

TOGETHER, BUT STILL APART: ETHNIC IDENTITY, CLASS, AND FOOTBALL FANDOM IN CLUJ-NAPOCA, ROMANIA

By

Florin Faje

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

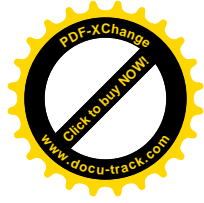
Supervisors:

Professor Dan Rabinowitz

Professor Don Kalb

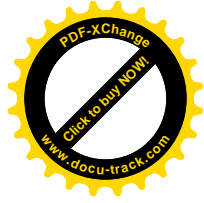
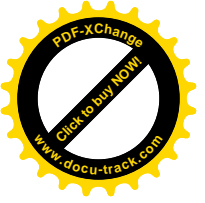
Budapest, Hungary

2008



Abstract:

Over the last years Cluj-Napoca became the site of an intense footballing rivalry. The present study investigates the emergence of this opposition among the football fans of Universitatea and C.F.R., the town's football clubs. I argue that ethnicity and class played a key role in the polarization of fandom in Cluj-Napoca as soon as C.F.R. appeared as an apt sporting contender at the local and the national level. Analyzing in conjunction the ethnic and class dynamics of the town allows me to grasp the contentious issues taken up by football fans and reproduced through their actions. The stadium is seen as a public space mobilized to express such disputed problems. The case of C.F.R.'s followers, organizationally divided along ethnic lines, is closely investigated and illustrates how common means of identification develop to downplay the possible ethnic tensions and to provide a unitary support for the club among people sharing a similar class background. The findings suggests that although ethnicity and class work to produce a strong interclub rivalry, the fans of the same club find strategies to move beyond these lines of cleavage.



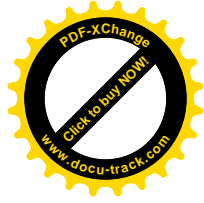
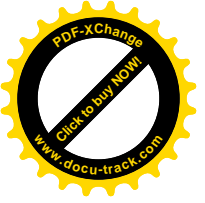
Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Football Fandom – Unity in a World of Oppositions.....	7
1.1. Ethnicity, Class and Football Fandom in Cluj-Napoca.....	7
1.2. Identities	14
Chapter 2: Together, but Still Apart	19
2.1. Methodology	19
2.2. Shifting Loyalties	21
2.3. Hungarians at home, Romanians in the stands	30
Conclusions	42
Bibliography.....	46

Motto¹:



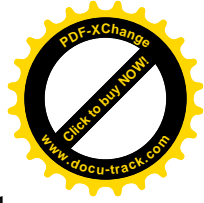
¹ The banner displayed by Universitatea's fans during the game between their favorites and C.F.R. on the 7th of May 2008 reads: Cluj pained by U[niversitatea]'s relegation / Only Hungarians dream about the championship.



Introduction

The 2007/2008 football season will certainly be remembered in Cluj-Napoca. It is the kind of event that football enthusiasts would “tell their grandchildren about”. It is such an event that makes players “heroes” and allows the fans to proudly say: “I was there and saw it all!”. At the end of the season C.F.R. made “the event” or the double by winning both the Romanian National Championship and the Romanian Cup. By all means C.F.R.’s success came as a big surprise. Their triumph ended the Bucharest based clubs’ hegemony over the championship that saw them winning it uninterruptedly for the last seventeen years. Regionally, C.F.R.’s success brought the supreme national title in a Transylvanian town after thirty eight years. Even locally it was not Universitatea, the “traditional” and the most prestigious Cluj based club, to succeed at the national level, but the less well known and performance lacking, in spite of its one hundred years history, C.F.R. that has finally made it. More to that the stake involved in winning the Romanian football championship was never as high as in the 2007/2008 season. The good performances of the Romanian clubs in European competitions during the previous seasons permitted the 2008 winner to be directly admitted in the Champions League group phase, the most important European club football competition, where just the participation insures a profit ranging between eight to ten million Euros.

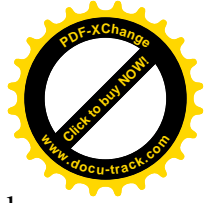
Although founded in 1907 by Hungarian railroad workers, C.F.R.’s ascendance started only in the 2000/2001 season when a Hungarian businessman started big investments in the club. In four years the team moved from the third to the first Romanian division where soon became a contender for the top places. Not just the performances of the club, but also its player policy marked a change in the world of Romanian football. On a stage dominated until recently by



Romanian players C.F.R. came to sign mainly foreigners, being the first Romanian football club to take full advantage of the European football regulations regarding the labor force migration. By 2006 the club already had more Portuguese players than Romanians, closely followed by Argentineans. Now their usual line-up rarely sees more than two Romanians on the pitch. The goalkeeping post is disputed among a Canadian, a Portuguese and a Romanian. The defensive is truly multinational: Portuguese, Swedish, French, Romanian and Ivorian players claiming the four available titular spots. The midfield and the offensive is a Latin business at C.F.R.: alongside Romanians, Portuguese, Argentinean and Brazilian players look for a chance to score. This ethnically heterogeneous map is completed in the stands where both Romanians and Hungarians jointly support the team.

The growing success of C.F.R. shook the establishment of Cluj-Napoca's football scene, long dominated by the team of Universitatea, the University's club, founded in 1919 by Romanian medical students and teachers. The emergence of C.F.R. as a successful sporting club powerfully influenced the town's fandom, traditionally coalesced around Universitatea. I argue that the polarization of fandom in Cluj-Napoca followed both the ethnic and class divisions that have historically marked the town. Thus, football fandom in Cluj presents itself as a site where ethnic and class contentions are played out and the two stadiums represent a public space mobilized to express such contradictions.

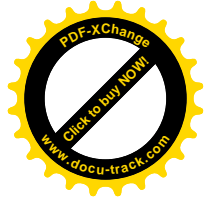
In order to understand the actual configuration of this social space a retrospective look is needed to trace the class and ethnic dynamics that have historically shaped the town as well as to understand the actions and decisions of the C.F.R. fans, both Hungarian and Romanian, and their relation with the club after the year 2000 when the investment and the reconstruction of the club started. I think that this is a necessary step in order to find out how class and ethnicity came to shape the relations between the supporters of the two clubs in Cluj and those between the



Romanian and Hungarian followers of C.F.R., where ethnicity accounts for the organizational divide among the latter club's fans. More to that, this incursion in the recent past can offer some clues about the moments when ethnicity is the primary mode of identification among these fans and when it is not, being superseded by other identifying categories such as civic or sporting ones.

The main contribution regarding the ethnic relations in the town of Cluj-Napoca is provided by Brubaker and his colleagues (see Brubaker, 2006). The authors present a history of the "nationalist politics" that have marked the region of Transylvania and the town, before moving to investigate the "everyday ethnicity" of Cluj through an analysis of the daily interactions of the ordinary Clujeni (Brubaker, 2006). By focusing on everyday interaction and the use of language Brubaker sets out to show how ethnicity, defined as a "discursive resource" (2006, p. 169), works on a daily basis among Hungarians and Romanians in Cluj-Napoca. This perspective is legitimized through a critique of what Brubaker calls "groupism" or "the tendency to take internally homogeneous and externally bounded groups [...] as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis" (2006, p. 7). The methodological consequence of this approach is a preoccupation with isolated cases, narratives produced by individuals, where ethnicity might or might not surface as a relevant category among many others like class, age or gender, which remain largely unexplored.

In contrast, the present study is an ethnographical investigation of the ways in which class and ethnicity work in Cluj-Napoca in the context of football fandom. Characterized, in Brubaker's terms, by a high "degree of groupness" these fan-clubs provide us with the chance to expand the discussion of ethnicity in Cluj in a twofold manner: first, it allows us to show how ethnic contentions at the level of the city are underlined by class tensions and second, for the case of C.F.R.'s fans, to present how civic and sporting means of identification surpass ethnicity as the



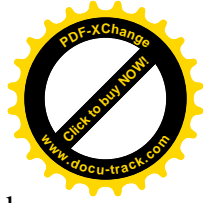
primary building block of one's identity. This means widening the concept of ethnic identity to incorporate not only a discursive dimension, but also to account for the specificities of a historically constituted social formation (Hall, 1996). In the case of Cluj, the socialist industrialization and urbanization produced lasting class divisions, often interpreted in ethnic terms.

The scholarly literature engaging the issue of football fandom presents it as a site where ethnic and class distinctions are powerfully amplified to sustain relations of rivalry and opposition (Armstrong and Giulianotti, 2001, Dunning, 1998, Giulianotti, 1999). I argue that the interclub relations in Cluj-Napoca between the followers of Universitatea and C.F.R. do follow this pattern, while the latter's club fans, although ethnically different, find means of creating a unitary following for the club. In this sense groups of football fans present themselves as key sites to study the junctures between ethnicity and class.

Giulianotti argues that some of the most intense rivalries between football fans appear when two clubs represent the same city, contestations from the opposite sides regard the right to stand for the city and which club was more successful in doing so throughout its history. Given the fact that the two important football clubs in Cluj-Napoca, C.F.R. and Universitatea, have a long history² one might argue that the city was a two-club one since the beginning of the 20th century. But if we take into account the results and the popular appeal of the two clubs, at least for the post-War period, Universitatea was by far the representative football club for the town of Cluj-Napoca. C.F.R.'s recent success changed the whole setting of football fandom in Cluj.

