ja niiden jalkapalloseurat ovat hyötöneet muutoksista eri tavoin ja samalla polarisaatio on vahvistunut. Paikallisesti muutokset ovat toteutuneet vaihtelevasti, mikä tarjoaa runsaasti kiinnostavia tutkimusaiheita. Vaikka jalkapallon ja globalisaation tutkimus on lisääntynyt, niin sanotut heikommin menestyneet jalkapallomaat eivät ole toistaiseksi saaneet tarpeeksi tutkijoiden huomioita. Suurin osa tutkimuksista on keskittynyt jalkapallon valtamaihin, kuten Englantiin, Espanjaan, Saksaan, Italiaan ja Ranskaan.

Väitöskirjani tavoitteena on lisätä ymmärrystä jalkapallon globaaleista ja paikallisista konteksteista. Tarkastelen ja vertailen Suomen ja Unkarin jalkapallon muutoslinjoja eri näkökulmista globaalissa viitekehyksessä. Tutkimus koostuu neljästä, toisiinsa liittyvästä osatutkimuksesta. Jokainen osatutkimus käsittelee yhtä teema-aluetta. Ensimmäinen osatutkimus on historiallisen-sosiologinen tarkastelu Suomen ja Unkarin jalkapallon käytännöistä 1950-luvusta nykypäivään. Toinen osatutkimus tutkii huippujunioriseurojen toimintaa 2010-luvulla. Kolmannessa osatutkimuksessa paneudutaan huippujalkapalloilijoiden ammattilaistumiseen 1980-luvulta lähtien. Neljännen osatutkimuksen aiheena ovat jalkapallostadioneiden kehittämisen ja hallintokäytäntöjen muutokset 2000-luvulta alkaen. Keskityn ensisijaisesti miesten pääsarjatason huippujalkapalloon sekä poikien jalkapalloon. Väitöskirjani päätutkimuskysymys on seuraava: Millaista glokaalia jalkapallokulttuuria globaalien ja paikallisten kohtaaminen on synnyttänyt Suomen ja Unkarin kaltaisissa vähemmän menestyneissä maissa?

Suomen Palloliitto perustettiin 1907, mutta kansalliseen sarjajärjestelmään siirryttiin vasta 1930-luvulla. Tällöin laji oli levinnyt rannikolta ja suuremmista kaupungeista sisämaahan. Laji säilyi pitkään monista muista maista poiketen amatöörikäytännöin organisoituna. Jo 1920-luvulla Suomen Palloliiton tekemät linjaukset, joissa amatöörijalkapallo asetettiin hallitsevaan asemaan, pönkitti lajin organisointikäytäntönä ei-ammattilaisuutta. Lisäksi maan ilmasto, vaatimattomat kenttäolosuhteet, myöhäinen kaupungistuminen sekä taistelu elintilasta pesäpallon kanssa ovat hidastaneet jalkapallon tason nousua. 1970-luvulta

lähtien laji on yhä voimakkaammin kansainvälistynyt. Myös naisten jalkapallo on kasvattanut suosiotaan ja vakiinnuttanut asemansa. Vaikka pelaajamääriin nähden jalkapallo on harrastetuin joukkuelaji, tämä ei näy suurina katsojamäärinä tai kansainvälisenä menestyksenä. Miesten maajoukkueen sijoituksen keskiarvo on FIFA:n rankingilla 57, ja naisten jalkapallo on 19. sijalla.

Unkarissa jalkapallolla on puolestaan pitkät perinteet ja lajilla on ollut tärkeä rooli kansallisen identiteetin rakentamisessa. Maan palloliitto perustettiin vuonna 1901. Jalkapallo onkin ollut suosituin urheilulaji, ja maajoukkue on saavuttanut vuosien 1938 ja 1954 Maailmanmestaruuskisoissa hopeamitalin sekä voittanut kolme olympiakultaa vuosina 1952, 1964 ja 1968. Jalkapallon taso on kuitenkin vähitellen heikentynyt 1970-luvulta lähtien. Maassa vallitsi valtiotalismismi vuosien 1949–1989 välisenä aikana, jolloin urheilulla oli tärkeä ideologinen rooli. Huippu-urheilua rahoitettiin keskitetysti ja sen autonomiaa rajoitettiin voimakkaasti. Vuonna 1989 Unkarin sosialistihallinto romahti ja huippu-urheilu alkoi muuntua kohti avoimeen markkinatalouteen perustuvaa ammattilaisuutta. Vuodesta 2010 alkaen lajin asema muuttui merkittävästi, kun jalkapallomyönteinen hallitus nousi valtaan. Miesten maajoukkueen sijoituksen keskiarvo on FIFA:n rankingilla 52, ja naiset ovat 35. sijalla.

Liikunnan yhteiskuntatieteellinen väitöskirjatutkimukseni pureutuu sekä jalkapallon yleiseen kansainvälistymiseen että lajin globalisoitumiseen. Globalisaation ymmärrän tässä yhteydessä kompleksiseksi historialliseksi prosessiksi, jolla on merkittäviä vaikutuksia myös lokaaleihin käytäntöihin. Kiinnittäessäni tarkasteluni figuraatiososiologisiin pohdintoihin tulkitseen ihmisten ja yhteiskuntien muodostavan yhdessä globaaleja prosesseja. Keskiössä ovat toimijoiden väliset keskinäiset riippuvuudet ja niiden dynaamiset muutokset. Näin ollen figuraatiososiologia antaa mahdollisuuden tutkia jalkapallon jatkuvia ja moninaisia muutoksia sekä toimijaverkostojen valtdynamiikkaa. Sosiologit ovat hyödyntäneet kyseistä lähestymistapaa modernin urheilun kehittymisen ja eri lajien leviämisen selvittämisessä. Toiseksi hyödynnän glocalisaation käsitettä, ja erityisesti ”glokaalin kaksisuuntaisuutta”, mikä merkitsee globaalin ja lokaalin välistä uudenlaista vuorovaikutusta. Glokaalin käsite tarjoaa mahdollisuuden tarkastella kulttuureissa samanaikaisesti tapahtuvien prosessien homogenisoitumista ja heterogenisoitumista. Homogenisaatio viittaa siihen, että jalkapalloa pelataan samoilla säännöillä kaikkialla kansainvälisten järjestöjen alaisuudessa. Heterogenisaatio puolestaan tarkoittaa esimerkiksi poikkeavia pelityylejä, median tulkintoja ja fanikulttuureja.

Tutkimusaineisto koostuu 17 suomalaisen ja 19 unkarilaisen jalkapallotoimijan teemahaastatteluista, media- ja seuradokumenteista sekä observoinnin kautta kerätystä aineistosta. Haastattelut toteutin informanttien äidinkielellä (suomeksi tai unkariksi) vuosina 2014–2016. Haastateltuihin lukeutuivat muun muassa molempien maiden palloliittojen edustajat, huippuseurojen toimitusjohtajat sekä hallitusten jäsenet, stadionhallinnon ammattilaiset, entiset ja nykyiset ammattipelaajat sekä valmentajat, junioriseurojen toiminnanjohtajat, jalkapallon pelaajayhdistysten johtajat ja jalkapallon talousammattilaiset. Haastatteluaineiston analysoin temaattisesti sekä käsittelin ja analysoin muodostetun

koodikehyksen avulla. Observoinnin toteutin kahdessa pääsarjan ottelussa Suomessa ja yhdessä pelissä Unkarissa vuonna 2016. Kokemukseni puoliammattilais- ja ammattilaispelaajana Unkarin ja Suomen viheriöillä vuosina 2000–2012 ovat lisänneet tutkimuksessa tarvittavaa ymmärrystä.

Ensimmäisen artikkelin tavoitteena oli luoda perusymmärrys tutkittavasta ilmiöstä sekä kehittää tarvittava teoreettinen kehys. Hahmottelin jalkapallon globaaleja figuraatioprosesseja sekä tutkin Suomen ja Unkarin poikkeavia muutostiljoja. Suomen ja Unkarin voidaankin sanoa olevan niin sanottuja perifeerisiä jalkapallomaita, jos tarkastellaan miesten kansainvälistä menestystä ja pääsarjojen tasoja sekä taloudellista volyyymiä. Jalkapallomaiden perifeerinen asema ei kuitenkaan ole staattinen tila. Perifeerisyydestään huolimatta maiden jalkapalloilun analyysi paljastaa jatkuvasti muuttuvia valtasuhteita, jotka kumpuavat eri maiden, alueiden sekä toimijoiden välisistä keskinäisistä suhteista. Perifeeriseksi leimaamisen sijaan kannattaa keskittyä maiden muutostiljoihin tunnistaen jalkapalloilun taloudelliset, poliittiset, sosiaaliset ja kulttuuriset ulottuvuudet.

Toisen osatutkimuksen tulokset viestivät, että suomalaisen ja unkarilaisen juniorijalkapallon rahoituslähteet ja pelaajapolut ovat 2010-luvulla sangen erilaiset. Suurin osa suomalaisseurojen tuloista kertyy kotitalouksien maksamista erilaisista maksuista, kuten seura- ja kuukausimaksuista. Unkarissa puolestaan jopa 80–90 prosenttia seurojen tuloista koostuu yhtiöiden veroluontoisesti maksamista tuloista (TAO-verotus) sekä maan palloliiton rahoituksesta. Pelaajapolku on sekä pitempi että laajempi Suomessa tarkoittaen, että yhdessä ikäluokassa on tyypillisesti useita joukkueita, kuten edustus-, haastaja-, ja harrastejoukkueita. Lisäksi toimintojen kirjo on laajentunut sikäli, että yhä nuoremmille osallistujille järjestetään aktiviteetteja. Unkarissa on pääsääntöisesti vain yksi joukkue ikäluokassaan. Näin ollen huippuseurat keskittyvät ainoastaan kulloisiinkin parhaisiin pelaajiin. Jalkapalloakatemit ovat tiiviissä yhteistyössä koulujen kanssa. Osa usean seuran pelaajista asuu sisäoppilaitoksissa, joissa koko elämä on organisoitu jalkapallon ehdoin. Suomalaisten junioriseurojen toimintaa voi havainnollistaa valintamyymälän metaforalla, kun taas Unkarin seurat ovat enemmänkin tuotantolaitoksia. Eroistaan huolimatta ammattilaistuminen, päätoimisten valmentajien ja henkilökunnan määrän kasvaminen, laajentuvat sosiaaliset verkostot sekä kansainvälistyminen ovat olleet tyypillisiä muutossuuntia molemmissa maissa viitaten homogenisaatioprosesseihin.

Kolmas osatutkimus käsitteli pääsarjatason pelaajien ammattilaistumista. Lähtökohtaisesti huippujalkapalloilijan ja ammattilaispelaajan käsitteet ymmärretään tutkimusmaissa toisistaan poikkeavasti. Näin ollen pelaajien ammattilaisasemaa on konstruoitu erilaisista lähtökohdista. Suomessa pelaajan asema on muuttunut 1980-luvulta lähtien harrastelijasta sivutoimiseksi ja vähitellen päätoimiseksi jalkapalloilijaksi. Suomen Veikkausliigassa, joka on toiminut pääsarjatasona vuodesta 1990 lähtien, seurat kilpailevat menestyksestä markkinavetoisessa järjestelmässä, joka on ymmärrettävästi vaikuttanut myös pelaajien asemaan. Muutossuuntana on ollut siirtyminen ammattimaisiin käytäntöihin.

Tosin vielä tänäänkin ainoastaan harvan liigaseuran organisaatio toimii kokonaisuudessaan täysin ammattimaisesti.

Unkarissa sosialismin ajanjakso mahdollisti jalkapalloilijoiden pelaamisen päätoimisina valtioammattilaisina. Sosialismin jälkeisellä 2000-luvulla huippupelaajat olivat edelleen päätoimisia, joskin palkanmaksajien kirjo oli laajentunut. Tämän päivän päätoimisia unkarilaisia jalkapalloilijoita voidaan pitää eräänlaisina ”yritysammatilaisina”, joiden on lunastettava taidoillaan ja näytöillään asemansa jalkapallo-organisaation markkinoilla. Valtion rooli on säilynyt huippujalkapallossa vahvana yhteiskuntajärjestelmän muuttumisen jälkeenkin. Poliittinen ulottuvuus on vahvistunut entisestään vuoden 2010 jälkeen, kun jalkapalloilijoiden verotuskäytäntöjä yksinkertaistettiin. Samalla eri kanavien kautta jalkapallo-organisaatioille ohjattiin lisää valtion tukea. Ammatillistumista havainnollistavat oivallisesti molempien maiden pelaajajyhdistysten toimet. Voidaan myös todeta, että kummankaan maan ammattilaispelaajien asema ei ole vielä samalla tasolla verrattuna ”tavalliseen” palkansaajaan.

Neljännessä artikkelissa jäljitin jalkapallostadioneiden muuttuvaa ”maisemaa”. Tutkimuskohteena olivat maiden huippuseurojen, HJK:n (Helsinki) ja Ferencvárosi TC:n (Budapest) peliareenat. Kansainvälisten ja kansallisten liittojen normitukset ovat ulottuneet viime vuosikymmeninä myös jalkapallostadioneihin. Stadioneiden säännöt ovat tiukentuneet 2000-luvulla Euroopan jalkapalloliitto UEFA:n sekä kansallisten palloliittojen seuralisenssivaatimuksien myötä. Uusia, multifunktionaalisia stadioneita rakennetaan ilman juoksuratoja. Uudet stadionit soveltuvat paitsi jalkapallo-otteluille myös muille kaupallisille tapahtumille. Osaamisen tuonti ulkomailta, kasvava erikoistuminen ja kaupallisten elementtien ilmestyminen ovat olleet tyypillisiä molemmissa maissa. Stadionhallinnon yritykset, hyvinvointipalvelut, ravintolapalvelut ja tapahtumajärjestäjät ovat ilmaantuneet jalkapallostadioneille viime vuosina. Toisaalta stadioneiden kokoa ja pelialustaa on sopeutettu paikalliseen jalkapallotodellisuuteen. Stadioneiden rakentamisessa ja hallintokäytännöissä on ollut maiden välisiä eroja. Unkarissa stadioneiden rakentaminen on tapahtunut korostuneen valti-onvetoisena. Sen sijaan Suomessa rakennushankkeita ovat toteuttaneet yhteisvoimin kaupunki ja ministeriö sekä lisääntyvissä määrin yksityiset toimijat.

Väitöskirjan johtopäätöksenä voidaan todeta, että globaalien ja paikallisten prosessien keskinäiset vaikutukset ilmenevät jalkapallomaiden muutospoluissa viime vuosikymmenten aikana. Jalkapallon muutos kumpuaa maiden sosiaalisesta, taloudellisesta, kulttuurisesta ja poliittisesta taustasta. Unkarissa lähtökohtana on ollut maan sosialismin aikainen tapa organisoida huippu-urheilua. Suomessa sen sijaan on ponnistettu vahvasta urheilun kansalaisyhteiskunnasta. Vaikka molempien maiden jalkapallo-organisaatiot ovat integroituneet lisääntyvässä määrin osaksi globaalia jalkapallojärjestelmää, urheilullinen menestys kansainvälisellä tasolla miesten jalkapallossa näyttää tulevaisuudessa haastavalta. Osaltaan tämä johtuu siitä, että molemmissa maissa urheilutalouden resurssit ovat rajalliset verrattuna merkittäviin jalkapallomaihin. Tosin kansainvälisen menestyksen puutteesta huolimatta jalkapalloilulla voi olla kes-

keisen rooli maiden urheilukulttuureissa. Tämän myös tämä tutkimus suomalaisesta ja unkarilaisesta jalkapallosta on osoittanut.

Jalkapallon moninaiset sidosryhmät voivat hyötyä tästä tutkimuksesta. Väitöskirjani on tuottanut vertailevan asetelman myötä lisääymmärrystä jalkapallofiguraation eri toimijoiden rooleista sekä prosesseista erilaisissa konteksteissa. Esimerkiksi "juniorijalkapalloseuralla", "jalkapalloakatemiolla" ja "ammattilaistumisella" on poikkeava merkitys Suomessa ja Unkarissa. Tätä poikkeavuutta selittävät pitkälti maiden jalkapallokulttuurin erilaiset sosio-kulttuuriset taustat. Lisäksi tutkimus lisää ymmärrystä jalkapallon kaupallistamisen eri ulottuvuuksista. Jatkossa olisi hyödyllistä tutkia, millä tavalla toteutuneet muutokset vaikuttavat esimerkiksi junioriseurojen toimintaan. Jatkotutkimuksissa voisi myös selvittää, miten seuratoimijoiden rooli muuttuu, mihin toimintoihin seurojen kannattaisi keskittyä sekä miten seurojen paineet saada lisätuloja vaikuttavat toimijaverkostoihin ja valtasuhteisiin. Väitöskirjassa valaistut stadionhallinnon ratkaisut ja spesifisosaamisen hankintamuodot tarjoavat malleja huippuseurojen toimijoille.

Jatkotutkimuksia voisi suunnata myös naisten jalkapallon asemaan ja kehitykseen, yksittäisten pelaajien kehityspolkuihin amatööristä ammattilaisuuteen sekä jalkapallon kaikkinaisten tilojen toimivuuteen ja merkityksiin. Lisäksi tämän tutkimuksen kaltaiset lähestymistavat soveltuisivat eri paikkojen ja alueiden sekä urheilulajien analyysiin. Syytä olisi myös pohtia, mikä on huippujalkapallon rooli yhteiskunnassa, millaisia muutoslinjoja jalkapallon eri toimijat toivovat tulevaisuuden suhteen ja miten voitaisiin vahvistaa suhdetta globaaliin jalkapallojärjestelmään.

Avainsanat: jalkapallo, globalisaatio, globalisaatio, juniorijalkapalloseura, ammattilaistuminen, jalkapallostadion, Suomi, Unkari

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I Detailed information about the interviewees and interviews

Name	Position	Venue/Mode	Date	Length	Transcription	Words	Data	Interviewer
1 Virta, Olli	Shareholder of JJK Keski-Suomi Ltd	Home of the informant, Jyväskylä	15.1.2014	1:51:06	Full	11104	Primary	Szerewy
2 Szabados, Gabor	Sport economist	Skype	29.1.2014	1:39:46	Notes		Primary	Szerewy
3 Hiltanen, Lassi	Chairman of JJK Keski-Suomi Ltd (2013-)	Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences, Jyväskylä	30.1.2014	2:18:18	Full	14655	Primary	Szerewy
4 Järvinen, Mika	Former marketing manager / general manager of FC JJK Jyväskylä (1996-97; 2000)	Central Finland District of the EA of Finland	19.2.2014	1:42:04	Full	9828	Primary	Szerewy
5 Someren, Timo	General manager of JJK Juniorit ry		8.4.2014	1:41:13	Notes		Youth	Venäläinen, Olli
6 Andrács, Krisztina	Adjunct professor, Business School, Corvinus University of Budapest	Corvinus University of Budapest	26.5.2014	1:15:59	Full	9975	Primary	Szerewy
7 Felber, György	Sport journalist in Hungary	Jazz coffee, Budapest	26.5.2014	1:34:58	Full	11088	Primary	Szerewy
8 Szekeres, Tamás	Former managing director (2014-15), Lagardere Unlimited Solutions Ltd (Operator of the Groupama Arena and Official Marketing Agency of FTC); Former professional player in Hungary and Norway	Groupama Arena, Budapest	26.5.2014	1:02:49	Full	7865	Primary	Szerewy
9 Szeller, József	Former professional player in Hungary; Former CEO of FTC Football Ltd	Sugar shopping mall, Budapest	27.5.2014	1:20:30	Full	10041	Primary	Szerewy
10 Hruška, János	Former professional player in Hungary; Player agent	Java coffee, Budapest	28.5.2014	1:08:31	Full	8065	Primary	Szerewy
11 Csank, János	Professional football coach, former national team coach	Office of Vác FC	30.5.2014	1:05:04	Full	9029	Primary	Szerewy
12 Orszag, Fali Máté, Bálint	CEO, FTC Football Ltd	Office of Ferencvárosi TC, Néphilget sport centre, Budapest	2.6.2014	1:35:30	Full	12741	Primary	Szerewy
13 Dragóner, Attila	Assistant to the CEO, FTC Football Ltd	Youth base of Ferencváros, Budapest	3.6.2014	1:03:45	Full	6844	Youth	Szerewy
14 Mészöb, Mihály	General manager, youth section of FTC Football Ltd	Sportunió Ltd office, Budapest	4.6.2014	1:29:08	Full	7395	Primary	Szerewy
15 Márton, Kati	Sport economist; Former managing director (2000-02), Hungarian Football League	Skype	4.9.2014	1:27:07	Full	8651	Primary	Szerewy
16 Purno, Péter	Professional football coach, former professional player in Finland	Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences, Jyväskylä	10.9.2014	1:30:56	Full	10476	Primary	Szerewy
17 Muurinen, Timo	Former CEO of JJK Keski-Suomi Ltd (2013-14); Former professional player in Veikkausliiga	Phone	11.9.2014	1:05:34	Full	5576	Youth	Szerewy
18 Koivela, Tommi	General manager of HJK Youthry	Phone	18.9.2014	1:23:07	Notes		Primary	Szerewy
19 Siskki, Janne	Sport journalist in Finland	Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences, Jyväskylä	1.10.2014	1:44:50	Full	12827	Primary	Szerewy
20 Holopainen, Teuvo	Former president of JJK Keski-Suomi Ltd	Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences, Jyväskylä	7.10.2014	1:34:00	Full	11385	Primary	Szerewy
21 Vesiläinen, Joni	Former secretary (general), Football Association of Finland (2000-2008)	Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences, Jyväskylä	20.10.2014	1:21:15	Full	7053	Primary	Szerewy
22 Aho, Pertti	Former CEO of JJK Keski-Suomi Ltd (2008-2013)	Phone	28.10.2014	1:00:11	Full	6745	Primary	Szerewy
23 Lippinen, Kimmo	President of the Football Association of Finland (2014-)	Travel Center, Jyväskylä	4.12.2014	0:24:15	Notes		Primary	Szerewy
24 Juhola, Markus	Former general secretary/CEO (2008-2013), Football Association of Finland	Phone	18.03.2015	1:07:53	Notes		Role of players	Szerewy
25 Gutborovics, Tibor	General manager, Association of Football Players in Finland	Phone	19.03.2015	0:59:05	Notes		Role of players	Szerewy
26 Horváth, Gabor	Former professional player in Finland and Hungary	Phone	27.3.2015	0:31:57	Notes		Role of players	Szerewy
27 Kizadi, Péter	Managing director, The Organisation of Professional Football Players in Hungary	Office of Vasea FC, Budapest	7.5.2015	1:17:38	Full	9482	Youth	Szerewy
28 Mészöb, Mihály	Academy manager, Vasas Kubala Academy	Sportunió Ltd office, Budapest	8.5.2015	0:40:21	Notes		Primary	Szerewy
29 Horvatz, András	Sport economist; Former managing director (2000-02), Hungarian Football League	Debreceen Football Academy, Debreceen	24.8.2015	2:36:48	Notes		Youth	Perényi, Szilvia
30 Nyland, Ville	Managing director, Debreceen Football Academy; Professional football coach	Sonera Stadium, Helsinki	8.4.2016	1:14:47	Full	8927	Stadiums	Szerewy
31 Vänsli, Antti-Jussi	Event manager, Football Association of Finland	Sonera Stadium, Helsinki	8.4.2016	0:53:11	Full	5381	Stadiums	Szerewy
32 Gudra, Tamás	Chief financial officer, Hungarian Football Federation	Hungarian Football Federation headquarters, Budapest	21.4.2016	1:02:42	Full	7641	Stadiums	Szerewy
33 Szekeeres, Tamás	Licensing manager, Hungarian Football Federation	Leroy Café, Mammút shopping mall, Budapest	22.4.2016	1:10:51	Full	9339	Stadiums	Szerewy
34 Siklósi, Csaba	Former managing director (2014-15), Lagardere Unlimited Solutions Ltd (Operator of the Groupama Arena and Official Marketing Agency of FTC); Former professional player in Hungary and Norway	Néphilget sport centre, Budapest	25.4.2016	1:00:51	Full	7722	Stadiums	Szerewy
35 Mészöb, Mihály	Managing director, Lagardere Unlimited Solutions Ltd (Operator of the Groupama Arena and Official Marketing Agency of FTC)	Sportunió Ltd office, Budapest	26.4.2016	1:22:54	Full	7538	Stadiums	Szerewy
36 Köttemki, Janne	Assistant to the CEO, FTC Football Ltd	OnusF-stadium, Seinäjoki	23.7.2016	0:28:34	Notes		Stadiums	Szerewy
	Sport economist; Former managing director (2000-02), Hungarian Football League							
	Director of Football; Shareholder; Board member at SJK Ltd							

APPENDIX II Semi-structured interview design

(The themes and questions of the interview guide were adjusted to the background and expertise of the interviewees. In addition, the focus of the interviews shifted according to the respective research topics of the four articles included in this research. The Finnish and Hungarian versions of this interview guide were used during the actual interview sessions.)

GLOBAL AND LOCAL INTERACTIONS IN FOOTBALL

Doctoral research

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

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Interview questions for Finnish / Hungarian football practitioners

Interviewer_____

Date_____

Are we allowed to mention your name in the research articles and dissertation of this research?

Yes____

No____

The research interview is recorded so that the data can be better processed. Do you give permission to archive the transcribed interview text?

Yes____

No____

1) Background of the interviewee and basic information about the organization

Name
Position(s)
Education
Sport background

Name and type of the club
Number of disciplines offered

How many of the following actors are there in your club / organization?

Hired professionals

- Duration of the employment
- Type of the employment (Full-time; part-time; other)

Members

Licensed players

- Boys / Men
- Girls / Women

Coaches

Size of the board of the club and the board of the football section

How have these numbers changed?

2) Roles / human resources in the organization

Interviewee's role / responsibilities at the organization

How long have you been involved/were you involved in the club/organization?

How have you been recruited?

What have been your responsibilities/duties?

What skills do you need to carry out your role?

In what way do you work together with others? (way of communication; flow of information; meetings, etc.)

Role expectations

In what way have your tasks/responsibilities been defined?

How clear has the scope of activities been for you?

Has there been any discord about your responsibilities between your expectations and that of other people?

How is your way of working guided and controlled? (Contract, handbook, instructions from colleagues, weekly meetings, board meetings, etc.)

How long has your position existed? Has it changed in any way?

Range of roles in the club/organization

What (other) roles exist in the club/organization?

What are the main tasks related to these roles?

In what way have these responsibilities been defined?

Describe the structure of the organization.

Describe the relationship between the first team and others levels of the club.

Have you experienced conflicts/overlaps/different interests between roles?

Have you experienced any changes in the scopes of others' responsibilities?

3) Embeddedness in the local environment

What external relationships does your club have?

- Football Association(s)
- Sponsors
- Media
- Fans
- Cooperation with other football clubs
- Cooperation with other associations or organizations
- Cooperation with the municipality and schools
- International relations
- Other

What kind of contracts/rules define the relationships (rights and responsibilities; length etc.)?

How do these relationships work on the practical level?

What are the benefits/disadvantages for the organization stemming from these relationships?

In what way have the number and type of relationships developed in recent years?

What are the main challenges for the club related to these relationships?

Facilities / Spaces

What kind of facilities do you use?

Do you own any facilities?

What are the biggest challenges related to facilities?

4) Resources

What are the main financial resources needed for the operation of the club?

- Size of the budget/turnover?
- What are the main sources of income?
- What are the main expenditures?

Changes in the access of resources

How has the amount of necessary resources changed?

How has the composition of resources changed?

How has the access to various resources changed?

How could the organization acquire more resources in the future?

What are the main challenges related to resources?

5) Goals of the club / organization

Are there any documents dealing with strategy and action plans?