I argue that this is the outcome of a mix between economic interests and nationalist politics at the city level. On the one hand, during the 1990's the football industry in Romania

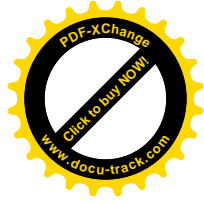
² C.F.R. club (abbreviation for Romanian Railways) traces its history to K.V.S.C. (Kolozsvári Vasutas Sport Club) founded in 1907; Universitatea (University) was founded in 1919.



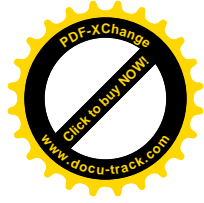
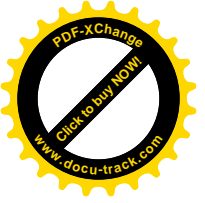
came to be seen as an attractive investment, accompanying a process taking place all around Western Europe. On the other hand, the same period was marked by a nationalist political discourse and political action, at the city level, emphasizing the Romanian character of the city, and degrading its Hungarian past and present. In this context, when a Hungarian businessman tried to invest at Universitatea (very much perceived as a symbol of Romanianness in Cluj-Napoca) the city hall denied his bid. By reorienting his investment to C.F.R. (a club often associated with the Hungarian minority in Cluj-Napoca) the basis for the success of the club was thus created and a new space for football enthusiasts emerged in Cluj-Napoca.

In the present study I argue that the C.F.R. football club, through its improving results and enhanced quality of play, managed to attract mainly Romanian middle-class football enthusiasts, many of them disappointed by the ultras³ style adopted by the Universitatea fans during the 1990's, the majority of the latter having a working-class background. They tended to adopt a politically correct posture toward minorities, one that puts an emphasis on difference and diversity, probably as a reaction against the sometimes extreme nationalist discourse adopted by the Romanian local political leaders and by Universitatea's fans. The strategies used by the Hungarian fans of C.F.R. to downplay their ethnic affiliations meant a recognition of the Romanianness of Cluj-Napoca's public space and contributed to assuming shared, rather than opposed, means of identification alongside the Romanians in the stands. Out of these two processes a social space can be defined that accommodates both the performing of different ethnicities as well as it allows different groups to act together, this collective action being able to integrate the contradictions between them.

³ Podaliri and Balestri (in Brown, 1998a) see ultras as a youth subculture, the elements that offer specificity to ultras fans are: occupying the ends of the stadium, the tendency for violence towards rivals, the use of drums, banners and smoke creating devices when supporting their favorites, frequent meetings between members in order to plan their next actions.



A clarification of the already introduced theoretical notions is in point, before moving to analyze Cluj-Napoca's "soccerscape" (Giulianotti, 1999). In the first section I critically engage the concept of "identity", "ethnicity", "class" and "fandom" in order to render them operational for an investigation of football related phenomena. In the second section I first address the town's historically constituted social configuration and assess its impact on football fandom. Then I go on to discuss the case of C.F.R.'s ethnically distinct supporters and the identitarian means they have employed to reduce the possible ethnic frictions among them.



Chapter 1: Football Fandom – Unity in a World of Oppositions

1.1. *Ethnicity, Class and Football Fandom in Cluj-Napoca*

The town of Cluj-Napoca, located in the center of Transylvania region, had a tumultuous history that strongly affected its ethnic and class composition. The football clubs and their accompanying fandom were directly involved in these processes as soon as football was introduced in the region at the beginning of the 20th century. As Ben-Porat shows, the processes of class formation and nation-building are strongly intertwined, intersecting and influencing each other (Ben-Porat, 1986). The end of the 19th century Cluj was marked by the strong nationalizing policies of the Hungarian state, reflected especially in the educational system (Brubaker, 2006, p. 94-95). But the Romanian students did form a group large enough to support nationalist activities (Brubaker, 2006, p. 92). By this time the development of the railroad system and the establishment of factories, most probably, contributed to the emergence of a modern working-class, alongside the intellectuals grouped around the university, the second largest in Hungary. The railroad workers would establish in 1907 the K.V.S.C. (Kolozsvari Vasutas Sport Club – Cluj Railroads Sport Club) football club, today called C.F.R. 1907 Cluj (Caile Ferate Romane – Romanian Railroads).

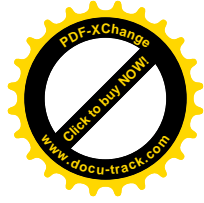
Tracing the main transformations that have marked the world of football since its establishment, Giulianotti (1999) observes that processes of state formation, urbanization and industrialization have all shaped the “soccerscape” in terms of its organization and fandom (Giulianotti, 1999). During the 20th century Cluj-Napoca was subject to three changes in state



sovereignty and starting with the late 1960's experienced an accelerated industrialization and urbanization (see Brubaker, 2006; Petrovici, 2006). The major and most visible outcomes of these processes were the growth of the city and the change of its ethnic balance. In the course of a century the population grew from roughly 50.000 to 318.000 inhabitants, while the percentage of Romanians grew from 12,4 % in 1910 to 79,4 % in 2002, paralleling the decrease in the percentage of the Hungarian population from 83,4 % in 1910 to 19,0 % in 2002 (Brubaker, 2006, p. 93). Besides the insights offered by sheer numbers, the processes of nation building and class formation, as well as the emergence and the place of football should also be taken into account.

The 1918 change in sovereignty represented the beginning of the Romanian nationalizing policies over the city. The main problem to be addressed by the new administration was that although "Transylvania as a whole had a substantial Romanian majority, Romanians were only weakly represented in Transylvanian towns and in urban, middle-class occupations; nationalizing policies and practices were designed to remedy this" (Brubaker, 2006, p. 97). Football was from the outset involved in this process, when the university "reopened as a Romanian institution" in 1919 (Brubaker, 2006, p. 98) it also comprised its own football club: Universitatea. Although administrative measures were deployed to Romanianize Cluj's public space, by 1939, according to Brubaker, the "Hungarian domination of local economic and (in certain respects) cultural life" continued (2006, p. 101). Thus, by the advent of the Second World War Cluj's social structure was still marked by a divide along ethnic lines that saw Hungarians better off than Romanians, in spite of the state's leveling measures.

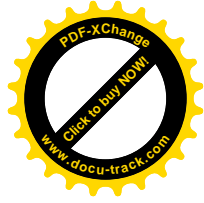
During the years of the "occupation", as the Romanians generally refer to the period between 1940 and 1944, when part of Transylvania was incorporated in the Hungarian state, one event is of special importance, often mentioned by Universitatea's followers. As the nationalizing measures carried out under Romanian rule were now reversed the Romanian university, together



with its football club, was exiled to Sibiu (Brubaker, 2006, p. 103). The establishment of the communist regime brought even more far reaching developments. The regime's commitment to the rapid development of industry meant that by the 1970s 40 percent of employed Clujeni were industrial workers (Brubaker, 2006, p. 113), in their large majority Romanians coming from the city's hinterland and Romania's eastern region of Moldavia. This rapid transformation had two important consequences: on the one hand, Hungarians in Cluj perceived it as a deliberate policy to Romanianize the city, although the nationalizing aims of the state were overshadowed by the economic ones (Brubaker, 2006). On the other hand, the creation of large neighborhoods that usually offered low standards of living for the newcomers (Petrovici, 2006) set the stage for the social problems that surfaced in the public sphere after 1989. The embracing of a nationalist rhetoric by local politicians after 1989 and the "Romanianization" of the city during one of the mayor's reign contributed to raising and maintaining the nationalist discourse as a viable and readily available option for those occupying a lower class position (Lazăr, 2003).

As long as football is concerned the communist centralizing logic powerfully affected the Romanian "soccerscape". The Bucharest based clubs, especially those affiliated to strong state institutions like the army (Steaua) and the police (Dinamo), would exercise their hegemony over Romanian club football well beyond 1989. In Cluj-Napoca, Universitatea remained the only important club throughout the communist period drawing the support of basically all football enthusiasts, while C.F.R. barely managed to maintain itself. The investments made after the year 2000 by a Hungarian businessman at the latter club and its subsequent performances, coupled with the poor results of Universitatea, now owned by the city hall, saw the emergence of a relation of rivalry among fans specific for "two-club cities" (Giulianotti, 1999; see Faje, 2007).

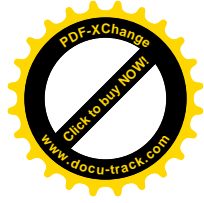
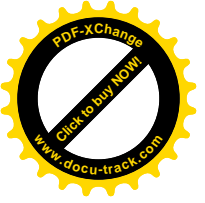
The specificities of football related fandom have usually been explained by taking into account the ethnic identity or the class position of those involved in this phenomenon. The



theoretical models used to analyze fandom have been usually concerned with only one of these two at a time, thus neglecting the interplay between ethnicity and class in the world of fandom. As my research among football fans in the city of Cluj-Napoca, Romania shows the interdependencies between ethnicity and class should be stressed when trying to give an account regarding the particularities of football related phenomena. On the other hand, it is my contention that a clearer understanding of the phenomenon emerges by uncovering the relations between football fandom and the broader ethnic and class processes that shape particular locales.