- Plan of action
- Communication/marketing plan?
- Other documents?
- How does strategy formulation happens?
- How do you follow and measure the fulfilment of goals?

6) Communication / Publicity

What are the main channels and tools of communication?

- E-mail, phone, website, newsletter, meetings, media, other
- Communication between board and employees, between employees and coaches/team leaders/parents, communication inside the club/with the community, etc.

What are the main challenges related to communication?

7) Sporting activities, competitiveness and coaching

First team

What are the main challenges between the different departments (in the case of a multi-sport club)?

Grassroots

What kinds of activities does the club offer? (How many groups/participants are there in these activities? Frequency and duration of these activities?)

- Youth football
- First team
- Team camps
- Summer camps
- Tournaments
- Football school
- Family football
- School trainings
- Talent and goalkeeper practices
- Skill competition
- Tests for the players
- Education for instructors and coaches
- Other

In what way do you recruit players?

Do you follow player development?

Do you have a protocol for injured players?

How do you recruit coaches?

What do you offer coaches?

What do you require from coaches?

- Do you have any requirement for the level of coaches/instructors?
- Do you require an annual plan of practicing by the coaches?

Do you have your own professional guidelines?

- If yes, in what way is it implemented?

In what way are the first team (if you have) and other levels of the club connected?

What are the main challenges related to sporting activities?

What do you think about the following claim: Finland/Hungary is a peripheral football country?

Is there anything you would like to add to these themes?

ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

'GLOCAL' PROCESSES IN PERIPHERAL FOOTBALL COUNTRIES: A FIGURATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF FINLAND AND HUNGARY

by

Szerovay, M., Itkonen, H. & Vehmas, H. 2017

Soccer & Society 18 (4), 497-515.

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‘Glocal’ processes in peripheral football countries: a figurational sociological comparison of Finland and Hungary

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The aim of this article is to increase the understanding of the global and local contexts in football by finding out what social, cultural and economic dimensions seem to characterize ‘periphery’ football. This study applies figurational sociological perspective, which is applicable to the research on globalization processes and sport. The sources utilized are publications on the history and sociology of football as well as interviews with football practitioners. First, a theoretical framework of the global football figuration is advanced. Second, applying the constructed framework, the concept of periphery football country is discussed. It was found in accordance with previous research that instead of the rigid conceptualization of peripheral football, the various developmental patterns of countries should be studied. Third, the diverse development paths of Finnish and Hungarian football are analysed and compared. It is suggested that in spite of being peripheral, both countries have been increasingly integrated into the global football figuration.

Introduction

Football has undergone profound changes in both sociocultural and economic terms to which its interactions with globalization processes have greatly contributed. By the twenty-first century, football unquestionably forms a part of the global entertainment industry and the commercial popular culture. Furthermore, it is the primary sport in the majority of the countries in the world. It is reasonable to say that globalization and football are heavily intertwined.

Globalization is a complex historical process whose relevant driving force is the varying interdependencies between the local and the global.¹ Ever-changing global sport figurations have evolved, which challenge both scholars and sport practitioners on the local level to get a better understanding of these phenomena and engender benefits for societies via sport. Global sport figurations ‘are shaped and contoured by a range of global flows, particularly of people, technology, capital, mediated images and ideologies’.² The concept of figuration also points to the networks of interdependencies that connect, enable and constrain the functioning of people.³

Scarce research on peripheral countries of football

Social science, in general, and the field of global studies, in particular, have disregarded the relevance of football to globalization processes.⁴ The majority of research to date on football and globalization has focused on core football countries,⁵

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such as Spain, Germany and England, which have a strong and high-quality football culture with significant income from corporate partners and media companies.

However, far too little attention has been paid to the countries and clubs that are located in the periphery of the international football. Studies on peripheral football include 'Fringe Nations in World Soccer' by Bandyopadhyay and Mallick, the special issues of *Soccer & Society* journal on peripheral countries in 2011 and on Scandinavian countries in 2009.⁶ In the context of Finland and Hungary, there is hardly any academic studies focusing on the recent social, cultural and economic effects of globalization on sport,⁷ though some research has been carried out on Finnish and Hungarian football and globalization by Itkonen, Nevala, Heinonen as well as Krausz, Szabados, Molnar and Juhasz, respectively.⁸ The present article attempts to address these hitherto ignored perspectives within the topic area of globalization and football.

Research questions

The main aim of this article is to increase the understanding of the global and local axes of the football domain. More specifically, this paper aims at finding out what complex and interdependent social, cultural and economic dimensions seem to characterize 'peripheral' football. The paper adopts a figurational or process-sociological approach and the concept of the 'duality of glocality'.⁹

First, the global football figuration will be discussed by identifying the actors as well as the interdependencies and power relations between them. This will be achieved by giving an overview of the economic, social and cultural dimensions of the recent changes in football. This will set the scene for carrying out the second and third research tasks: to discuss the concept of peripheral football and assess Finland and Hungary's situation within the figuration. The paper addresses the following research questions:

- (1) What characterizes the global football figuration?
- (2) In what way can periphery countries be defined in the football context?
- (3) Why can Finland and Hungary be considered as periphery football countries?

The research materials used in this article are formed by semi-structured interviews conducted with five Finnish and two Hungarian football practitioners as well as publications on the history and sociology of international, Finnish and Hungarian football. Contrary to international research on football, Finnish and Hungarian research traditions are considerably scarce.

The global football figuration

The figurational sociology approach is employed given that it is applicable for discussing the evolution of professional sports, the relations between globalization processes and sport and the global sport formation.¹⁰ According to this concept, social figurations cannot be separated from the people who compose them with each other.¹¹ These individuals and societies form processes within global figurations, where power is a function of interdependency ties. The processes evolving this way appear as the intended and unintended consequences of the accumulation of

intended individual actions.¹² Furthermore, these figurations extend over time and space and are characterized by tension balances.¹³ As a result, complex networks of interdependencies are created.

Figurations need to be the basic entities to be examined when one researches sport.¹⁴ Using this approach also permits to ‘emphasize the multifaceted, multi-directional and complex sets of power balances that characterise the global sport process’.¹⁵ In practice, it involves the interconnected groups related to a sport club such as owners, players, fans, sponsors, sport organizations, mass media and the government.¹⁶

However, figurational sociology pioneered by Norbert Elias has been often criticized for its lack of distinctiveness and originality. For example, Bauman argued that there is an obvious link between the idea of figuration and other ordinary concepts such as pattern and situation.¹⁷ In fact, the term figuration was chosen by Elias according to its linguistic properties.¹⁸ He referred to the figuration of humans and this way aimed at avoiding the tension between structure and agency.¹⁹

Duality of glocality

In order to better comprehend the global–local axis of the global football figuration, it is reasonable to add the concept of ‘duality of glocality’ coined by Giulianotti and Robertson. According to this concept, processes of convergence and divergence or homogenization and heterogenization occur simultaneously in cultures.²⁰ Instead of being substitutes of each other, they develop together, thus creating ‘commonly diverse’ cultures.²¹ There is a dynamic interchange going on between the local, national and the global, which may include emulation, resistance or reinvention of certain sporting forms.²² For instance, football in Africa has been used both as a tool for the Western-driven cultural imperialism and for the resistance to imperial intentions.²³ Local and national experiences and interdependencies can be better captured by locating them within global flows. In conjunction with the duality of glocality, for process sociology, ‘the explanatory frame of reference must be global in perspective’.²⁴ As an illustration, Darby points out that the evolution and development of FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) cannot be understood without the consideration of wider global processes.²⁵ Dunning also argues that the restructuring of football should be contemplated within the framework of the processes of globalization and Europeanization.²⁶

The key elements of the figurational approach that are employed throughout this paper are the focus on the complex and multi-layered development paths of football by examining the changing power balances as a function of interdependency ties between the different actors involved. In addition, homogenization and heterogenization processes of glocalization will be identified, which enable a more profound understanding of periphery football countries.

Economic transformations in professional football

Professional football clubs have been transformed into companies and started to operate by the rules of the market economy over the course of the last decades. Football companies produce spectator sport services, which form a trinity of interdependence with the market and the media.²⁷ Clubs have become capitalist entities and increasingly focus on profit maximization ahead of utility maximization.²⁸

These transformations can be tightly connected to the worldwide expansion of the highly controversial neoliberalist policies. Professional clubs have been surrounded by a wide range of stakeholders and at the same time, a variety of investment methods appeared in football business. Within this figuration, international bodies such as the UEFA (Union of European Football Associations) and the FIFA, as well as the media have considerable financial power. In addition, club owners have sufficient power to make critical decisions.²⁹ Not surprisingly, fans are the least powerful members of the figuration.³⁰ The balances of power between these actors shifted considerably in recent years³¹ and keep changing continuously.

As a consequence, clubs' incomes have soared from television rights and corporate partners, especially in the so-called core countries of football.³² Based on Lechner's definition, core countries comprise wealthy, industrialized countries.³³ On the same token, core country of football refers to one with a strong club and national teams, with the ability of dominating the global football market and football tournaments.

The processes of globalization have also contributed to the negative outcomes in reference to football, such as inequalities of wealth between countries,³⁴ as well as clubs,³⁵ betting scandals that have undermined football's reputation in various countries and rising costs of attending games.³⁶ The economic recession of the late 2000s has considerably affected the sport sector as well. Although football clubs' incomes have increased to a great extent, so have the expenditures, which have caused several clubs accruing considerable losses year after year.

The social and cultural dimensions of the global football figuration

Professional football clubs have been active participants of a growing network of social relationships, including various stakeholders of the clubs as well as media and other domestic and foreign teams. These relationships are marked by interdependency ties formed by power relations.³⁷ Clubs have been increasingly connected, both locally and globally.³⁸ The concept of 'connectivity' discloses the social 'electricity' of global processes.³⁹ For example, partly as a consequence of the liberalization of the player market, player migration has sped up producing multicultural team squads over the past decades. For instance, the increasing number of foreign players in the Finnish Premier League and Finnish players in other leagues underpins the effect of globalization in Finland.⁴⁰ Although globalization increasingly facilitates player mobility, their routes depend highly on what kind of environment they come from.⁴¹ Furthermore, connectivity contributes to disconnectivity, which means that certain societies are unable to establish many reference points with global flows.⁴² An example may be the relative disconnectivity of Eastern European clubs in international tournaments. This phenomenon can also be called 'peripheral inclusion' to international football.⁴³

From a cultural point of view, the 'football/globalization nexus is a highly varied one in which multipolar influences are at play'.⁴⁴ The concept of 'glocalization' has been developed and defined in many distinct ways since the 1980s. Recently, glocalization has also been explained with the concepts of 'duality of glocality' by Giulianotti and Robertson and 'diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties' by Maguire. It should be noted that homogenization mainly appears at the structural-institutional level, while heterogenization at the expressive-symbolic level.⁴⁵ By way of illustration, homogenization in football suggests that it is played by universal

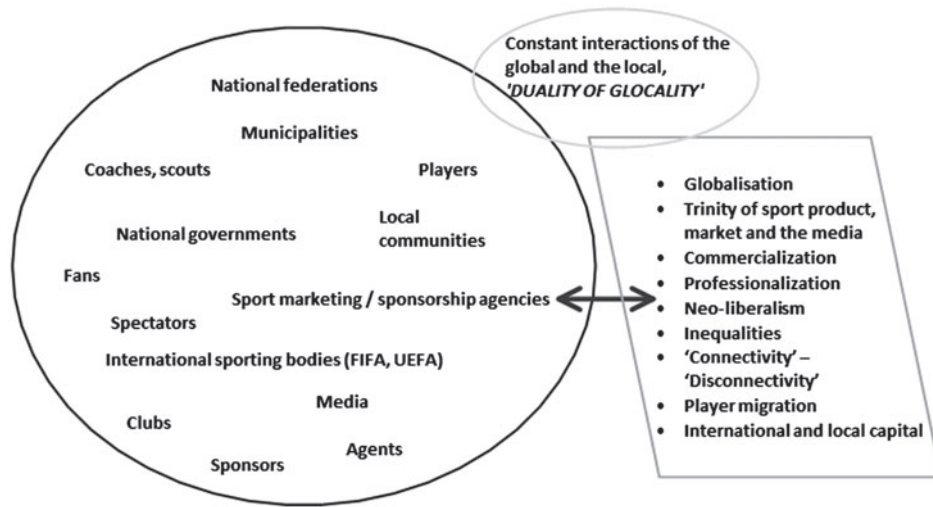


Figure 1. Actors and processes in the global football figuration.

rules in the whole world, with a central governance of FIFA. Heterogenization implies that countries have distinctive playing styles and fan cultures. Further themes that permit the analysis of 'duality of glocality' with reference to convergence and divergence in football include referee styles, media interpretation, along with club governance and club finance.⁴⁶

After considering the changes in the football domain and synthesizing Clark, Dunning and Bourke's ideas on the global sport formation as well as Giulianotti and Robertson's view on glocalisation,⁴⁷ Figure 1 is advanced to demonstrate the range of actors and processes of the global football figuration.

The actors and the processes in this figuration cannot be separated from each other, given that the actors are part of the processes. This conceptual framework is believed to assist in understanding the situation of periphery football countries.

Peripheral football

The categorization of peripheral football

Periphery countries 'have marginal roles in the world economy and are dependent on "core" countries in their trading relationships'.⁴⁸ By the same token, periphery countries of football could be understood as football countries that have relatively underdeveloped football culture and minor role in world football. Peripheral areas of football are the greater parts of Asia and Africa, the Australian continent, some parts of Europe and Latin America and North America.⁴⁹

The figurational perspective focuses on the analysis of social processes. It is not only historical, but rather developmental processes that should be concentrated on. In this context, it means that different sports have their own developmental paths and directions, of which meanings can only be discovered via detailed empirical studies of the changes.⁵⁰

Many of the theoretical approaches that may be linked to the concept of periphery countries and globalization of football traditions have a rather economic offset, given that the principal driving force triggering globalization is economic.⁵¹ Therefore, the economic dimension, especially the market economy, is inevitable for the understanding of this matter.⁵² Nevertheless, it can be argued that the economic determinism represented, for instance, by Marxist sociology limits their input in explaining the long-term development of sports.⁵³ Maguire confirms that it is not enough to analyse economic differences between countries or areas.⁵⁴

Wallerstein's world system theory from the field of political economy from 1974 deals with the 'historical dynamics of capitalism'.⁵⁵ This theory identifies core, periphery and semi-periphery nations taking the economic dimension as an offset between countries. Wallerstein predicates that core countries exploit and impoverish the peripheral countries using their economic power.⁵⁶ Although Wallerstein's theory has some significant arguments with respect to this study, it does not fit into the figurational framework proposed because it presents the core-periphery relationship as uni-directional with the intention of core countries imposed on the periphery. Dependency theory, applying an economic standpoint, advocates core, semi-periphery and periphery distribution as well,⁵⁷ but it features global inequalities in a more dynamic and diffuse way compared to the world system theory.⁵⁸ Maguire also suggests the nations within the global sports figuration to be divided into core, semi-peripheral and peripheral groups. He proposes a multi-causal and multi-directional figurational approach and adds the political and cultural dimensions to the discussion.⁵⁹

Other observations about the core-periphery debate related to categorization of core, semi-peripheral and peripheral frameworks vary from sport to sport and are thus complicated to interpret to football. The sporting dimensions of the concepts of core and periphery do not always correspond to their economic or other dimensions. Some core nations such as Japan, USA and Finland have (semi-)periphery football cultures.⁶⁰ Sport success, which may be an indicator of a country's belonging to either core, semi-peripheral or peripheral groups, depends on several factors.⁶¹ Experience, population and income per capita of certain countries play a vital role in explaining success in football.⁶² Lamprech and Stamm conclude that domestic economy and traditions are the decisive factors.⁶³ Experience and traditions may be measured, for example, by the amount of internationals played by a country. These measurements are mainly quantitative, and therefore lack a more in-depth cultural and social analysis.

Periphery-core definitions may also refer to players and clubs instead of countries. For instance, Lanfranchi and Taylor structured European football as group A, core, B, semi-periphery and C, periphery.⁶⁴ Considering professional football, Pierpoint differentiates A-list clubs, 'UEFA-chasers' and 'survivors' within the English Premier League.⁶⁵ Pierpoint's categories are reflected by the annual turnover, operating profits, players' salaries and supporter bases of each club. Furthermore, the periphery is present in the core by the players playing in clubs in core countries. It is also reasonable to say that countries have their own periphery.⁶⁶ In the case of Finland, for instance, football's core areas are often Finnish baseball's periphery and vice versa, what implies a power struggle between these two sports.

The 'development' process of periphery football countries

Bandyopadhyay and Mallick call nations on the periphery of football fringe nations.⁶⁷ They argue that 'the historical roots and growth, cultural adoption and appropriation, and developmental patterns and potentials of the game' in fringe countries of football vary greatly and make any homogenization impossible.⁶⁸ Therefore, the idea of marginalized or less developed football nations cannot be strictly conceptualized.

The division between core, semi-periphery and periphery may be understood that as a result of globalization, some countries are marginalized to the benefit of the core.⁶⁹ Clubs from the core countries of football, notably England, Germany, Spain, France, Italy and the Netherlands, with the help of multinational capital, monopolize the football players' and consumer markets that are built upon football.⁷⁰ In addition, homogenization theories explain how convergence arguments concerning, for example, mass communications emerged,⁷¹ such as the mainly one-directional communication flow from the core to the periphery countries. A good example of this is the broadcasting of the English Premier League in numerous countries.

However, a multi-casual multi-directional approach proposed by figurational sociologist should be applied that can interpret both homogenization and heterogenization processes when examining these issues.⁷² For instance, these core countries have been at least partly 'peripherized' themselves through the arrival of players from developing countries.⁷³ Nevertheless, despite the multi-directional dependencies, these processes are characterized by a core-periphery perspective.⁷⁴

Although peripheral countries of football may be identified, it should be noted that greater interdependence exists between the global and the local that need to be analysed.⁷⁵ Therefore, being a peripheral football country is not a static state, but rather constant and dynamic shifts of power.⁷⁶ It is about a 'development' process of the constantly changing football figuration. Furthermore, it is also suggested that the strict conceptualization of periphery nations is rather complicated. Each country has its own periphery; inside the locality, there are 'all sorts of independencies, rivalries, power struggles and conflicts'.⁷⁷

Finland and Hungary on the periphery of the football domain

Finland and Hungary are relatively small countries with a population of 5.4 and 10 million, respectively. According to the World Bank, Finland's GDP per capita (based on purchasing power parity) for the 2010–2014 period is 38,251 US dollars per year and the same data for Hungary is 22,878,⁷⁸ which means that Finland may be considered as a core and Hungary as a semi-periphery country economically. Finland has never qualified to any football World Cups or European Championships. Hungary has a noteworthy football tradition with two second places in the World Cups and three gold medals at the Olympics; however, a decline started in the 1980s and the national team has not reached a major tournament since 1986.

With regards to the present, a CIES (Centre International d'Etude du Sport) Football Observatory research on the economic level of European football leagues divides the 31 leagues included in the investigation into 4 groups based on the average budget for personnel expenses.⁷⁹ According to the results, both the Finnish and Hungarian leagues belong to the lowest category, which means less than three million euros per year are spent on player budget. Moreover, as reported by UEFA's

website, the country coefficient ranking for the 2014/15 season is 31st for Hungary and 36th for Finland out of the 54 UEFA member countries. These rankings are formed according to the performance of each association's clubs in the past five UEFA Champions League and Europa League seasons. The position of these countries in the men's World Ranking according to FIFA's website is 50th and 63rd, respectively, as of 12 November 2014. The numeric data presented suggest that Finland and Hungary are peripheral football countries when considering sport performance. However, as it was proposed above, the concept and categorization of peripheral football is fairly complex and varies considerably by countries; there is a need to look behind the numbers to examine the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of the development processes and answer the questions 'why?' and 'how?'.

Finland and Hungary within the global football figuration

The economic and political dimensions of the development of Finnish and Hungarian football

The strong civil society characterized by an active and influential third sector in Finland has impeded the development of a market-oriented environment for sport. The direction of progress based on amateur principles was underpinned by a decision of the Finnish football association favouring amateur football in the 1920s.⁸⁰ In addition, the agricultural economic structure, less urban society and poor facilities hindered the development of professional football in Finland as well.⁸¹ Furthermore, there has been a centre-periphery division characterized by the fault lines between bigger towns and rural areas.⁸²

The market started to gradually gain a more important role in the sport environment from the 1970s. The sport culture has differentiated, which means that new forms of sport have become more popular, the division of labour within sport clubs have become necessary and clubs of one discipline have evolved. Thus, clubs started to need more resources, which made the involvement of the market essential. At the same time, market actors began to demand publicity. Consequently, a trinity of market – media – sport product characterized by interdependencies has developed.

Although the league system was established in 1989, marking the era of differentiation in sports, no considerable football business has evolved in Finland.⁸³ Even today, the highest level of division of football, called Veikkausliiga, is rather a semi-professional league. One of the informants, Lassi Hietanen, chairman of the first division football club JJK Jyväskylä, points out that 'if you want to run a professional club in Finland, you need at least one million euros from year to year'. The budgets of 5 out of 12 football clubs in the Veikkausliiga were under one million euro in 2012.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the status of first league players can be observed applying the typology of sport professionalism by Dunning.⁸⁵ It is an overt, legitimate type of professionalism, in which income is acquired from commercial actors as well as gate receipts. The proportion of the commercial revenue is extremely high in the case of Finnish Veikkausliiga clubs, as it can reach as much as 80% of the annual budget,⁸⁶ which implies a risky business model and vulnerability for clubs.

Hungary has had a fairly different economic and political environment with a state socialist system from 1949 to 1989, in which top-level sport was financed centrally and its autonomy was heavily limited. Consequently, sport clubs' economic

activity was limited and mainly concentrated on managing the money they had.⁸⁷ By way of illustration, Ferencvarosi TC was backed by the ministry of agriculture and Budapest Honvéd by the National army. Under state socialism, the private sector was totally absent. The typology of sport professionalism by Dunning can be applied here as well to unfold the status of athletes in that era.⁸⁸ It denoted a covert, non-legitimate type of sports professionalism, when a formally amateur athlete had a state supported job. After 1989, an occupation in player career has converted to an overt, legitimate type of professionalism.

The communist system was by its very nature centralized and favoured the centre to the periphery, what reflected the weight of clubs from the capital in the national league.⁸⁹ During the so-called consolidation after the 1956 revolution, a slow increase in the autonomy of football became more evident. It reflected the intention of the power centre to shift towards a state-controlled 'consumer socialism'.⁹⁰ In the 1980s, compared to the 1960s and 1970s, power relations shifted from the centre in favour of local institutions with financial, political and administrative resources.⁹¹ With the slow decrease of football's political significance, the state imparted less resources to clubs, and therefore football's decline has started.

After the political and economic transition in Hungary in 1989–1990, the development of sport moved towards pursuing the patterns of the Western countries.⁹² The country opened its markets in the beginning of the 1990s. At the same time, the state stopped supporting football, which in a country without capital caused the downfall of sport.⁹³ With the transition towards the free-market economy, a 'vacuum' was formed, characterized by the lack of information, professional knowledge, organization and primarily money.⁹⁴ Football became a sport product that had to be sold, but sport leaders did not have the experience. The national league lost its best players for unreasonably small amounts of money and players of poorer quality came from abroad. This example of 'brawn-drain' demonstrates the core-periphery nature of interdependencies in the football figuration.

Sport is still subject to political manipulation in Hungary, although it is presented in more subtle ways. An evidence of this is the distorted characteristics of sport sponsorships with 'second agenda', which are not based on real market logics, as in the case of Hungarian first league team Videoton FC.⁹⁵ In addition, broadcasting rights for the 2012–2016 seasons were bought by the Hungarian national public broadcasting company for higher than the real market price, what may also be considered as a hidden state support for football clubs, argues Gabor Szabados, a notable Hungarian sport economist. These examples underpin the arguments that in peripheral countries, the mixture of Western and local ways evolved. It can be assumed that 'the interaction of the local and the global resulted in a hybrid formation of organizing the sport market'.⁹⁶ For the time being, it seems that neither the centralistic nor the market-based approach can be an absolute base for a well-functioning Hungarian football.⁹⁷ Copying the Western football models cannot work due to the lack of capital and different societal background.⁹⁸

Football in the Finnish and Hungarian sport cultures

Football in Finland has always been a sport of the cities and urban areas; its diffusion to the countryside was relatively slow.⁹⁹ This is tightly related to the fact that football has fought for a life space with other sports, but especially with Finnish baseball, which was then considered a national defence sport and that assisted the

spread of the sport to the rural areas. It is still the most popular summer sport in some smaller towns and rural areas.¹⁰⁰ By way of illustration, Finnish baseball grew popular in a town called Varkaus, located in Eastern Finland, in the 1960s following the success of local teams. This caused football losing spectators as well as the best players; football's position weakened considerably in that power struggle.¹⁰¹

Football competitions were moderate in the beginning of the 1900s; the first league system was not organized until the 1930s.¹⁰² Moreover, the situation of the Finnish players has been quite challenging due to harsh weather conditions.¹⁰³ It has directly affected the development of football by reducing the amount of time for practice per season. Even today, officials from numerous football clubs complain about the winter conditions and they confirm that it is a considerable drawback for Finnish players compared to countries that have the facilities to practice all year round. Although football is the most practiced sport measured by the number of licenced amateurs, it can be argued that the wide basis of players on the grassroots levels has not been transformed to success internationally or to clear increase in attendances.¹⁰⁴

Sport in Finland has traditionally been based on volunteerism, which has also affected the development of football in manifold ways. Partly due to the lack of professionalism, Finland experienced a dearth of success in football and a peripheral position in the global football figuration; this contributed to the fact that Finland belongs to those countries that have gone through modernization and nation building processes without any significant addition from football. When it comes to Finnish fan culture, it is typical that fans support the national team with excitement, but they do not value club football that much. Moreover, a huge number of fans support foreign clubs, especially English ones, which is in accordance with fans' opinion that Finnish football being on the periphery of international football.¹⁰⁵

Contrary to Finland, sport in Hungary has not been self-organized and lacked strong civil society. In spite of that, football, being the number one sport of the country, has been a substantial component of socio-historical processes and social identity.¹⁰⁶ During the state socialism, sport was considered as fulfilling public interest through the success it achieved. 'The communist regime tried to deprive the teams of their earlier semantic contents, material bases, and often, of their fans'.¹⁰⁷ The political system used football 'to symbolize their cultural and societal equality or superiority to Western cultures'¹⁰⁸ and utilized it as a tool for legitimacy. However, at the same time, it worked as a form of national resistance against the ruling system as well, for instance at Hungarian–Soviet matches,¹⁰⁹ and following the football World Cup final which concluded with a defeat against West Germany in 1954, resulted in a disturbance by disappointed fans.¹¹⁰

During the years of post-communist transition, Hungarians experienced ideological and economic confusion, which could be understood as the 'transition period from Sovietization to Europeanization'.¹¹¹ Hungarians were used to an acceptable standard of living with moderate effort during the 1980s, particularly compared to the neighbouring state socialist countries. As Szabados interprets it, the so-called 'soft dictatorship produced soft people', which may explain in part the present situation in football. It may take a long time to change the practices. At the same time, unstable social and football environment was created, primarily due to the lack of pro-active behaviour of the Hungarian football clubs and the regional, economic, political and social circumstances.¹¹² The function of sport has changed in various ways as well. For instance, the expression of national pride was not confined to sports anymore.¹¹³ The social distance

between professional athletes and ordinary people has grown. Civil society in Hungary does not have sufficient personal and financial resources. Furthermore, the spirit of volunteerism has not yet diffused into the society.¹¹⁴

The social dimensions of the development of Finnish and Hungarian football

Although Finland took part in international tournaments as early as at the 1912 Stockholm Olympics and the first players who became professionals moved abroad in the 1950s, Finland has been connected to the international football culture tighter, and thus has become a more active member of the global football figuration since the 1970s.¹¹⁵ The country has integrated in international football, especially via international games at all levels as well as via player transfers and can be considered as a transit country for players.¹¹⁶ Nowadays, there are a considerable amount of players from Eastern Europe in the Veikkausliiga and over 70 Finnish players in around 20 countries.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, Lassi Hietanen, chairman of football club JJK Jyväskylä, suggests some teams aim at having almost exclusively home-grown players on their squad, which, apart from a financial concern, may be a form of resistance to increasing player migration.