The sociological and anthropological literature on sport was strongly marked by the attempt to establish this area of social reality as a legitimate topic of social inquiry. Efforts were directed against the common view that “sports are intrinsically innocent and liberating; enjoyable to pursue but not profitable to study” (MacClancy, 1996, p. 1). In the field of sport studies, football related fandom was among the first phenomena to be addressed by social researchers, especially in the United Kingdom, as the violent behavior of fans, defined as “football hooliganism”, came to be an enormous political, social and media concern which, in turn, legitimized the academic interest regarding the topic (Giulianotti, 1999, p. 39). As Giulianotti (1999) shows, the studies analyzing football fandom, from the 1960s up to the early 1990s, have almost exclusively focused on explaining the issue of violence. Only more recent contributions have opened up the field, thus expanding both its theoretical and empirical scope.

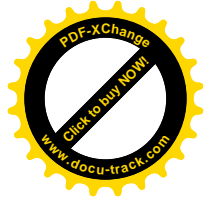
Discussing the relation between sport and ethnic identity, MacClancy (1996) comes to stress the importance of sport and of sport related activities as “vehicles of identity”, as means of forging new social identities and as markers of one’s identity. The same author stresses the ways in which “for certain people, sport has contributed to their sense of ethnicity (or nation) and their sense of community” (MacClancy, 1996, p. 9). Analyzing the relations of opposition and rivalry that shape the world of football, Giulianotti underlines the contribution of the football clubs in the



establishment of “cultural identities” (1999, p. 10). On the other hand, he also emphasizes football’s potential for generating “tie[s] with a specific locality”, thus enforcing the social solidarity of particular groups (Giulianotti, 1999, p. 14). The primary stake of these contributions appears to be the documentation of empirical cases along established theoretical lines, while the refinement and the development of concepts remains secondary. The same observation goes for the studies centered on the relation between class and fandom (see Moor, 2007).

In a critique of the studies focusing on the above mentioned relation, Moor (2007) comes to highlight the need to rethink the ways in which the concept of “class” is used in these studies. She starts by observing “the different definitions of class deployed in contemporary accounts of sports” and the fact that these “are rarely subject to much critical scrutiny” (Moor, 2007, p. 129). Acknowledging the methodological difficulties of investigating the class position of football fans Moor suggests that sport researchers mainly operate with reductionist conceptions of class, unable to grasp the complexity of the studied phenomenon (Moor, 2007). This critique, coupled with the processes taking place among football fans in Cluj-Napoca should make us aware of the necessity to employ a more encompassing vision of class in the study of football fandom.

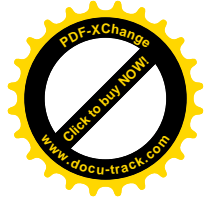
The complex processes that mark the world of football fandom in Cluj-Napoca offer the possibility to engage the recent theoretical developments on identity, ethnicity and class in order to explain the dynamics of the ethnic and class relations among the city’s football enthusiasts. I analyze the contributions made by Stuart Hall and Rogers Brubaker regarding the notions of identity and ethnicity in order to better account for Cluj’s troubled ethnic identity (Lazăr, 2003). Hall’s relational view allows me to explicitly problematize the connections between ethnicity and class in the context of football fandom. In order to clarify this relation I briefly introduce Kalb’s theorization of class before providing a historical account of the development of the city and its football clubs.



Brubaker's attempt to rethink the notion of ethnicity through a critique of "groupism" can be read, in line with his discussion of identity, as an effort oriented towards analytical clarification. "Groupism" or "the tendency to take discrete, bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis" (Brubaker, 2004, p. 8) has a negative impact in the studies of ethnicity, enclosing through reification at least a part of what is to be explained: the formation or crystallization of social groups around ethnic identifications.

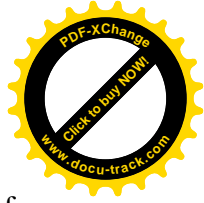
The implication of this critique for the concept of ethnicity is represented, according to Brubaker, by a move from a substantialist understanding of the notion to a relational one. Instead of treating ethnicity as an essential property of groups, Brubaker sees it "in terms of practical categories, situated actions, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, discursive frames, organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects, and contingent events" and "groupness", not the group, as "the basic analytical category" (2004, p. 11). In my reading, Brubaker's theorization of ethnicity very much resembles Hall's understanding of identity, seen as the articulation of discursive practices and subjectivities through a process of "interpellation" (Hall, 1996a). At least some of the strategies and mechanisms that Brubaker presents in his definition of ethnicity work to produce such an articulation. We should immediately add, as Hall does, that the articulation of discursive practices and subjectivities is not the final stage of the process, but only a moment in an on-going process.

Stuart Hall debates the notion of ethnicity by following the transformations that took place in England's "black cultural politics" in the second half of the 20th century (1996b, p.441). He draws heavily and reinterprets some of the concepts advanced by Gramsci, such as "hegemony". Besides offering an illustration of his theoretical statements, Hall's highly condensed text is primarily interesting because of the way in which he defines ethnicity. Hall



concludes that “the term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual” (1996b, p. 446). It follows that what we are after is not “ethnicity”, but “ethnicities”, the subjective and identitarian modalities able to grasp the multiplicity of the existing subject positions. In this sense, ethnicity is not confined to the realm of ethnic affiliations, but is expanded to incorporate attachments and affiliations operating at various levels (local, national, global) and along different social lines (of gender, class, age, etc.).

The historical transformations that marked the city of Cluj-Napoca during the 20th century should make us aware of the relation between its ethnic identity, in terms of majority-minority relations, and its class composition. The discursive dimension of these concepts, although more often emphasized, does not suffice to explain the multiplicity of claims made through these categories and in their name. What has to be as well emphasized are the “subjectivities” peculiar to particular social formations that decisively contribute to shaping the ways in which people identify each other. As Kalb notes, criticizing anthropology’s capitulation to notions like “discourse” and “culture”, class is not “just one discursive form among others, a possible self-understanding amid other self-understandings, based in wider discourses of identity” (2005, p. 110-111), but rather the concept that should allow us “to describe the whole <<field of force>> that emerges when unequal, divided, sometimes even antagonist sets of people, with differential access to different sets of resources, try to survive, understand, and reproduce their mutually connected ways of life” (Kalb, 1997, p. 6). In this understanding an expanded notion of “class” (Kalb, 1997), by pointing towards the materiality of everyday social relations, comes to balance the temptation of seeing “identity” or “ethnicity” only as a “discursive resource” (Brubaker, 2006) randomly deployed by individuals in their interactions. In this sense various



identities come to be dynamically constituted at the junction between class and various means of identification. Football fandom in Cluj-Napoca presents itself as a site where such junctions actively take place. As the support for the two clubs in town followed different trajectories along class lines, the ethnic, civic and sporting discourse has been differently mobilized to situationally define specific identities.

1.2. *Identities*

The concept of “identity” has been strongly questioned in the recent sociological and anthropological literature from various theoretical perspectives. Theoretical attempts have been made either to redefine the notion (see Hall, 1992; Hall, 1996a; Hall, 1996b) or to advance novel analytical categories better suited to do the work of identity (see Brubaker, Cooper, 2000). The result of these on-going efforts has not been the reaching of a consensus, but rather the opening of a debate regarding the appropriateness of the concept for current research, a debate out of which fruitful analytical tools can be taken up. Hall’s theoretical efforts to account for the multifarious character of contemporary identities make his notions particularly useful for the study of football fandom in Cluj-Napoca, a site where ethnic, class, civic and sporting differences are taken up and augmented in the everyday practice of the town’s football fans.

Brubaker and Cooper’s discontent with the notion of identity is derived from their observation that it has become “too ambiguous, too torn between <<hard>> and <<soft>> meanings, essentialist connotations and constructivist qualifiers, to serve well the demands of social analysis” (2000, p. 2). Brubaker and Cooper present five broad conceptions in which identity is theoretically charged in differing ways and their, partly ironic, conclusion stresses the analytical confusion surrounding the notion:

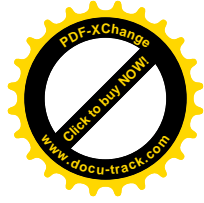
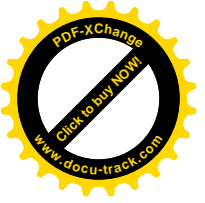


“Clearly, the term <<identity>> is made to do a great deal of work. It is used to highlight non-instrumental modes of action; to focus on self-understanding rather than self-interest; to designate sameness across persons or sameness over time; to capture allegedly core, foundational aspects of selfhood; to deny that such core, foundational aspects exist; to highlight the processual, interactive development of solidarity and collective self-understanding; and to stress the fragmented quality of the contemporary experience of <<self,>> a self unstably patched together through shards of discourse and contingently <<activated>> in differing contexts.” (Brubaker; Cooper, 2000, p. 8)

Besides the poor analytical value of the concept, its usage in political debates, where claims centered on identity have come to dominate the scene, also adds to the confusion.

The alternative advanced by the two authors to identity, as an analytical category, is a set of analytical terms reinterpreted to make the theoretical job that identity was previously required to do. Brubaker and Cooper argue that notions such as: “identification”, “categorization”, “self-understanding”, “social location”, “commonality”, “connectedness” and “groupness”, among others can be used to replace the multiple dimensions that “identity” was called to cover. In a context where both Hungarian and Romanian fans follow the same club, questions regarding the ways in which they identify each other, how is a sense of commonality being built and maintained, and the degree of groupness, are among the first that need to be addressed.