Together with other Eastern European countries being part of the Soviet bloc, Hungary had a restricted role within the global football figuration before 1990. Although based on the performance of the national and club teams, it could clearly be considered a core country; connections to the West were strictly controlled. Players and coaches were not allowed to move abroad.¹¹⁸ Those who defected from the country were considered enemies of the system and were not allowed to return to Hungary. However, compared to ordinary citizens, top players had privileged situations due to travelling abroad to play international games with the Hungarian national or club teams. A way of acquiring social mobility was to become an exceptional athlete.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, a number of players and coaches fled Hungary, searching for better living standards in Western Europe. These emigrants contributed to the spread of then advanced Hungarian style of playing football. Regulations and attitudes related to player migration got looser in the 1980s, which was also manifested by the return of one of the greatest football players ever and former Hungarian 'Golden team' captain, Ferenc Puskas over 20 years in Spain, after he left Hungary two years after the Hungarian Revolution in 1958. Similar to the Finnish Veikkausliiga, nowadays, the league is mainly seen as a stepping stone to stronger leagues.¹²⁰

Table 1 summarizes the changes discussed above in the football domain of Finland and Hungary since the 1950s. These points indicate the situation of these countries within the global football figuration.

The outcomes of this article reinforce the idea that figurations need to be the basic entities when researching sport, given that the development of football can be understood only when they are examined within the context of the interconnected groups they exist in and considering power relations within the figurations. Football clubs' interdependency with the political power in Hungary and football's power struggle with Finnish baseball in Finland are primary examples of these power relations. This article has also pointed out the applicability of the concept of the duality of glocality to the development of Finnish and Hungarian football. On the one hand, clubs becoming companies, augmenting player mobility, and the increasingly market-oriented environment of football with the employment of professional and semi-professional

Table 1. Changes in Finnish and Hungarian football environments since the 1950s.

Finland	Hungary
<i>Economic and political dimensions</i>	
Agricultural economy → highly industrialized mixed economy	Planned economy → market economy
Democratic country with civil actor nature of sport based on volunteerism	Nowadays democratic, former state socialist country with state-supported sport lacking strong civil society
Towards market-oriented sport	Towards market-oriented sport
Amateur football → overt, legitimate type of sport professionalism and semi-professionalism	Covert non-legitimate type of sports professionalism → overt, legitimate type of sport professionalism
Division between the bourgeois and working-class sport organizations → reduced role of politics	Football as a tool of legitimation of the political system → politics is still present in football
No significant sport business	No significant sport business
<i>Cultural dimensions</i>	
Football has not been the No 1 spectator sport/Football is the most popular amateur team sport	Football has been the No 1 sport both in terms of spectators and participants
Football has not been significant in social identity formation	Football has been a significant component of socio-historical processes and social identity
Periphery football country	Core → periphery football country
<i>Social dimensions</i>	
Transit country/Supplier in the football market	Restricted mobility of players → Supplier in the football market
Peripheral inclusion in the global football figuration	Peripheral inclusion in the global football figuration

players and the involvement of commercial partners are good examples of homogenization processes. On the other hand, football's different social meanings and political significances confirm heterogenization processes. These homogenization and heterogenization processes are intertwined; by way of illustration, the political dimension of Hungarian football influences the sponsorship activities and the market of broadcasting rights.

Finnish and Hungarian football have been characterized by diverse development paths, of which examination demanded multi-causal and multi-directional approach advanced by Elias, Dunning and Maguire. The reasons for not having significant football business in these countries and being at the periphery of the global football figuration are manifold. In spite of being peripheral, both countries have been increasingly integrated into the global football figuration.

Conclusion

This study set out to answer three research questions. First, the characteristics and processes of the global football figuration were discussed, drawing on the works of prominent figurational sociologists such as Dunning, Maguire and Clark. A figurational approach synthesized with the concept of duality of glocality was advanced, which enabled the discussion of the global football figuration. The actors and processes comprising this figuration cannot be separated; they form networks of interdependencies together. The theoretical framework constructed this way not only

considers figurations as the basic entities to be analysed and concentrates on power relations marked by interdependencies, but also further highlights the relevance of both homogenization and heterogenization processes, and thus the dynamic interchanges between the local and the global fields in football. For instance, increasing flow of sport broadcasting from the core to the periphery is linked to the processes of neoliberalism and demonstrates the growing significance of the core. However, the periphery interprets the programmes locally via own television studios and commentators. This framework assisted in answering the remaining two research questions and may be a useful tool for analysing the development of sports in different countries as well.

Second, the concept of periphery football country was discussed. Instead of strict conceptualization of periphery football, the analysis of countries' diverse development paths is suggested. It has been argued that a country being peripheral with respect to football is not in a static state, but rather characterized by continuous processes of shifts of power, which is a function of core–periphery interdependency ties. Furthermore, no country can be considered homogenous in terms of being peripheral; there are varied interdependencies and power struggles within countries. By way of illustration, Hungary has been characterized by a powerful core–periphery asymmetry during state socialism with its dominant capital, Budapest. Nevertheless, the power balance in football has started to shift slowly towards regional towns such as Debrecen and Győr, when the political system's grip began to ease. Success seems to be a reasonable indicator of a country belonging to core, semi-periphery or periphery countries of football; nevertheless, further empirical research of economic, social, cultural and political processes behind the sport results is recommended to explore the antecedents of becoming a periphery country.

Third, based on the arguments provided for the first two research questions, this article made an attempt to explain why Finland and Hungary can be considered as periphery football countries. Applying a multi-directional approach, the development of Finnish and Hungarian football was analysed and compared from a figurational sociological stance, including economic environment, social meanings and cultural practices. It has been emphasized that the football domains of these countries have been involved in different types of power struggles and interdependency ties; their paths of development seem to be remarkably diverse, marked by both homogenization and heterogenization processes. Football's interpretation and tradition are fairly different in Finland and Hungary. For example, football in Hungarian state socialism was controlled by the state and financed centrally, which resulted in considerable international success. Subsequently, the end of state support demolished football's economic base. At the same time, it has been clearly the major sport in the figuration of Hungarian sports.

Meanwhile, Finnish football has been characterized by a strong dependence on volunteers, which hindered the development of professional sports and caused the lack of achievements on the international level. Moreover, within the figuration of Finnish sports, football has been a significant but not the major sport.

This study has shown that at present, both Finland and Hungary are peripheral football countries. However, by the 2000s, these countries form an organic part of the global football figuration through peripheral inclusion with migrating professional players and clubs increasingly operating as companies according to international standards. Nevertheless, neither of them has considerable football business and the national leagues serve as player suppliers to higher level leagues. Moreover,

this paper has provided additional evidence with respect to the applicability of figurational sociology to the evolution of professional sports and globalization and sport.

Further research in this field would be of great help in gaining a deeper understanding on the development of football in these peripheral football countries. Case studies examining the changes in clubs' social networks, organizational changes, access to resources, embeddedness in their local environment and the influence of politics on football clubs are recommended topics.

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II

GLOCAL PROCESSES IN PERIPHERAL FOOTBALL COUNTRIES: ELITE YOUTH FOOTBALL CLUBS IN FINLAND AND HUNGARY

by

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Glocal processes in peripheral football countries: Elite youth football clubs in Finland and Hungary

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to increase the understanding of the global and local contexts in football by finding out what complex and interdependent social, cultural and economic dimensions seem to shape periphery football. More specifically, the differences and similarities of Finnish and Hungarian elite youth football clubs in the 2010s are discussed. The theoretical framework is formulated within the social sciences of sport around the globalization of football. The main sources of data are interviews with football practitioners as well as popular publications on Finnish, Hungarian, and international football. The data were analysed with thematic content analysis. It was found that the concept and organization of top-level youth football is different in these two countries. At the same time, homogenization processes related to professionalization and specialization were observed. It is suggested that in spite of their peripheral status, both countries have become increasingly integrated into the global football system. However, the results also indicate that it is highly challenging for these countries to compete on the global football market.

Keywords: periphery football, glocalization, youth football, Finland

Összefoglaló

Az cikk célja bemutatni az összetett és egymással kölcsönös függésben lévő társadalmi, kulturális és gazdasági dimenziók hatását a perifériás labdarúgásra, és ez által mélyebb tudást szerezni a labdarúgás globális és helyi összefüggéseiről. Vizsgálatunk során a finn és magyar elit utánpótlás labdarúgó klubok működését hasonlítjuk össze a 2010-es években. Az elméleti keret a sport társadalomtudományán belül a labdarúgás globalizációjára épül. A kutatáshoz magyar és finn labdarúgó klubok képviselőivel készített interjúkat, valamint magyar, finn és nemzetközi labdarúgásról szóló publikációkat használtunk. Az anyagot tematikus tartalomelemzéssel analizáltuk. A kutatás eredményei rávilágítanak, hogy az elit utánpótlás labdarúgás fogalma és szerveződése különböző a vizsgált országokban. Ugyanakkor megfigyeltünk homogenizációs folyamatokat is, amelyek a professzionalizációhoz és specializációhoz kapcsolódnak. Annak ellenére, hogy mind a két ország labdarúgása jelenleg periférikusnak mondható, egyre jobban integrálódnak a labdarúgás globális rendszerébe. Mindazonáltal az eredmények azt mutatják, hogy ezeknek az országoknak rendkívül nagy kihívás a globális labdarúgó piacon versenyezni.

Kulcsszavak: perifériás labdarúgás, globalizáció, utánpótlás labdarúgás, Finnország

Introduction

Youth football in Finland and Hungary is characterized by different offsets. Finland has a strong civil society and a long tradition of volunteerism, both of which have hindered the progress of market-oriented sport. The development of football based on amateur principles was reinforced by a decision taken in the 1920s by the Finnish Football Association to favour amateurism (Itkonen & Nevala, 2007, 14). On the other hand, Hungary has taken after its state socialist way of organizing top-level sport with a centralized grassroots system and a considerable sport school network (Vincze, 2008, 23-24). During the post-communist transition, football has faced continuous financial problems, a loss of social status and interest as well as poor results, a situation which has resulted in 'degraded football talent identification and support' (Molnar, Doczi, & Gál, 2011, 263). Nevertheless, upon the arrival of the new government, sport became a strategic area of development in 2010. In parallel with the aforementioned local development paths in Finland and Hungary, changes in youth football have been interdependent with globalization processes, including the professionalization of adult football.

According to an international report on youth academies, there is a lack of 'a real detailed and coordinated mapping and understanding of the different models of youth development that exist from across Europe' (European Club Association, 2012, 11). Vincze (2008, 100) also confirms that the scientific literature on youth football is scarce. In addition, far too little attention has been paid to peripheral football countries such as Finland and Hungary, let alone to studying them from a global perspective.

This article aims to increase the understanding of the global and local contexts in football by finding out what social, cultural, and economic dimensions seem to characterize periphery football. More specifically, we explore and compare the specificities of Finnish and Hungarian youth football clubs. The research questions addressed are the following: In what way do the operations of Finnish and Hungarian elite youth football clubs differ in the 2010s? In what way does the global dimension appear on the youth level in the 2010s in these countries?

Certain limitations, however, need to be made for the scope of this text. This article deals with 'elite' youth clubs. In Hungary, we considered the top 15 youth clubs included in the Double Pass youth academy audit, commissioned by the Hungarian Football Federation, to be elite (Double Pass, 2014). In Finland, we took as elite those youth clubs selected for a Finnish Football Association pilot programme launched in 2013 for developing a quality system (Finnish Football Association, 2012). Youth football clubs are understood as consisting of several teams and playing groups in different age groups. Furthermore, for this article we concentrate on boys' football. In Finland, women and girls' football is considerably more popular and successful compared to Hungary, which would make the comparison too complicated. In Hungary, the number of licensed players in 2014–15, according to the website of the Hungarian Football Federation, is about 150,000, of which 8,000 are female. The equivalent data for Finland is 127,000, of which 27,000 are female players (Finnish Football Association, n.a.).

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework is formulated around the globalization of football within the social sciences of sport. Giulianotti and Robertson (2009, 47) conceptualized glocalization using the term 'duality of glocality'. It enables the comprehension of the global-local contexts in

football. According to this concept, processes of homogenization and heterogenization occur simultaneously in cultures. Generally, homogenization is most noticeable in cultural forms and institutions, whereas heterogenization is more evident in sociocultural contents and practices of social groups (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012, 438). Themes in football that may be examined through duality of glocality include playing styles, fan cultures and club governance (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009, 49).

For this article, duality of glocality enables us to detect how interacting local specificities and global influences shape the operation of elite youth clubs. The development of professional football has also moulded the organization of youth football (Vincze, 2008, 20-21). As a result, practices of top-level sport, such as managerial methods and organizational structures, began to trickle down to youth sport in a large measure (Itkonen, 2013, 7). These developments imply homogenization processes in the field of youth football. On the other hand, working practices often vary depending on the particular environments (Relvas et al. 2010, 182). Such variation can serve as evidence for the relevance of local characteristics and suggest the importance of heterogenization processes.

Research process

The key research materials used in this qualitative study are expert interviews carried out with Finnish and Hungarian football practitioners. We conducted two structured interviews in Finland and three in Hungary with general managers of elite youth football clubs in 2014 and 2015. These include Ferencvarosi TC, Vasas Kubala Academy and Debrecen Football Academy from Hungary as well as HJK (Helsinki) and JJK (Jyväskylä) from Finland. In addition, the so-called primary data collected via semi-structured interviews for the first author's doctoral dissertation, to which this article also belong, are used. The primary data consist of interviews with fourteen Finnish and thirteen Hungarian football experts. All the interviews were carried out in the mother tongue of the informants, recorded, and subsequently transcribed, which resulted in on average twenty typed pages per interview. In addition, a considerable amount of literature, media documents and club documentation on Finnish and Hungarian football were utilized, such as strategies, development plans and websites.

The interview guide employed consists of the following topics: range of roles in the organization; embeddedness in the local environment; resources; goals of the club; sporting activities, competitiveness and coaching; and publicity. These dimensions are based on Itkonen's (1991) comprehensive framework, in which essential dimensions related to sport clubs' operation were examined. A thematic analysis of the research data was carried out using Atlas.ti software. We coded the data, created a coding frame, and identified meaningful themes as a combination of theory and data driven coding. The most notable results were quantified and are shown in table format.

Results and discussion

The results of this research indicate that elite youth football in the studied countries is organized and operated under rather different concepts. The most meaningful distinctions identified in the research data are the scope of activities provided by the clubs as well as the range of resources available for the operation of the clubs. Therefore, these two themes have been chosen as a means to more thoroughly examine the differences between the counties. Afterwards, we discuss the aspects of the data that imply homogenization processes.

First, the typical ‘player pathways’ in elite youth clubs, which reveal the range of activities organized, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Typical player pathways in elite youth clubs in the 2010s

Age	2 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 - 16	17 - 19
FIN	Daycare football	Daycare football	Age group teams: (1) all players together (2) district teams	Age group teams: (1) first team (2) challenger teams		
	Family football	Football school				
			Recreational teams			
			After-school activities for pupils			
				SHA academy (10 - 16)		
HUN		Daycare football	Age group teams: (1) first team (2) second team		Age group teams: - one team per age group - academy age groups (14-19)	

Finnish clubs typically provide activities for a wider range of participants compared to Hungarian clubs and usually operate as registered associations. This is also the case with elite youth clubs. A player pathway may start as early as age 2 with family football, with parents taking part in the activities as well. In the following phase of the pathway, football school or daycare football are organized up to age 6. Players from 7 to 9 years of age mostly practise all together while forming several playing groups, which may mean up to 40 to 60 players in an age group. In case of larger geographical areas, where there can be a huge amount of players in one age group, district teams may be established, as in the case of HJK from Helsinki. From approximately age 10, a separate first team that consists of the currently most advanced players is set up. At the same time, challenger and possibly recreational teams also operate in the same age groups, depending on the amount and the skill level of players. In Finland, teams within the club have their own organization and budget. Both HJK’s and JJK’s missions clearly articulate the goal to offer possibilities to players at all levels (HJK, 2015; JJK, n.a.). At some clubs, so-called B and A juniors (ages 17–19) do not form part of the youth club and instead belong to the organization managing the adult first team. In addition to the aforementioned activities, cooperation with schools has become common in the form of after-school activities in the afternoon for pupils.

The differences between the two countries can also be seen in the role academies play. In Finland, the concept of an academy is understood in two different ways. The first concept is exemplified in an expert organization such as the Sami Hyypiä Academy, a centralized football academy established in Eerikkilä, Finland in 2010 by the Football Association of Finland. Named after the former Finnish international and FC Liverpool player Sami Hyypiä, the academy has provided tools for following player development (ages 10–13) as well as courses for coaches for about 20 top youth clubs in two-year cycles. For the 2015–17 period, the operation has been further expanded for players aged 14–16. The academy explains: ‘The role of the academy is to develop Finnish football towards the international top level together with the Finnish football community and other partners’ (Sami Hyypiä Akatemia, n.a.). In the Finnish context, the second concept of the academy refers to a comprehensive service provided to young athletes of various sport disciplines, which consists of support for combining studying and top-level sport as well as good facilities for practicing and coaching at the place of studies. These academies are regional and operate in cooperation with local schools, sport clubs and sport federations (K-S URA, 2015). However, according to

practitioners in local sport clubs, the operation of academies has not yet become very visible in football.

In Hungary, an academy is understood as a different concept in the context of youth football. There top clubs have to qualify for an academy licence from the Football Federation and they themselves operate as academies. This process includes certain requirements that clubs need to fulfil related, for instance, to education, meaning that many players attend boarding school (Hungarian Football Federation, 2012). Academies operate with one team per age group with a limited number of players between the ages of 14 and 19. However, younger age groups may include two teams, typically called first and second teams. This trend concerning the number of teams in elite youth clubs is similar in the so-called core countries like Germany (Hieronymus, 2009). Hungarian clubs often have a network of partner ‘feeder’ clubs and recruitment systems that enables player movement and talent identification. With regards to the beginning of the player pathway in Hungary, there may be daycare football provided for children, but it is less organized compared to what is organized in Finland.

The 2004 Sport Act allowed Hungarian clubs to choose from a number of legal forms. In addition to the traditional form of sport clubs, these forms include sport foundations, non-profit limited companies and limited companies. (Perényi & Bodnár, 2015) Related to the focus of sport clubs in general, it is argued that by ‘maintaining the clear competition sport profile, clubs do not serve the expansion of sport participants in the country’ (ibid, 15).

The differences presented above in providing activities shape other dimensions of club functions, such as communication with members and with the external environment via websites. According to the executive manager of HJK Helsinki, the club tries to find a balance between news on competitive activities and other items of interest on their website. In contrast, when browsing, for instance, Ferencvaros’s website, almost all articles report on football results. It seems that reporting on youth sport in the media in general is rather different between the countries, with more focus in Hungary on competition.

Second, the various sources of income available for top-level youth football clubs are demonstrated in order of importance in Table 2. Again, a distinct concept of youth elite sport may be identified in the two countries.

Payments by players’ parents are by far the most important source of income in Finnish youth football. Together with the traditional ‘association logic’ of civic sport clubs, Finnish youth clubs increasingly organize activities according to ‘consumer logic’, such as tournaments and camps. Different dimensions that indicate the emerging consumer logic include the flexible opportunity to participate, the lack of involvement in the activities of the club and the expectation of service quality for the fee paid (Van der Roest, 2015, 5). For instance, HJK has a service manager nowadays, which implies a growing market-oriented approach. Other relevant resources are accessible for Finnish clubs via different schemes of the Football Association and the Ministry of Education and Culture. These include financial support for hiring professionals in the coaching and administration sections of the sport clubs.

Table 2. Main sources of income for elite youth football clubs in the 2010s

Finland	Hungary
<p>Payments by parents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Club membership fee - Team monthly fee - Market oriented services based on consumer logic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Camps ▪ Tournaments ▪ Additional practices <p>Other forms of resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - After-school activities (paid by municipalities) - Football Association of Finland <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Coach education scheme (Fortum Tutor) ▪ Talent coaching scheme - Ministry of Education and Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Club support scheme project money - Volunteer work by parents and members - Sponsors; Municipality support <p><i>Note: In Finland clubs and teams have separate budgets and they are partly independent within the club.</i></p>	<p>Tax revenues foregone by the state</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Company tax allowance system (TAO) <p>Hungarian Football Federation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for academies <p>Other forms of resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Payments by parents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Monthly fee - Legislation favouring sport clubs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Simplified entrepreneurial tax and contribution regime (EKHO) for employing coaches - Municipality support - Sponsors

In Hungary, ‘the importance of membership fees and local revenues representing personal commitment became marginal’ during the state socialist era from 1945 to 1989 (Perényi & Bodnár, 2015), because sport was state financed at every level. After the transition started from a state socialist regime in 1989–90, parents increasingly ended up bearing the costs of participation in sport activities. In 2011, the societal subsystem of sport was restructured and new forms of funding appeared. A corporate tax benefit scheme, known as TAO, was introduced, which is available to the five biggest team sports. Clubs can apply for costs of competition and travel for youth players within the TAO framework. (Perényi & Bodnár, 2015). TAO may be used for youth activities, personnel and investment in sport infrastructure (European Commission, 2011, 3). In addition, another scheme, called the simplified entrepreneurial tax and contribution regime (EKHO) came into force for facilitating the employment of sport professionals, including coaches. According to the interviewees, TAO and support from the Football Federation accounts for the greatest part of their budget in the last couple of years.

Apart from the heterogeneity of Finnish and Hungarian youth football clubs with regards to player pathways and the resources presented above, we can identify a number of themes indicating homogenization processes. Most of these relate to professionalization and globalization. For instance, importing know-how has become increasingly significant in both countries. The Finnish FA signed a partnership with a Catalan company, Soccer Services, which specializes in providing education on training methods (Lampinen, 2015, 4). In Hungary, a noteworthy example is the cooperation with Double Pass, a Belgian company benchmarking football academies. Moreover, the sport director of the Hungarian FF was selected from Germany, who later became the temporary head coach of the men’s national team. In addition, we may observe an increasing number of full-time and part-time coaches as well as specialists, such as physical trainers, goalkeeper coaches and medical staff. In

addition, clubs employ heads of coaching as well as heads of sections, which are typically in charge of three age groups. Not only the number of staff, but a more systematic way of management may be detected. In Finland, there is a noteworthy glocal aspect resulting from the existence of a wide range of teams; there are a variety of coaching types that are compensated in different ways. Apart from the part-time and full-time coaches, the significance of parents and other volunteers who are involved in various roles for little to no compensation is still enormous. In contrast, carrying out professional work such as coaching as a volunteer is not very common in Hungary (Perényi & Bodnár, 2015). It seems that the spirit of volunteerism has yet to spread out into society (Foldesi, Jakabhazy, & Nagy, 2005).

Taking advantage of new technology has become more widespread in many areas. These include online platforms for interaction and screening players with a functional movement test. However, according to the Double Pass audit of Hungarian academies, 'use of coaching software and computer database is not widespread' (2014). This is true for Finland as well, although the Sami Hyypiä Academy does apply high-level technology. In addition, the aforementioned professionalization and specialization processes have gone hand in hand with an increasing network of actors with schools, other clubs and even universities. Clubs are increasingly connected locally, regionally and globally.

To further illustrate the differences between the two ways of organizing youth football, we may apply a conceptual framework by Koski (2010). Koski explains the notions of a sport club through figurative examples. He ponders the role of the sport clubs as a public service, as a production plant, as a supermarket and as a community. Public service refers to the assumption that everyone should have the chance to participate in club activities. The metaphor of a production plant indicates the talent development and competitive dimensions of sport clubs. As for the supermarket, it implies the broad variety of activities sport clubs may offer. Finally, the community metaphor indicates the civic activities of sport clubs. When comparing Finnish and Hungarian elite youth football clubs, it is reasonable to say that in Finnish clubs all dimensions are rather strong. Nevertheless, we may consider the supermarket dimension to be slightly outstanding in this context nowadays. In contrast, in Hungarian clubs the production plant dimension is considerably stronger than the others, referring as it does to the elite development.

In order to better comprehend the discussion above, Table 3 presents an overview of the glocal embeddedness of youth football in three intertwined levels.

The first level refers to the specificities of the youth football system that have been introduced in this chapter earlier based on the analysis of our research data, including varying player pathways and sources of income. Homogenization processes involve professionalization, specialization and increasing competitiveness. The second level deals with the local subsystem of sport, in which youth football is incorporated. It is characterized by the role of the different sectors, the legal framework, the popularity of certain sports and the role of the media. By way of illustration, there is a disproportionate role between the three sectors in Hungarian sport with the dominance of the state (Perényi, 2013, 90), whereas in Finland the third sector with the contribution of volunteers is still of key importance. With the help of the analysis of the first two levels, we may better understand the third level, namely the way Hungary and Finland are incorporated into the global order of football.

Table 3. Glocal dimensions in elite youth football in the 2010s

	Finland	Hungary
(1) Specificities of the youth football system		
<i>Evidence of heterogenization</i>		
	Activities for a variety of participants	Elite development
<i>Focus of operation</i>	Market-oriented elements; Consumer logic has appeared	Focus on maximizing support
	Supermarket	Production plant
<i>Human resources</i>	Contribution of volunteers	Higher amount of employees
<i>Main financial resources</i>	Parents	TAO; Support from the HFF
<i>Evidence of homogenization</i>		
	Professionalization; specialization; internationalization	
<i>Other</i>	Growing amount of full-time and part-time employees	
	Expanding social networks; importing knowledge	
(2) Football in the subsystem of sport		
<i>Role of football</i>	Most practiced team sport / Not the No 1 spectator sport	No 1 sport in terms of both spectators and participants
<i>Sport policy</i>	Sport for all	Focus towards elite sport
	Distinct development paths of professionalism	
<i>Other</i>	Different legal and taxation environment as well as role of the three sectors	
	Different role of media	
(3) The place of Finnish and Hungarian football in the global football system		
	Transit / supplier countries in the football market	
	Growing amount of international networks in both professional and grassroots football (tournaments, cooperation)	
	Peripheral inclusion in the global football figuration	

Conclusions

This study set out to answer two research questions. First, the differences of Finnish and Hungarian elite youth football clubs in the 2010s were discussed. The findings highlight that, in both countries, the diverse development paths of local football as well as global influences are reflected in the organization of youth football. The concept and organization of top level youth football are understood differently in these countries and mirror the social, economic, cultural and political background of the given country and therefore refer to heterogenization processes. Finland has a strong civil sector, with a long tradition of volunteerism and of organizing football on an amateur basis, whereas Hungary has taken after the state socialist way of organizing sport, where different levels of professionals emerged. Although the traditions of third sector sport and civic activities are still strong in Finland, market-oriented elements have become increasingly important in their operation, implying the appearance of consumer logic. Income from provided services may help at least partly finance the operation of the whole club. In spite of this, the role of volunteers in running sport clubs remains extremely important. The operation of Finnish clubs may be comprehended as a type of supermarket, offering some kind of activities to all levels of participants. The main financial resources are provided by the parents. There are certain tensions and conflicts resulting from

this system in which increasing costs of participation, the demand for more professional operation as well as talent development appear in third sector organizations.