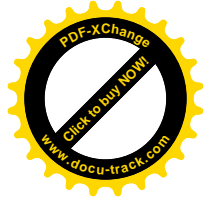
As long as “identification” is concerned, the mentioned authors provide two important analytical distinctions. The first distinguishes among “*relational* and *categorical* modes of identification” (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, p. 15). The former refer to those cases when a person identifies himself or others “by [his/her] position in a relational web”, while the latter designates “membership in a class of persons sharing some categorical attribute (such as race, ethnicity, language, nationality, citizenship, gender, sexual orientation, etc.)” (Brubaker, Cooper, 2000, p. 15). The second distinction draws a line between “classificatory meanings”, as those mentioned above, and “psychodynamic meanings” that involve “identifying oneself emotionally



with another person, category, or collectivity” (2000, p. 17). Unfortunately, Brubaker and Cooper do not follow the implications of this last distinction to show how these meanings are actively experienced by actors in their everyday practice. There is here a double edged relation that needs to be emphasized: on the one hand, the ways in which various categories get to arouse strong emotions, and, on the other hand, the ways in which emergent emotions come to be socially categorized, precisely the relation that Raymond Williams tried to grasp by theorizing the notion of “structures of feeling” (see Williams, 1977).

Brubaker and Cooper do address the emotional dimension of “identity” by introducing the notions of “commonality” and “groupness”. The former is defined simply as “the sharing of some common attribute”, while “groupness” denotes “the sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded, solidary group” (Brubaker; Cooper, 2000, p. 20). Again, these definitions are open to the same critique, as the authors do not go on to investigate how these “attributes” came to be defined in particular ways in specific moments, and how a “sense of belonging” emerges and comes to be actively maintained, an issue of major importance in the emergence and maintenance of the groups of football fans. The work of Stuart Hall comes to complement the work of Brubaker and Cooper precisely in this respect.

Stuart Hall (1996a) starts his discussion of identity also by observing the problematic nature of the concept, that is no longer “good to think with” in its current understanding. Contrary to the two already mentioned authors, Hall does not find the solution in the abandonment of the concept, but in its reconceptualization. Drawing on Derrida’s deconstructivism Hall sees “identity” as a concept “under erasure”, “an idea which cannot be thought in the old way, but without which certain key questions cannot be thought at all” (1996a, p. 2). Again, contrary to Brubaker and Cooper, Hall sees the concept as theoretically unavoidable because of “its centrality to the question of agency and politics” (1996a, p. 2). Hall’s argument resembles Wolf’s

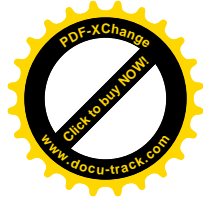


predicament regarding the notion of “culture”. By historicizing the concept Wolf comes to show how the idea of unitary, bounded, integral cultures served a peculiar political project in a specific time-space configuration (Wolf, 1982, p. 387). In this sense, the role played by the notion culture is similar to the political function of identity in contemporary social settings.

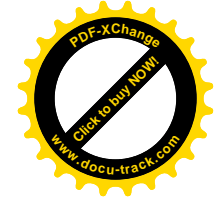
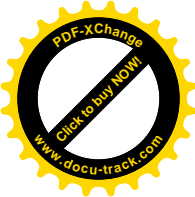
Following the work of Foucault and aware of the critiques oriented towards identity coming from feminist and Marxist circles, Hall also makes a powerful case regarding the need to historicize the notion. The problem of identity thus comes to be placed “in the attempt to rearticulate the relationship between subjects and discursive practices”, that is “the question of *identification*” (Hall, 1996a, p. 2). Identification is the key term, understood as the process on which identity rests:

“...the discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed – always <<in process>>. It is not determined in the sense that it can always be <<won>> or <<lost>>, sustained or abandoned. Though not without its determinate conditions of existence, including the material and symbolic resources required to sustain it, identification is in the end conditional, lodged in contingency. Once secured, it does not obliterate difference. The total merging it suggest is, in fact, a fantasy of incorporation. [...] Identification is, then, a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption” (Hall, 1996a, p. 2-3)

This understanding has major implications for the concept of identity. Constituted at the junction between discursive practices and subjectivity, identity comes to be situationally defined and thus deprived of its essentialist burden. Hall’s definition provides a theoretically encompassing perspective that orients any analysis towards a contingent, contextual and relational understanding of identity. On the one hand, global, regional, national and local links and processes coalesce in specific locations influencing the ways in which people identify themselves and others, and on the other hand, the particular subjectivities that continuously emerge in local settings have a similar influence. Hall aptly points towards the multiplicity of



categories involved in these processes: language, gender, class position, religion, customs, traditions, “feelings for <<place>>” are all intertwined in shaping specific identities (Hall, 1992).

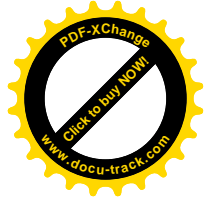
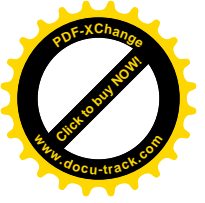


Chapter 2: Together, but Still Apart

2.1. *Methodology*

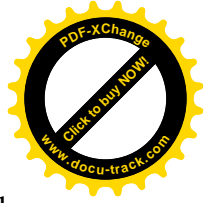
The present study is the result of my direct and indirect involvement with football fans in Cluj-Napoca for a period of almost two years. I have conducted fieldwork among these fans in two distinct periods. Between March and early June 2007 I did my research for my BA thesis focusing on Universitatea's followers, but also opening a field of research at C.F.R. At this time my theoretical interests revolved around the issues of rivalry and symbolic conflict in the context of football fandom (see Faje, 2007). The topic of my current research emerged while carrying out this initial inquiry. Issues relating to ethnicity and class recurrently appeared during my interactions with both Universitatea's and C.F.R.'s followers, besides being regularly expressed on the two stadiums in Cluj-Napoca. My second period of fieldwork took place in April 2008 and was centered on the group of Hungarian fans of C.F.R. Doing fieldwork meant: conducting interviews, carrying out ethnographic observation before, during and after home and away matches and during their weekly meetings. While away from the site I closely followed the events taking place among football fans in Cluj-Napoca through accessing their internet sites, blogs and forums as well as through press reports.

The period of my research coincided with the end of the 2007/2008 football season in Romania. Given C.F.R.'s good results and performances that saw the team topping the standings almost uninterruptedly since the beginning of the championship the degree of emotional involvement of its fans was at its peak. It did not seem a good time to approach contentious issues such as ethnicity and class. But by the time I arrived in Cluj, C.F.R. was severely decreasing its



advantage in the championship and my first match happened to be their first home defeat of the season. Disagreements and arguments among fans soon started surfacing. The limited time available for fieldwork also highly contributed to shaping my options and methodological decisions. I used the contacts from my previous research in order to gain direct access to the people I wanted to talk to. I decided to interview persons with a longer involvement in fandom, who were already supporting the team when the group of Hungarian fans of C.F.R. was founded. This meant that the six fans I have formally interviewed were, in terms of their age, older relative to the age structure of the group. On the other hand, this was also an advantage as all of them used to go at Universitatea's matches, with varying degrees of involvement as fans, and were directly engaged in the events that followed C.F.R.'s ascendance. The opportunity to travel with the fans at three away matches and to take part in their meetings was another definite advantage. The long time spent on the road gave me the chance to engage in several conversations with many of them and to closely observe their interactions and activities. The fifteen recorded interviews from my previous research, ten with fans of Universitatea and five with Romanian fans of C.F.R., constituted another valuable source of information.

In the analysis of the data I proceeded on a dual track. For the historical information regarding the development of the city, of the football clubs and of the groups of football fans I have used and sometimes reinterpreted the available literature in conjunction with the information regarding certain events provided by my interviewees. For the analysis of the data I have collected I took an approach close to the one advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1998), known as "grounded theory". Besides the list of topics prepared for the semi-structured interviews (see Patton, 2002) I left enough freedom to my informants to engage other topics, the informal discussions with fans were also a constant source of new themes. I invited my subjects to direct me towards others who might add information to the topics that interested me, which

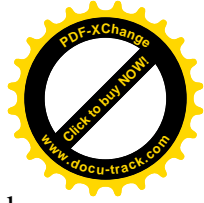


they kindly did. As the data gathering process went on I added new questions and refined both my interviewing skills, adapting the categories I was using to those used by my informants. The emerging relations between concepts were put to the test in subsequent discussions. In order to illustrate the connections that the football fans make between various ideas and topics I extensively present the narratives they produced in the interview situation, on which my interpretations largely rest.

In the next sections I go on to first discuss the impact of the recent emergence of C.F.R. on Cluj-Napoca's football scene, alongside Universitatea. I explore the relation of rivalry that appeared between the town's two clubs and the ways in which football fandom takes up and increases the ethnic and class contentions. The second section has a more narrow focus; it presents the interplay between civic and ethnic modes of identification among the largely middle-class, Romanian and Hungarian fans of C.F.R. and the strategies they adopt when confronted with a strong discourse pejoratively emphasizing the Hungarianness of the club and of its supporters.

2.2. *Shifting Loyalties*

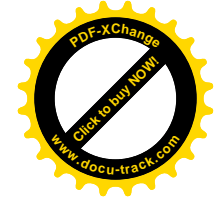
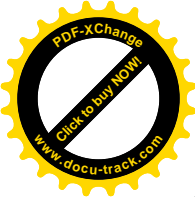
The transformations in Cluj-Napoca's football scene that have culminated in C.F.R.'s success have been accompanied by powerful modifications in the support structure of the town's two football clubs. Cluj-Napoca's "soccerscape" (Giulianotti, 1999) is particularly worth studying precisely because of these rapid developments and transformations. In a few years the town envisioned both the decline of a traditional club and the ascendance of an unexpected contender, experienced the emergence of a strong football rivalry, witnessed episodes of violence, all in a context marked by ethnic and class divisions. Taking into account that football



fandom is a site where principles of social differentiation such as ethnicity, class, local and regional affiliations are taken up and played out (Dunning, 1998; Giulianotti, 1999), the main argument advanced in this section is that the ascendance of C.F.R. provided a new category of identification for football fans in Cluj-Napoca. The loyalties and passions coalescing around this category are not exclusively determined by the club's recent sporting performances, but can be better understood by taking into account the town's ethnic and class background and the whole discourse surrounding these social differences. In this sense, the space of the football stadium can be best understood as a public space mobilized to express ethnic and class contentions at the level of the town in terms of football fandom.

Throughout the socialist and post-socialist period, up to the year 2000, Universitatea attracted the support of all the football enthusiasts in Cluj. With its home ground, the "Ion Moina" stadium, located near the town center, developed in the 1960's to accommodate more than 30.000 people, and backed up by the University, to which the club was affiliated until the fall of communism and remaining symbolically attached to the academic institution even after it came to be owned and managed by the city hall, for its passionate supporters Universitatea's uniqueness in representing the town of Cluj gained an aura of permanence. On the other hand, C.F.R.'s story as a club is marked by its attempts to financially survive. Changing its name seven times throughout its history and being several times on the point of disappearing, the club played mainly in the second and third Romanian divisions. The turning point came in the 2000/2001 season when a Hungarian businessman from Cluj bought, after a failed bid for Universitatea, the C.F.R. club and announced highly ambitious plans.

The story of the investment made by this businessman at C.F.R. after the failed attempt to take over Universitatea was, and partly still is, surrounded in mystery. Only recently has the current owner of C.F.R. decided to publicly engage the issue, recognizing in 2008 that he had



first considered buying Universitatea, but “the transaction was not possible”⁴. The information — was a common place among the town’s football fans who point towards his ethnic identity and his involvement in Hungarian firms to account for the failure of the bid for Universitatea. The person managing the relation between the fans and the club at Universitatea, a 35 year old car dealer, commented that:

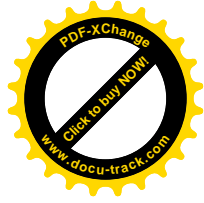
I don’t know if you know this, but P. first wanted to invest at Universitatea. The people in the city hall did not want him to control the club. [...] There is also an ethnic issue here. If you now look at C.F.R.’s sponsors: you have P., you have Energobit who are also Hungarians, you have (?) Invest also Hungarians, so there is an ethnic issue... What can I say, their ascent is somewhat disturbing for the rich people in town, because all the others have allied against P. I don’t know if you know, at the auction for the new mall P. should have won judging the bid he made, but the City Hall and the Local Council gave the work to D. just to show that P. cannot buy everything, he had already bought the land to build Polus [a Hungary-based chain of mall’s].

Andrei, (35), Universitatea fan

C.F.R.’s fans are equally aware of the importance of this moment stressing the large financial stakes involved in controlling Universitatea. One of C.F.R.’s followers resumed the whole situation in the following terms:

The local council is not interested to sell the club [Universitatea], they are always talking about an investment, but the big interest, everyone knows, is the stadium, located right in the city center. N. [president of the city’s council] was already dreaming of mall’s there. I don’t even want to think about the price of the land there, and because of all these interests the club was destroyed. From this point of view I am sorry that P. did not go at Universitatea, it would have been better for Cluj, certainly not for C.F.R., but for Cluj, they would have attracted 30000-40000 people in the stadium at any time, we still have to work for that for some years.

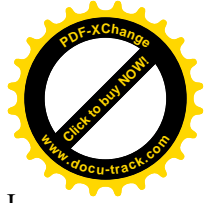
⁴ Information available in Romanian at: <http://www.prosport.ro/fotbal-intern/liga-1/paszpany-cand-am-intrat-in-fotbal-vroiam-sa-cumpar-u-cluj-2620117>. Webpage accessed on 04.06.2008.



Marius, (31), C.F.R. fan

Both the ethnic and economic arguments should be placed in the wider frame of local nationalist politics. At the time when the investment was made the town was dominated by a powerful nationalist discourse mainly advanced and sustained by Cluj-Napoca's mayor (see Brubaker, 2006; Faje, 2007). In economic terms this meant a strong opposition towards foreign capital, especially the one perceived as serving Hungarian interests. The expression "We are not selling our country!" used by the mayor and many other Romanian politicians become a daily joke that reminds the inhabitants of Cluj about this period.

The events that followed this investment take the form of a paradox: Universitatea, perceived as the club of intellectuals and students, came more and more to be supported by young, working class people coming from Cluj-Napoca's socialist-built neighborhoods, while C.F.R., at least traditionally seen as the club of workers and Hungarians from Cluj, came to attract the support of more middle-aged and roughly middle-class fans, both Romanian and Hungarian. At the level of discourse the town's class divisions are hidden behind and interpreted through the urban/rural distinction, especially by the old Clujeni. This distinction has a durable spatial correspondence in the divide between the old town of Cluj and the more recently built socialist neighborhoods (Lazăr, 2002). As Brubaker (2006) notes, the process of urbanization was also perceived in ethnicized terms: as a threat towards its Hungarianness, because of the large numbers of Romanians coming to the city. For football fans the place of one's residence came to tell much about his club allegiances, as well as regarding his ethnic identity, class position and possible idiosyncratic behavior. The leader of K.V.S.C., the group of mainly Hungarian fans of C.F.R., a 38 year old actor, provides a typical story of the ways in which the old urbanites perceive the transformations of both the town and its football clubs:



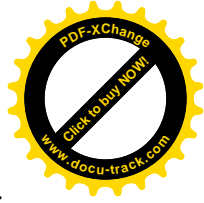
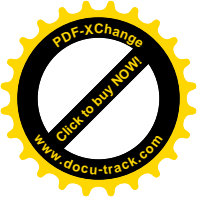
During the 1990s I was also going to Universitatea's matches, because they are also a team from Cluj and I never imagined that there could be so much hate between the supporters of the two teams, to be honest such a thing would have been unthinkable. This all started since their fans radicalized. I know very well many of U's old fans, whom I still meet and talk to. But these people were slowly pushed aside by some newcomers, a second generation of people coming from the other side of the Carpathians [Moldavia region], now living in the marginal neighborhoods: Iris, Groapa, Manastur. Everybody knows why these neighborhoods were built: for the people who were brought using force or sometimes with their consent, during the 1960s and 1970s, in Cluj-Napoca to fill the jobs in factories. Unfortunately, at Universitatea these people came to weigh heavily and I have very good friends, old Universitatea fans, who now have to stay on the other side of the stands, not to meet with this ones. Among old fans the problem of whether you are a U fan or C.F.R. fan does not arise.

Laszlo, (38), C.F.R. fan

On the other hand, the newcomers to the city are equally aware of their marginal position and use similar distinctions when it comes to defining their place in the city. As the narrative of the former leader of Universitatea's fans, a 29 year old house painter and bodyguard of a night club, shows fandom provides a sense of commonality for these people, able to attenuate the difficulties of living in an insecure social environment:

Here, I don't know... Here in Groapă, where U.C.G. – Ultra Curva Groapa was born in '97, it seems that we are a bit, a bit worse, more aggressive, but we are also more united, we are like in a village at the town's periphery, people are more worried, they are poorer. We are different than the other citizens of Cluj. Here in Groapa we are a small neighborhood, we are very united, more beautiful... and as soon as we get out to another town or to the stadium we are close to each other... if the gendarme wants to take one of us, he can't do it, the others are immediately all over him; we all eat from the same bread, if we have money, everything we have we calculate so that there is enough for everyone, so it is nice if you come to think about it, it's like a big family.

Marcu, (29), Universitatea fan

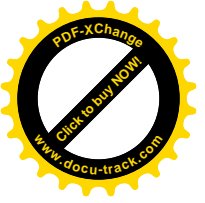


C.F.R.'s recent performances are perceived as an attempt to represent the city of Cluj-Napoca at the national level, which in football's competitive logic directly means downplaying Universitatea's "right" to do so. What this calls for is a reinterpretation of the history of the two clubs where the nationalistic argument ranks prominently and legitimizes Universitatea's supremacy, in spite of C.F.R.'s sporting performances. In this sense, the nationalist discourse empowers more marginal people to claim the right over the city through football fandom:

They [C.F.R.] do not have a tradition and, in the first place, they've started their history badly... During the Second World War – I'm not chauvinistic, I'm a Romanian and I'm proud – so, in the Second World War, Universitatea Cluj, when you say Universitatea Cluj is something beautiful, went in exile to Sibiu and played football in the Romanian championship, this is something beautiful to play in the Second... we were somebody... we were worthy of respect, the whole country respected us and even now they still do... But they stayed in Cluj and took a Hungarian name, KV... I don't know what Kolozsvár, it's a shame, it's a shame, it's a shame! And now you come to say that you're the soul of Ardeal, you can't, whom do you fool.
Marcu, (29), Universitatea fan

Football's capacity to arouse strong local affiliations and its contribution in building urban solidarities (Giulianotti, 1999) was certainly noticed and used by local politicians both during the continuous labor force migration to the city from the surrounding rural areas that started under communism in the 1960s as well as in the electoral campaigns that came to be organized after 1989. It was precisely in this first period that the "Ion Moina" stadium was modernized and enlarged. As all of my aged informants mention, Universitatea's matches attracted large numbers of football enthusiasts, although the means of expression were severely controlled (Faje, 2007). Today, both Universitatea's and C.F.R.'s followers remember the former club's matches where they would all go. Andrei, a 35 year old car seller, mentioned:

I'm going to U's [Universitatea's] matches since the '80s. During the communist time there were no other preoccupations, in the sense that everyone knew: the TV program was very short and the stadium would get



full, full, but the people would not take part in supporting the team: the fan groups (*galeriile*) were very small.