Contrary to Finnish elite youth clubs, Hungarian ones focus solely on elite player development and operate as production plants. This approach relates to the history and traditions of top-level sport. With sport becoming a strategic branch by decision of the current political platform in 2010, a considerable amount of resources opened up for sport clubs via simplified taxation for football experts and coaches as well as tax benefit schemes for the support of youth clubs. This present context may offer the country the possibility to break away from its peripheral status, but changes in the political platform may endanger even the basic operation of the football clubs. In addition, the expanded involvement of the state may hinder the civil sphere from finding its independence and self-maintenance (Perényi, 2013, 97). A range of homogenization processes can also be detected, including professionalization of both administrative and coaching staff, substantial importation of knowledge as well as an expanding local and international social network and integration.

The second research question in this study sought to gain a deeper understanding of the findings from the first research question. Therefore, a framework of three intertwined levels was created to interpret the glocal environment of youth football clubs' operation, including homogenization and heterogenization processes. The first level consisted of specificities of the youth systems in each country; the second level addressed football in the subsystem of sports; and the third level considered Finnish and Hungarian football in the global football system.

Although both countries may be considered peripheral countries in football based on their recent international performance with Hungary occupying position 54, and Finland position 55 on average at FIFA men's ranking since its creation in 1993 (FIFA 2016), the results of this study indicate that they have been increasingly integrated into the global football system. At the same time, youth football fulfils an important role in these sport and youth cultures with football being the most practiced and most popular sport in Hungary, and the most practiced team sport in Finland. However, it is suggested that it is highly challenging for these countries to compete on the global market of football. This article may provide a framework for future quantitative studies, which would enable to measure the effectiveness of the youth models introduced above, and could link them to the health status in society or levels of physical activities in the examined countries. In this regard this article may also be considered as a pilot study. In addition, further work could be carried out on youth football with a more developmental perspective as well as on comparing the operation of clubs from peripheral and core football countries.

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III

SUOMALAISTEN JA UNKARILAISTEN HUIPPUJALKAPALLOIL- JOIDEN ASEMAN MUUTOKSET 1980-LUVULTA NYKYPÄIVIIN [THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF FINNISH AND HUNGARIAN TOP-LEVEL FOOTBALL PLAYERS SINCE THE 1980S]

by

Szerovay, M. & Itkonen, H. 2015

In H. Roiko-Jokela & E. Sironen (Eds.) *Urheilun toinen puoli. Suomen urheiluhistori-
allisen seuran vuosikirja 2015* [The other side of the sport. The yearbook of the Finn-
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The professionalization of Finnish and Hungarian top-level football players since the 1980s

Abstract

The aim of this article is to increase the understanding of the global and local contexts in football by finding out what complex and interdependent social, cultural, and economic dimensions seem to have shaped 'periphery' football. More specifically, the professionalization of top-level football players in the Hungarian and Finnish football cultures since the 1980s is explored.

The theoretical framework is formulated around the globalization of football within the social sciences of sport. The key research materials used are semi-structured interviews carried out with Finnish and Hungarian football practitioners. The data were analyzed with thematic content analysis. Apart from the interview data, comprehensive academic literature and media materials were utilized.

The diverse origins and development paths of the status of top-level players in Finnish and Hungarian football mirror the social, economic, cultural and political background of the given country. The concepts of top-level football and the professional player have been understood differently in these countries. The operation of the players' unions offer fruitful examples to analyze these differences. At the same time global influences have been reflected in the roles of the various actors in football.

Keywords: periphery football, football player, professionalization, glocalization, Finland, Hungary

Introduction

Football has several hundred years of documented history, but as a modern sport it has been played for just over a hundred years. From its birthplace in England, the sport has spread to other parts of Europe and later overseas to, in particular, Latin America. As the sport was spreading geographically, the social composition of the participants was broadening as well. Around the end of the 1800s and the beginning of 1900s, football went from being a pastime of the upper classes to the sport of the working class.¹

As a result of this geographical spread and shift in social status, football became a competitive sport, so teams from different areas – and later from different countries – began to compete to prove their superiority. In turn, there developed a need for associations to organize these competitions. Therefore, in 1863 the first national federation was founded in England. In 1904, the international federation FIFA was established.²

The widening of football's participant base and its internationalization created the prerequisites for players to become professional. In England, football has been organized as a professional sport since, at the latest, the end of the 1880s, subsequently diverging from the Olympic amateur ideal.³ Alongside proper professionalism, so-called hidden professionalism also appeared.⁴ Indeed, in parallel to professional football, the game has always been played as an amateur sport. In fact, the timing and nature of professionalization has varied from country to country. These differences make comparison between countries particularly interesting.

According to the international federation FIFA, "a professional is a player who has a written contract with a club and is paid more for his footballing activity than the expenses he effectively incurs. All other players are considered to be amateurs."⁵ This article starts with the premise that the concept of a professional player is defined as those athletes, who "earn their principal income from sports".⁶

Theoretical background

This study is based on two main perspectives. For the first, our analysis is framed by the internationalization and globalization of football. We understand globalization as a complex historical process, the driving forces of which are the varying interdependencies between the local and the global.⁷ In addition to the general internationalization and globalization of football, we have drawn on Giulianotti and Robertson's concept of *glocalization*. They conceptualized glocalization using the term "duality of glocality", which focuses on the interactions between the global and local in the global football system.⁸ Accordingly, this concept enables processes of both homogenization and heterogenization, which occur simultaneously in cultures, to be explored.

In our second perspective, we apply the figurational sociological approach. According to Maguire, countries within the global football figuration may be

divided into core, semi-periphery and periphery countries.⁹ When football culture is viewed from a figurational sociological perspective, it shows continuous change influenced by both globalization in general and the changes within the given sport.¹⁰ Dunning's typology of sport professionalism, which also has a figurational perspective, is utilized as well. Different forms of professionalism imply distinct power relationships marked by interdependencies within the actor networks of football. Of these relationships, it is the role of players we focus in this text.

Dunning identified nine types of professionalism based on the openness or legitimacy of the professionalism in question as well as on the provider of the financial support who enables the sport performance. In non-legitimate/covert professionalism, which can also be called *shamateurism*, financial support may be given in the form of state support for players and clubs, resources from private companies, university grants, and hidden payments from match-day income, such as so-called boot money. In contrast, legitimate/overt professionalism has five distinct sources of financing: rich patrons, fundraising from fans and members, match-day revenues, and commercial revenues through selling sponsorships and broadcasting rights.¹¹ Due to constant global and local changes, football in periphery football countries such as Finland and Hungary has been characterized by varying types of professionalism at different times.

Because football's long history is beyond the scope of this article, we focus instead on the gradual professionalization of Finnish and Hungarian top-level players from the 1980s to the current day. The main task is to examine the changes of professionalization in a glocal context. The different levels of professionalization, and how these have influenced the everyday life of the players, will be traced. Amateurism and professionalism in this context are not perceived as opposites but rather as a continuum.

This research approach attempt to fill a significant gap in the current literature, which lacks studies in which recent social, cultural and economic changes and their global influences on national football systems are taken as a starting point.¹² Molnar, Dóczy, Krausz and Hadas,¹³ among others, have written about the changes of Hungarian football in a global context as well as about the migration of players, but they have not dealt with the changes in the role and status of players in more detail. In Finland, Itkonen, Nevala and Heinonen¹⁴ have addressed the connection between the development of football and globalization.

Aim, methodology and research data

Manifold social, cultural and economic aspects have shaped peripheral football cultures. The aim of our article is to gain further understanding of football's global and local contexts by addressing two questions. First, we examine in what way the status of top-level football players has changed in the Finnish and Hungarian football cultures. Second, we attempt to identify the phases and differences that can be identified in the professionalization of Finnish and Hungarian top-level football players since the 1980s.

The main research materials in this study are semi-structured interviews conducted with Finnish and Hungarian football practitioners. Altogether, 13 interviews were conducted in Finland and 14 in Hungary. The interviews took place in the mother tongues of the informants (Finnish or Hungarian) in 2014 and 2015. In Hungary, the informants included three former international players and one top-division player, a former national coach and three sport economists. The Finnish informants included one former international player and two former top-division players, one of whom has also been a coach. One player who played in both the Finnish and Hungarian highest leagues in the 1980s and 1990s was also interviewed. Leaders of the players' unions of both countries were also interviewed. The collected data were then analysed using thematic analysis. In addition to the interview data, a comprehensive review of the academic literature and media materials and other documents was carried out to help highlight the changes. Additionally, the first author's own experience as a semi-professional and professional player in Finland and Hungary between 2000 and 2012 has also been drawn on.

The research data was managed and analyzed by the coding frame we created. The most relevant themes related to the status of football players appeared to be the use of time related to football and everyday life, administrative issues linked with player contracts, salaries and forms of employment, and player migration. We then created a table based on these themes to demonstrate the various phases of professionalization that top-level players in Finland and Hungary have undergone.

The scope of this study was limited in three ways. First was the time period, which was selected because it contains important themes to study related to the concept of what a *professional football player* is – to date an underresearched area. Additionally, the interviews of those individuals with playing experience during the observed period provided an opportunity to collect data with the necessary breadth and depth. A second limitation was the choice to focus only on male players. Though the area of professionalization in women's football is one possibility for further research (see Williams¹⁵ for reports of professional women players from the early 1970s and Itkonen, Nevala and Giullianotti¹⁶ on the migration of Finnish women players analysed through a gender and globalization framework), the development of professionalism among female players in Finland and Hungary differs considerably from that of male players. Third, player migration is touched on to some extent concerning Finnish and Hungarian players, but migration is not a key focus here despite its importance as part of globalization.

Becoming an employee in the Hungarian top division

The Hungarian Football Federation was established in 1901, and since then national football series have been organized almost every year.¹⁷ Teams from outside the capital Budapest took part in the highest league for the first time in 1926, and for several years after that the series became overtly professional. However, up until 1989, it was dominated by a more hidden professionalism, which had been the main approach since the beginning of the 1900s, where players received no official salary

and shamateurism persisted.¹⁸ Hungary has a strong football tradition and the sport has played an important role in shaping the country's national identity. Football has long been Hungary's most popular sport, and the football team won a silver medal in the 1938 and 1954 World Cups along with three Olympic gold medals. Since the 1970s, however, the level of play has gradually decreased, and Hungary has not qualified for any major tournaments since 1986.¹⁹ In the June 2015 FIFA rankings, the Hungarian men's team was 42nd and the women's team 40th.²⁰

According to Dunning's typology, Hungarian football was characterized by a covert, non-legitimate type of sports professionalism before the transition from state socialism to capitalism started in 1989. During the period of state socialism from 1949 to 1989, sport had an important ideological role. Top-level sport was financed centrally and its independence was heavily restricted. Under socialism the state financed sport via large state-owned companies, which had their own sport clubs linked to them. In this framework, nominally amateur athletes had a state-supported job, known as sport jobs. One of the interviewees who played in the Hungarian league in the 1980s reports, "I was registered as an employee at the mine in Komló, and later in Békéscsaba in a canned food company...but we can say I was a professional football player."²¹ Earnings in this system, which may be called shamateurism, came via employment at these companies. Other forms of compensation were black money, overlooking customs fraud, as well as conveniences and advantages given to players by the municipalities, state or large state-owned companies.²²

In 1989 the state socialist regime collapsed and top-level sport should have converted to an overt, legitimate professionalism based on a market economy. However, this transition has been a long and complex process, particularly when it comes to the employment and status of athletes. After the collapse of the state socialist system, clubs found themselves in a situation where they needed to look for new revenue sources and apply capitalistic logic. The altered political and economic system did not have clear and sufficient regulations on taxation and other administrative matters related to athletes. For instance, the income tax was introduced in 1988, which meant an extra burden for both clubs and players. In reality, many features of the shamateurism described above have continued in some form after the changeover of economic systems up until the end of the 1990s.²³ State money, for example, continued to flow into football via sponsorships from state-owned companies. There was lack of capital and many clubs failed to pay taxes. Simultaneously, clubs accumulated huge amounts of debt. In the 1990s and 2000s, players commonly failed to receive what they were entitled to according to their contracts. Clubs preferred to owe players rather than other stakeholders. This example also demonstrates the players' weak role in the figuration of actors. Examples of avoiding paying taxes include players paid via limited partnerships and even bonds.²⁴ As Molnar suggests, "the interaction of the local and the global resulted in a hybrid formation of organizing the sport market".²⁵ This system appears, based on Dunning's typology, as a mixture of overt and covert professionalism.

Over the last twenty years, the legislative framework for sport in Hungary has varied. The 2000 Sport Act regulated market-based sport and, among other things,

defined the status of professional and amateur players. These regulations were intended to clear up the situation and interdependence of sport clubs, federations, amateur athletes and professionals. For example, professional athletes could be employed solely in business organizations.²⁶

The forms of employment have changed several times to include self-employment as well as working contracts. Self-employment, based on the 2000 Sport Act but contrary to FIFA and UEFA²⁷ regulations, was allowed.²⁸ In practice, it meant that players needed the assistance of an accountant. In this arrangement, players sought to collect as many receipts as possible in order write off their costs and pay fewer taxes. In this way, players were forced into formerly unknown territories.

The salaries of players have been a sensitive topic, and no official data on them are available in Hungary. (In contrast, the Football Players' Association of Finland used to regularly carry out a survey salary levels and since 2010 journalists have collected the annual data based on tax records.) Yet the context of employment as an athlete in Hungary has nowadays become more transparent. In 2010 further measures emerged when a political party with strong support for sport was elected. Since 2014 the *EKHO*²⁹, a special type of taxation, may be applied to professional athletes. Within this framework, a 15% tax is to be paid by the employee and 20% by the employer. However, this approach has its drawbacks as well, given that there is a reduced social security payment for this type of taxation. Unregulated incomes, whereby players receive earnings without professional contracts, are still present in lower divisions.³⁰ It should be noted that the sport policies of different governments have varied considerably in Hungary.

Another important element related to the changing role of top-level players is migration. International transfers were tightly restricted during state socialism. Agreements even on domestic transfers were often made without consulting the players. The possibility for legal international transfer from Hungary partially began in 1979, initially only for players above the age of 30.³¹ According to János Csank, the coach of Hungary's national team in the 1990s, this is one reason for the poor reputation of Hungarian football players abroad.³² One of the players who achieved success abroad was Tibor Nyilasi, a household name from Ferencvárosi TC, who transferred to an Austrian club in 1983.