Andrei, (35), Universitatea fan

C.F.R.'s older fans also acknowledge their participation, mainly as spectators, at Universitatea's home matches, strongly emphasizing the differences between "how it used to be" and "how it is now" and reinterpret the events in the light of the currently existing rivalry. While Universitatea ranked prominently as the town's major club, the categories of identification among football fans saw a complete merging between being from Cluj (*clujean*) and supporting Universitatea. The notes of one of Universitatea's former trainers illustrate precisely this merging of categories, up to the point of indistinction. Writing about the period of the "Vienna Diktat", during the Second World War, when Cluj was again part of Hungary he remembers:

In the time of the exile we played in Turda against "Victoria" Cluj, a refugee here. Before the game we went up the hill and looked over Cluj. You could see it as in your hand and we all cried. Just to get back and play once more there for "U"!...

For everybody and for each one, "U" was Cluj and Cluj was "U"!

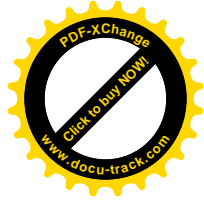
I am from "U", meant I was from Cluj; simple and with no other possibility. (Carjan, 2004, p.11)

The nationalization of Cluj-Napoca's public space after 1989 is well documented by Brubaker (2006), but the author does not go on to explain precisely to which social categories the nationalist rhetoric was more appealing. Posed in Stuart Hall's terms, this problem can be reformulated as to find out which socially constituted subjects in Cluj-Napoca identified themselves most powerfully with the Romanian nationalist discourse. Football fandom is a key site to explore such questions in that it mobilizes around historically constituted clubs a whole array of symbols, discourses and ideas which are in turn more or less publicly displayed and expressed. Already Lazăr (2003) noticed the affinities between the Romanian newcomers to the city and the nationalist discourse of the town's mayor, most visible in their voting behavior. As



the banner displayed by Universitatea's fans during the game against C.F.R. also shows, the football rivalry in Cluj-Napoca has by now become strongly ethnicized. For the mainly young, working-class man following Universitatea Cluj-Napoca is depicted as a Romanian city, whose inhabitants are saddened by the club's lack of success, while only the Hungarians, in this case pointing towards C.F.R.'s followers, can enjoy the latter club's success.

The current discussion of "ethnicity" among football fans should not be understood in an essentialist, reified manner as a competition between two stable, deeply rooted ethnic identities, namely the Hungarian and the Romanian ones. In spite of the powerful emotional response often aroused by these categories in everyday life, the social positionality of the subjects involved in terms of their class should make us aware of the multiplicity of discourses, ideas and feelings that exclusive ethnic categories are made to cover. In this sense Hall's (1996b) notion of "ethnicities" is more adequate in order to understand the ethnicization of football fandom in Cluj-Napoca. While for the Hungarians that used to assist at Universitatea's matches the ethnic slogans and, for two of my subjects, direct confrontations with other fans regarding their ethnic identity provided sufficient reasons to make them quit this club definitively, for the Romanian fans that passionately started supporting C.F.R., class sensibilities were much more pregnant in their initial decision. The latter, after acknowledging the transformations that took place among Universitatea's fans, strongly denounce their both verbally and sometimes physically violent behavior, usually defined as *ultras* (see Podaliri and Balestri, 1998) or hooliganism. As one of my informants, a 48 year old unit manager at a multinational insurance company mentioned describing the main goals of the C.F.R. fans: "We are a fan-group which tries to create the conditions for the family to have a good time in the stands. This is directly related to our fight against hooliganism, against indecency in the stadium and so on." When presenting the



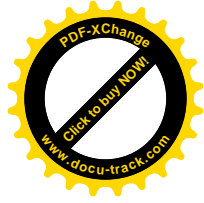
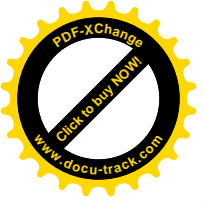
differences between the followers of the two clubs, although biased towards his own group, the same fan illustrates the ways in which social differences are interpreted and used against rivals:

And if at us [at C.F.R.] we gathered a group of quite moderated people, unfortunately, on the other side [of the river, at Universitatea], there are characters which I cannot evaluate... I disqualify myself if I talk more about them... If we only talk about their leader... an individual that has nothing to do with the notion of human value, generally, no more than last week, most probably himself, was involved in the savage beating of a C.F.R. fan and around him has gathered a group of losers (*fără câpătâi*), I'm afraid that they are also lacking a minimal education... people who do not even know what team spirit means.

Marian, 48 years old, C.F.R. fan

The Hungarian followers of C.F.R. that used to at least watch Universitatea's matches have consistently mentioned that "nationalistic" slogans directed against Hungarians came to be used on the "Ion Moina" stadium around the year 2000. They also acknowledge that this happened as soon as the younger people, coming from "the neighborhoods" came to dominate the group of Universitatea's fans. Andras, a player at Universitatea in the 1980s, currently the regional manager over distribution at a multinational company, remembers that he first took the slogans as a joke, but he never went again after two guys confronted him with the words: "Hey Hungarian (*ungure*) you don't belong here! You'd better stay at home!". These words coming from some "filthy kids" convinced him that it is not worth opposing them and made him appreciate even more the newly emerging group of fans at C.F.R.

Thus a polarization of the existing football fandom in Cluj-Napoca along ethnic and class lines emerged since the ascendance of C.F.R. The fans coalescing around this club defined themselves in sharp contrast with Universitatea's followers. Depicting them as uneducated and violent allowed them to perceive themselves as "civilized", promoting a type of fandom more suited for the city of Cluj. Denouncing Universitatea's fans nationalistic ideas opened up a space for C.F.R. fans to affirm themselves as "good citizens", the promoters of a politically correct

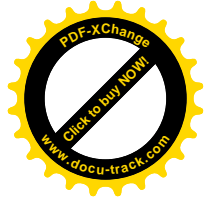


attitude towards minorities. I now turn to investigate the ways in which ethnic, civic and sporting modes of identification worked among C.F.R.'s fans to produce a unitary following for the club.

2.3. *Hungarians at home, Romanians in the stands*

The orientation of some of the football enthusiasts in Cluj-Napoca towards C.F.R. after the club emerged as a worthwhile sporting force was depicted in the previous section as involving largely middle-class people, unsatisfied by the transformation taking place among Universitatea's fans, willing to promote a different type of fandom and eager to support a more apt contender. The nationalistic discourse of Universitatea's fans, as well as the possibility to endorse a club historically presented as founded by Hungarians constituted but a supplementary reason for Hungarian fans to support C.F.R. Organizationally the ethnic divisions were reproduced in the stands, thus C.F.R. came to be supported by two main groups of fans: the mainly ethnic Romanians grouped under the name *Commando Gruia*, while the Hungarians coalesced under the name *K.V.S.C.* In this section I concentrate on these two groups of C.F.R. fans in order to explore the ways in which ethnicity, as well as other modes of identification, works to create a coherent following and support for the club.

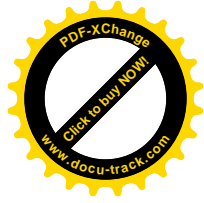
The scholarly literature investigating the relation between ethnicity and football fandom has presented many instances of ethnically based rivalries (see Dimeo, 2001, Edensor and Augustin, 2001, Hay, 2001, MacClancy, 1996, Sorek, 2003, Walton, 2001). The main characteristic of these antagonistic relations is that it involves two opposing teams in locales where ethnicity operates to sustain and increase the perceived differences among the followers of such clubs. The role ethnicity plays in creating and sustaining football rivalries is thus well



documented. The C.F.R. football club in Cluj-Napoca provides one of the few cases where ethnically different people support the same club.

This situation raises the question of how ethnic categories are used not to reinforce an opposing relation, but to downplay its possible antagonisms. As Stuart Hall suggests, ethnicity is rarely the sole principle of identification to be found in a particular social formation, in this sense ethnic identity does not exclusively account for the ways in which individuals engage with others, but it operates in conjunction with other identitarian principles to be found in particular sites. In the “production of locality” (Appadurai, 1996) many categories of social differentiation came to dynamically shape specific identities. Football fandom provides a key place to investigate precisely this refinement of categories that people use to identify themselves and others. Besides the possible intervention of ethnicity in football fandom, club football has almost always mobilized local affiliations and attachments. Made to represent cities on a regional, national and international stage, football clubs are inherently linked with civic modes of identification. The social divisions that mark particular localities do also play a role in shaping the ways in which fans identify each other. Thus the overall argument put forth in this section is that although ethnicity has played a determining role in the organization of C.F.R.’s fans, their similar class position and their shared sense of what it means to be “from Cluj”, the social place they occupy at the level of the city, better account for their collaborative work in sustaining C.F.R.

Aware of Brubaker’s critique of “groupism” (Brubaker, 2004) the first step is to show how the two groups of C.F.R.’s fans emerged and how a high degree of groupness is actively maintained. The establishment of the two fan-groups came soon after the club came to be owned by a Hungarian businessman from Cluj in 2002, who immediately started investing in the team. That the founding members aimed to promote a new type of fandom was visible in their initial actions. Two of the founding members of *Commando Gruia*, the group of Romanian fans, both

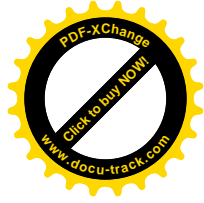


owners of small firms, one of them 28 year old and the other one 35 year old, remember that the fan-club was founded by a group of friends, people knowing each other long before that moment, many of them residing close to C.F.R.'s stadium in the Gruia neighborhood. After organizing the support for the team during the matches, they decided to give a legal basis for the group thus creating a not-for-profit association able to attract a yearly fee, sponsorships, donations and issuing member cards. The legal framework facilitated the relations with the club who was thus able to officially support the activities of the fans. The good results of the team saw the group rapidly increasing its number of members: in 2002 it numbered 50; by 2004 it had 300 people officially registered, while in 2008 their number more than doubled. The association expanded its range of activities producing personalized objects, editing a small magazine, distributed for free among fans at every home match, and encouraging one of the members to manage the relation of the group with the media. One of the two supporters I have talked with transformed his business, a bar located near the stadium, into a sports pub furnished in C.F.R.'s colors that provided the fans with a space to meet, drink and chat. This space highly contributed to establishing and maintaining strong ties among the most dedicated members:

Now I can stress my merits a little. The fan-group is very, very lucky to have me. I live right here, cross the street from the stadium [where the bar is also located]. We gather here weekly, for a meeting, now is Monday and we talk: what are we going to do tomorrow, what are we going to do the day after tomorrow, what we do this week... Even if there is nothing to discuss we stay for a beer... A beer, a chat... So there is a lot the group gains because of the bar here. We organize the transportation here. We keep the group's "arsenal": flags and banners, at my place. Now we have a girl selling labeled products, we have a friend as the official speaker of the group: he goes to talk-shows, to televisions, talks to the press.

Cristian, (28), C.F.R. fan

The establishment of the fan-club as a legally constituted association with fee paying members and coordinated by committed leaders entitled them with a high degree of control over



those already enrolled as well as regarding those willing to join. When I questioned one of the leaders whether I am allowed to become a member he soon stressed the positive characteristics of the group, as well as the types of behavior that are likely to be sanctioned:

You'll see that we are like a true family, there are no scandals here, people always have a good time here [implicitly incriminating Universitatea's fans], we are friends with a 70 year old, as well as with a 10 year old. In fact we have a 68 year old member who hasn't missed any away match. So, the performances and the desire to travel to away matches have united us very much. But this does not mean that if you don't sit at your place and you create trouble... this is up to us... if you come and you get drunk, you make a scandal, you just bother the others, it happens only once and you're out.

Cosmin, (35), C.F.R. fan

By taking part in these fans meetings, by joining them during the matches to support the team, travelling with them at away matches largely confirmed the statements made by the two leaders. A general atmosphere of good time characterizes their gatherings enforced by the well established connections among members. Many of them know each other very well, besides discussing football, many of them would openly talk about their problems or successes at home or at work: thus everyone can hear that someone bought a new car and about the details of the deal, that someone else has to send his little son to the kindergarten and is looking for a good place, that someone got a raise of his salary. A sense of trust is actively maintained through money lending, by paying for the food and the drinks of some of the others or by rapidly intervening when someone has problems with the stewards or the gendarmes. Their interactions are marked by a pattern of joking sociability that sees one's problems soon reinterpreted into a humorous story. All these small elements of everyday interaction are deeply felt by the members of Commando Gruia. When confronted with them in the interview situation they wrap them into closely related categories of identification: being Clujean (or being from the town of Cluj) and

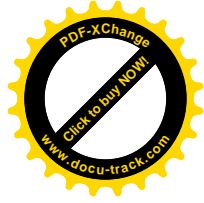
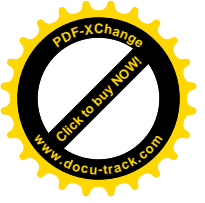


being a C.F.R. fan. I return to a discussion of these and other related categories after a brief presentation of the group of Hungarian fans of C.F.R.

The appearance of K.V.S.C. is a similar story. The emergence of a group of Hungarian fans supporting C.F.R. alongside a group of Romanian fans tells much about the deeply rooted ethnic divisions to be found in Cluj-Napoca. The town's social space presents itself as fragmented into two ethnically distinct fields. Analyzing the main points of contention that have marked the town after 1989, Brubaker came to stress the importance of educational institutions in producing and reproducing an ethnically divided social space (2006, p. 122-167). His insights are confirmed by the testimonies produced by my informants. Socialized in ethnically separated institutions the Romanians as well as the Hungarians of Cluj enter in ethnically founded networks of friendship, collegiality or neighborliness. Through the impersonal work of official institutions the ethnic dimension is normalized in the everyday life of these people and does not necessarily appear as an obstacle until experientially confronted. Thus, as in the case of Commando Gruia's Romanian members, ethnic categories do not appear prominently in the discourse of K.V.S.C.'s Hungarian members, although the two groups were clearly constituted along ethnic lines. K.V.S.C.'s founding members directly point to their existing connections as constituting the foundation of the group. Their current leader, a 38 years old actor at the Hungarian Opera House in Cluj, emphasized the importance of such a network of friendship in creating the group:

KVSC was organized in 2002 by a group of friends. Many of them felt that it was about time to support the team in an organized manner. At the beginning we were a group of 60-70 people who knew each other from faculties, from the neighborhood, we are neighbors, we are friends, we are ex-colleagues, so a big group of friends, we were all Hungarians, but the problem did not arise and will never arise to ask someone: "Hey, what nationality are you?".

Laszlo, (38), C.F.R. fan

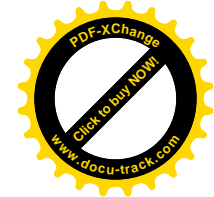
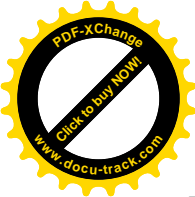


The Hungarian fans immediately gave the group a legal status in the form of a not-for-profit association. As in the case of Romanian fans their main goal was to attract sponsorships, to ease the official relations with the club and to track the development of the group regarding its members. Their success in gathering funds for the fan-club is visible on all of their materials. The names and symbols of the sponsors, firms either owned by one of the fans or businesses where one of the fans holds a high position, appear on their shirts, caps and banners. In terms of numbers the group grew exponentially during the last years: from 60 to 70 people in 2002, by 2008 the K.V.S.C. fan-club has more than 400 members. The social composition of the group is striking compared to other groups of fans which usually attract people with a low class position even at the clubs traditionally seen as middle-class (Giulianotti, 1999). All my informants provided consistent information regarding the educational background of the members: they would all say that three quarters to 80% of them are graduates or are currently students. Discussing about the term *ultras*, a notion that C.F.R.'s fans rapidly reject when presenting themselves, associating it with the violent behavior of other supporters, Marius, one of the few Romanian members of K.V.S.C., commented that:

I think that younger people are attracted by this phenomenon [ultras] and also those unfulfilled in their social life. As long as I know such people do take fandom that way and as long as I know a ultras graduate, with wife and kids is something unheard of. Were such ultras to exist I would be very curious to meet and talk to them.

Marius, (31), C.F.R. fan

His story, as a Romanian fan of C.F.R. and member of K.V.S.C., is particularly interesting as it shows the importance of ethnically based networks in becoming part of this group. He was drawn into the group because of his relations with Hungarians in Cluj: "all of my friends are now Hungarian, I have a Hungarian wife and I work in a firm owned by Hungarians".



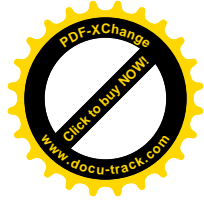
Marius offers the perspective of an insider regarding the strategies used to surpass the language barriers in the interaction between Romanians and Hungarians, as well as the importance of silencing the nationalistic ideas:

Sometimes, I don't know what to say, it's a bit annoying... sometimes, in a bus it's a big thing if we are two Romanians, and they speak in Hungarian. It is normal for them to speak in Hungarian, they are not supposed to speak Romanian because I am there, but I would also like to be part of their talk, I make jokes: "Hey, add a subtitle!" or "Switch to a Romanian [channel]". I am allowed to do that and this is a clear proof that there are no problems. Probably they all share the dream of the Greater, Smaller, Squared, Round Hungary, I'm not interested, they do not express such ideas... if they really hold them. In the end we are just a group of friends.

Marius, (31), C.F.R.

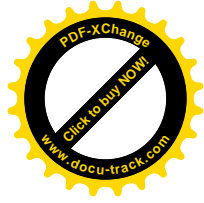
The importance of joking as a strategy of downplaying the possible conflict surrounding vulnerable issues was also noticed by Brubaker: "Instead of being avoided, the sensitive matter is directly engaged, but in a manner that can defuse it, prevent tensions from building, and sustain amicable interactions in situations where avoidance might be awkward or impossible" (2006, p. 309-311). This is also the case in the interactions between the Romanian members of Commando Gruia and the Hungarian ones in K.V.S.C. If a few Hungarians gather to talk aside from the main group they are soon confronted with a joke regarding their "separatism" and thus brought in interaction with the others. If one of the Romanians got drunk, some Hungarians might soon jokingly sanction his "peasant" behavior that would not allow him to support the team.