Before entering the European Union in 2004, it was more complicated for Hungarian players to transfer to clubs in Western European countries. The unclear situation also hindered the possibilities to sign quality foreign players. The well-known Bosman ruling from 1995 came into effect in Hungary with the 2000 Sport Act. Following the regulation, a player whose contract was over could transfer for free and the player's team received no compensation. This resulted in clubs losing money but also higher salaries for players.³³ The Bosman ruling has considerably changed football practices throughout Europe.³⁴

The opportunities for players to switch teams in the Hungarian context have changed considerably in recent decades. In the 1980s and 1990s, coaches usually went to see the players they wanted to recruit in person. There were fewer games on TV, fewer agents, and no online databases. However, some agents did exist already then, although they worked in a framework strictly governed by the state.³⁵

For Hungary, the glocal aspect is especially meaningful due to the continuous transition of the social subsystem of sport, which has been caused partly by globalization processes and partly by the change in the socialist system that began in 1989-90.³⁶ Through these changes, the Hungarian football system has gradually become integrated into the international football system. Simultaneously, the role and status of players have changed, manifesting especially as increases in migration and in ways to earn income.

The status of football players in Finland

Football found its way to Finland via English sailors during the 1890s.³⁷ The Football Association of Finland was established in 1907, and the first major competition the national team participated in was the tournament at the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm. The national competitive series did not appear until the 1930s when the sport spread from the coastal areas and larger cities to the interior of Finland. The domination of amateur principles, differing from many other countries, was underpinned by a decision of the Football Association of Finland in the 1920s that favoured amateur football. The first Finnish professional football player, Aulis Rytönen, signed a contract in 1952. The internationalization of Finnish football can be traced to the 1970s and 1980s, when football pitches started to see an increasing amount of professional players. This enabled the best Finnish players to sign professional contracts with foreign clubs.³⁸ In the June 2015 FIFA rankings, the Finnish men's team were 78th and the women's team 24th.³⁹

According to Dunning's division of professionalism, the establishment of the Finnish top division, the Veikkausliiga, in 1990 could be seen as a shift towards professional practices. In this legitimate professionalism, income was increasingly acquired from commercial actors as well as from gate receipts. However, we need to examine more deeply the concept of professionalization in the Finnish context to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon. A more thorough analysis shows that even nowadays only a few of the teams in the highest division can be considered as fully professional. That is, even today most clubs are considered to be at different levels of semi-professionalism.⁴⁰

In 1990 there were only 10 players in the highest league and five from the first division whose profession was indicated as "football player" in the football yearbook. Most of the full professionals were foreign players.⁴¹ Kari Martonen, who played for FC Haka (Valkeakoski) and HJK (Helsinki) in the 1980s and 1990s, reports, "In those days if you were asked about your profession, no one said 'I'm a football player.' I would have said I was an engineer."⁴² In the 1980s and 1990s, it was typical that a player worked for a company that allowed flexible working time. Some clubs, such as FC Haka and MyPa (Myllykoski), operated in close partnership with large industrial enterprises. It would have been extremely difficult to practice and travel to games without being employed there. The company leadership had a positive attitude towards football.⁴³ By the end of the 1950s, in clubs such as FC Haka, it was common that "the money came from the company, but work was done

on football's terms. Players were at least semi-professionals."⁴⁴ Aulis Rytönen, who returned to HJK from abroad in 1959 as a player-coach, was offered an apartment and a job.⁴⁵ On the whole, it is challenging to apply Dunning's typology when examining the 1980s due to the low number of professional players. On the other hand, in some clubs where financial support was provided via companies, elements of amateurism could be detected.

During the 1990s, Finnish club teams gradually professionalized, with an increasing number of players becoming full-time professionals, especially players from abroad. For instance, Brazilian players started to play for FC Jazz in 1993. According to Markus Juhola, general manager of the players' union and former Veikkausliiga player, instead of the professional/semi-professional categorization, in the Finnish context it is more reasonable to apply the full-time/part-time/enthusiast division of players. Throughout all the so-called top-level leagues defined by the Football Association of Finland, practically every team has all three types of players. The top-level leagues include Veikkausliiga (men's league), Miesten ykkönen (men's first division), Miesten kakkonen (men's second division), as well as Naisten liiga (women's league) and Naisten ykkönen (women's first division).⁴⁶

Along with professionalization, a number of issues emerged. Players lacked negotiating power, and they commonly failed to receive what they were entitled to. Social security payments also created problems. As in Hungary, the profession of athlete was poorly regulated in the 1990s. It was not until 1996, for example, that holiday compensation for athletes in team sports was granted, a decision that was forced via a case in the court of appeal. In the Veikkausliiga, the first collective bargaining agreement was not made until 2004. In 2012 these terms concerned all players in the top-level leagues, and they have strengthened players' legal status.⁴⁷ Decisions of this kind marked the first steps towards defining football players, in comparison to ordinary employees, as professionals.

The qualification of HJK to the UEFA Champions League in 1998 has been noted by many Finnish football experts as a key event in the professionalization of the domestic league. This achievement brought more attention to the sport and the clubs, following HJK, started to invest more in players. A number of players transferred abroad at the end of the 1990s, such as Sami Hyypiä, Aki Riihilahti and Antti Niemi. Finland had its best UEFA and FIFA rankings when this so-called golden generation was at its peak during the mid-2000s.⁴⁸ In 1997 FIFA granted the first agent license in Finland. Around this time, money started to flow into football via the sale of broadcasting rights as well.⁴⁹ These changes reflect the manifold nature of the football figuration. At the same time, limited liability companies started to emerge in the football sector. The stronger financial position of the clubs meant players could be increasingly employed full-time, making their status essentially professional. In 2008, 87% of the players in the Veikkausliiga indicated their profession as "football player".⁵⁰

Players' unions as a mirror of the profession

Players' unions offer fruitful examples for the duality of glocality, given that both homogenization and heterogenization processes can be detected when examining the development of these organizations. In other words, the establishment of players' unions is an active measure by national football practitioners, but the same action also partially shifts the power to a higher organizational level. Accordingly, it is clear that norms at the transnational organization level also affect players' status on the national level.

Meaningful differences can be identified between the Finnish and Hungarian players' associations. In general, the time these associations were established reflects the points at which the professionalization of football occurred in distinct localities. To illustrate, the English Professional Footballers' Association (PFA) was founded in 1907. The international umbrella organization of professional players, FIFPro, was established in 1965. Yet in Hungary a players' union was not founded until 1990 and in Finland not until 1992. Similarly, the countries did not join FIFPro until 1996 and 2001, respectively.⁵¹ The establishment of players' unions indicates the spread of football player as a profession, but the timing also mirrors the relatively late professionalization in these countries and may be related to the countries' position on the periphery of the football world.

The distinction also appears on the linguistic level when interpreting the name of organizations. In Finland there is the Football Players' Association of Finland, and in Hungary it is known as the Organisation of Professional Football Players. Consequently, the scope of the union in Finland is more about top-level football instead of only professional football, meaning the association's scope includes Veikkausliiga, the men's first division, the men's second division, as well as the women's league and the women's first division. In the case of the Hungarian players' union, the professional status of members is very much emphasized, and the union currently concentrates on the two highest leagues of men's football. Women have only a marginal role in the organization though there are plans to broaden the activities to lower leagues and women's football in the future.⁵²

The formation of players' unions can be seen as a manifestation of globalization processes. During the 1980s, the amount of players from both countries playing for Western professional clubs has grown considerably. These players became familiar with the field of professional football in core and semi-periphery countries, and these processes have in turn advanced the establishment of the players' union in Finland. As these international contacts have proliferated along with globalization processes, the interdependencies between countries have also increased, forming, as Murphy et al. suggest, "processes that transcend the boundaries of nation-states". These processes, they continue, can be also seen as "uneven, long-term and historically rooted."⁵³ There is, therefore, evidence of homogenization processes, which include strengthening interdependencies with the global environment. At the same time, parallel to the increasing role of players' unions, the situation of players within the football figuration has been strengthened, for example, via minimum contract requirements. On the other hand, evidence of heterogenization can be seen

in how professionalism and the differences in the role of women's football are perceived. Unfortunately, globalization processes have resulted in negative aspects as well. In 2012, FIFPro published the Black Book Eastern Europe, which listed such offences as failing to pay salaries, abuse, bullying, racism and manipulation of games in Eastern European countries.⁵⁴

Defining and categorizing football organizations are worthwhile research paths to explore. In both Hungary and Finland, clubs first began operating as economic entities around 2000. However, in Hungary the shift came from above via an amendment of the 1998 Sport Act, which required all clubs who intended to participate in the highest league to operate as a business entity.⁵⁵ Unlike in Hungary, Finnish clubs realized themselves that the company form created a better context for professional operations and made the decision to become a business independently.

After analysing the research data and identifying various themes, we attempted to conceptualize the periods of professionalization for top-level football in Hungary and Finland since the 1980s. Based on the discussion above, we created a table to demonstrate the distinct situation of Finnish and Hungarian players. For example, the concept of top-level football is defined in a different way in these two countries, and the focus of the players' unions is on players from different levels. We looked at the changing role of top-level players since the 1980s and constructed three phases to demonstrate the professionalization of players in the highest domestic leagues. The phases have been constructed so that they sufficiently represent different periods and at the same time specify the characteristic features of both countries.

TABLE 1 The changing status of top-level players in the Finnish and Hungarian top divisions since the 1980s

FINLAND			
	1980s & 1990s	2000s	2010s
Period characterized by	Emerging professionalism	Increasing integration globally; "Golden generation"	Towards a clearer framework for top-level players
Player status	Amateur/part-time; Increasing number of full-time players	Part-time/full-time	Full-time/part-time
Employment	Civil work	Working contract with the club	Working contract with the club; Shift towards the status of "ordinary" employees
Earnings	Compensation	Salary and bonus	Salary and bonus
Player transfers	Growing amount of players moving from and to Finland	Best years of the "golden generation"	Supplier country; Increasing number of professional agents
Club form	Association	Business organization	Business organization
HUNGARY			
Period characterized by	Hidden professionalism; Slow transition begins	Searching for ways to regulate players; Increasingly integrated globally	Increasingly favoured environment for employing players
Player status	Shamateur; Full-time player	Full-time player	Full-time player; "Business professional"
Employment	Employee at state-owned companies; Limited partnerships	Self-employment; Working contract with the club	Working contract with simplified regulation
Earnings	Salary and bonuses; bonds; avoiding taxation	Salary and bonuses	Salary and bonuses
Player transfers	Transfer market gradually opening up since 1979	Supplier country; Increasing number of professional agents	Supplier country; Almost entirely via pro agents
Club form	Multi-discipline clubs before 1990; Later football sections typically separated	Business organization (by law)	Business organization (by law)

Conclusions

The findings of this paper highlight the diverse origins and development paths of professionalization for top-level players in Finnish and Hungarian football. It is also clear that global influences can be seen in the roles of the various actors in football at different times.

The first research question of the current study attempted to explore the changes in the status of top-level football players in Hungarian and Finnish domestic series since the 1980s. In these countries, it is clear that the concepts of *top-level football player* and *professional player* have been understood differently. The development of football player as a profession mirrors the social, economic, cultural and political background of the given country, and these features can be clearly observed. Hungary has begun from the state socialist way of organising top-level sport whereas Finland has a strong tradition of civil society and volunteerism. For example, the role of the state has remained significant in Hungarian top-level football even after the changing of the country's economic system. After the implementation of the current political agenda in 2010, the political dimension of the sport has again become more prominent with, for example, a simplified taxation scheme for football players. At the same time, state support has flowed into football via different channels. In contrast, Finnish Veikkausliiga teams have been attempting to establish football on a market-based system, which has obviously influenced the professionalization of players. Nevertheless, even nowadays only a few of the top-division teams are fully professional.

Both countries have been increasingly integrated into the global football figuration. The activities of the player unions are one clear demonstration of this. A standardization, in which a growing number of stakeholders participates, has taken place in the regulations concerning players. For an example of this, see the reaching of an agreement on the minimum contractual requirements for professional players by FIFPro, UEFA and the European Commission.⁵⁶ In spite of these developments, we can conclude that in both countries the status of professional players is not on the same level as that of ordinary employees.

In the second research question of the study, we addressed phases and differences in the professionalization of Finnish and Hungarian top-level players since the 1980s. The findings enabled us to identify three phases in the top divisions of the studied countries. Finnish players were typically amateurs/enthusiasts or part-time players in the 1980s. Nevertheless, the number of full-time players started to grow, demonstrating the accelerating diversification in the sport culture. The civil sector foundations of sport started to shift to a market-based approach in top-level sport. In the 2000s players were more likely part-time/full-time players. By the 2010s, however, more full-time players have been employed, yet fully professional clubs in the Veikkausliiga remain rare due to their limited resources.

The system of state socialism enabled players in the Hungarian top division to play, in practice, as full-time professionals, that is, as shamateurs. In the 2000s they were once again full-time professionals, but their status had changed: the formation of their income was now more diverse and they become overt professionals. In the

2010s Hungarian football players can now be seen as business professionals because they have to claim their position by showing their skills in the football labour market.

The changing role and status of top-level players in Finland and Hungary form part of the broader processes of increasing market-orientation and commercialization in football. Professionalization, which followed globalization, has contributed to changes in the practices and administration of football clubs. Simultaneously, the role and status of top-level players has also been constantly changing. These processes of change as well as the present organization of football make the figurational approach a suitable way to address this topic. Future studies could investigate the pathways of individual players from the amateur to the professional level. The professionalization of women's football would also deserve additional more attention by scholars. Concerning theoretical development, Dunning's typology of professionalism could be deepened and broadened.

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IV

**GLOBAL AND LOCAL INTERACTIONS IN FOOTBALL: THE
CHANGING FIELD OF PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL STADIUMS
IN FINLAND AND HUNGARY IN THE 2000S**

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