The persistence of nationalistic ideas among both Romanians and Hungarians in Cluj is one of the core features that my informants perceive in terms of difference. All of them understand ethnic differences as indissolubly linked with nationalistic sentiments. The most common remark made by both Romanians and Hungarians when depicting each other is: "They all have nationalistic ideas". An important distinction soon follows placing individuals in two



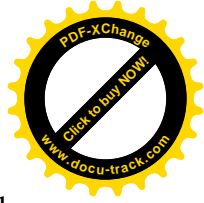
broad categories according to the publicity of their sentiments: on the one hand, those keeping their national allegiances “for themselves” and on the other, those that feel the need to make them public. In this logic only the latter are seen as potentially dangerous because through their actions they can appeal to the latent ideas of their co-ethnics. A 45 year old Hungarian fan of C.F.R. commented: “A spark is enough to ignite the already existing tensions. Even a man with the head on his shoulders can be easily caught in this trap”. The force of this shared understanding about the proper way to handle ethnic issues among C.F.R.’s fans was available to me as soon as I started my second period of fieldwork among them.

On a Saturday in early April 2008, two days after I arrived in Cluj, C.F.R. was playing at home with one of the small teams in the Romanian championship, usually alternating the presences in the first division with those in the second, Pandurii Targu-Jiu. Three hours before the kick-off I paid a visit to one of my best informants from my previous research among C.F.R.’s fans, a 48 years old Romanian fan of C.F.R., unit manager at a multinational insurance company. As I called him a day before he was already waiting for me at his house , five minutes’ walk from C.F.R.’s home-ground in the Gruia neighborhood. I wanted to get an idea regarding what has happened during the 2007/2008 season among C.F.R.’s fans. He was happy to see me. For the first time in his house and having told me before about his passion for collecting, he soon introduced me to his impressive collection of postcards, stamps, matchbox models, beer-biscuits and many others. As our conversation moved to football he was proud to tell me that Commando Gruia grew in size throughout the season, now having around 600 registered members; K.V.S.C. also did well in attracting new members, he said, now having more than 300. The fan-group remained well organized and the newcomers did not create problems. He also mentioned that some groups of younger fans, “brigades”, appeared in the stadium without being recognized by the club or by the two major groups of C.F.R. supporters. They were more likely to create



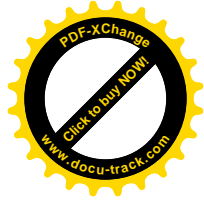
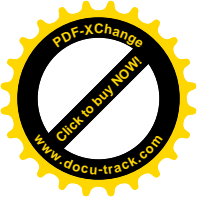
problems, but generally everything was under control. Given the strong competition with Steaua Bucharest that went on throughout the season an intense rivalry developed with its fans, augmented by the repeated comments of Steaua's owner, a potent businessman and nationalist politician, depicting C.F.R. as "the team of Hungarians, thus not deserving to win the Romanian football championship". I went on to ask him to introduce me to some of the members of K.V.S.C. which would much ease my job in Cluj. He said that we can meet the guys in K.V.S.C. right after the match and there will be no problem in talking to them, they are nice people and passionate C.F.R. fans. As we walked to the stadium Marian was confident that C.F.R. will win the match, although their last displays were rather poor, and thus be able to maintain the lead in the championship. We entered the stadium half an hour before the kick-off and took a place in the sector occupied by Commando Gruia members at the stadiums' only end. K.V.S.C.'s members were located right above in the newly built extension of the stand. I was surprised to see that many of the people I have met a year before remembered me and wanted to know how I was doing.

I followed the game together with the fans supporting the team all along. C.F.R. unexpectedly lost the match and the first place in the standings. After the final whistle of the referee I was still waiting for Marian to gather some flags, when people started shouting and pushing each other near the exit. We looked curiously not knowing what happened. A few K.V.S.C. members jumped from the upper stand and started running towards the mob. My informant grabbed the flags and ran towards the exit without saying anything. I immediately followed him. At the gates people were shouting and pushing each other. Some of the younger fans from a brigade called "Romaniacs" have shouted "Out with the Hungarians from the country!" towards the K.V.S.C. group at the end of the match. Two of them were now at the center of the mob, while many others were shouting: "How can you say something like that!",



“What kind of C.F.R. supporter are you to say something like that!”, “Go to Universitatea with such slogans!”, “Where do you live, if you came here to say something like that!”. Those incriminating the two were both Hungarians from K.V.S.C., as well as, Romanians from Commando Gruia. The gendarmes soon arrived telling the people to disperse. The atmosphere remained tense, many of those present saying that something like this should not be tolerated. Others explained the event by referring to these people’s presence at the march organized by the radical political organization “New Right” on the 15th of March, a Hungarian National Day, alongside some of Universitatea’s fans. Romanian fans of C.F.R., some of them I already knew, as well as Hungarian fans, recognizable because of their accent, were equally condemning the events and commenting that these people should be banned from attending. Two days after the event, the director of the club, prompted by both Commando Gruia and K.V.S.C. members, banned the members of other fan-groups from using the transportation offered by the club to away matches and declared that he will personally get involved in preserving a “civilized atmosphere” at home matches.

I have extensively presented this event as it powerfully illustrates the ways in which C.F.R.’s fans identify themselves as a unitary group, transcending the ethnic divisions that separate them. Being a “Ceferist” (a C.F.R. fan) is a category of identification strongly linked with the civic one of being “Clujean” (from the town of Cluj). The civic identity often exceeds in practice the fan identity and a sense of commonality develops around it. When coming down from the buses near a stadium at away matches all the fans would collectively sing “Cluj is here!”, repeating it many times, before going on to sing about C.F.R. My Romanians as well as my Hungarian informants would finish their presentation of the relations between the two groups of fans by stating that: “In the end we are all Ceferisti” or “Ethnicity does not matter much, in the end we are all Clujeni”. On the other hand, the force of these two categories to surpass ethnicity



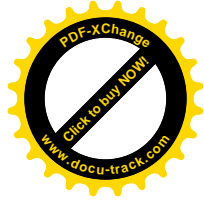
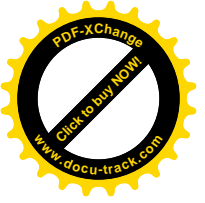
as the primary means of identification should not be overemphasized. Being from Cluj as well as a C.F.R. fan relies heavily on the perceived appropriateness of being a Romanian in a, by now, largely Romanian public space. Confronted by a powerful discourse, locally produced by Universitatea's fans and nationally reproduced especially by the fans and owners of the football clubs in Bucharest, that pejoratively present C.F.R. and its fans as a Hungarian club with a Hungarian following, the Hungarian fans from K.V.S.C. adopted a strategy of downplaying their ethnic affiliations in the public space:

We [the leaders of Commando Gruia and KVSC] got together and agreed to no longer support the team in Hungarian. When, for example Steaua's fans, though will enrage us by shouting: "Out with the Hungarians from the country!" we applauded them. They soon stopped as they could not believe their eyes. When they shouted: "Romania! Romania!" we shouted along with them and again applauded them.

Laszlo, 38 years old, C.F.R. fan

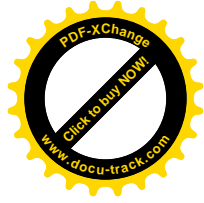
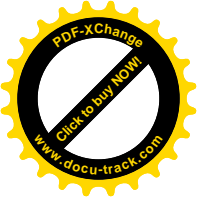
Besides these public expressions of Romanianness, K.V.S.C.'s leaders were also proud to be the first fan-group to have produced and commercialized a scarf for the Romanian national team, celebrating their qualification for the European Championship 2008. In a mixed group Romanian is the sole language of interaction and most often even the presence of a few Romanian speakers would make the Hungarians present change to Romanian when communicating. All these strategies have certainly contributed in shaping a common ground of identification around the club and, more generally, around the perceived image of the town of Cluj where both categories acknowledge the actual Romanian preeminence over the urban public space.

Keeping in mind that in the last years C.F.R. managed to draw the support of largely middle-class men, many of them, especially in the case of the Hungarians, descendents of old urban families based in Cluj, they were acutely aware of the ethnically mixed character of the town. The C.F.R. football club's history could easily be read as imbued by the shifting ethnic



relations at the town's level and thus provide another common identity mark for both ethnic groups. Founded during the Austro-Hungarian Empire when Cluj was an overwhelmingly Hungarian city, the club resisted the massive transformations that affected the city in the interwar and communist periods, it came to be a Romanian club as Cluj developed into a Romanian city, but without losing sight of its Hungarian origin, as well as the town of Cluj cannot easily move beyond its Hungarian roots (see Brubaker, 2006; Lazăr, 2003). In comparison, Universitatea's story is closely related to the Romanian national movement. Founded in 1919, immediately after Transylvania became part of the Romanian state, by Romanian students and addressing the Romanian population in Cluj is perceived by its fans as a key site to claim the Romanianness of the town.

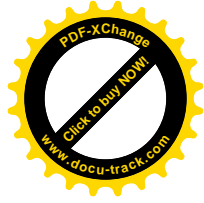
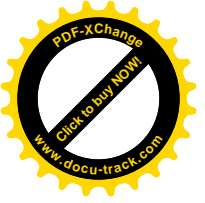
The main purpose of this section was to show that, in contrast with other locations where ethnicity played a key role in the establishment and maintenance of football rivalries, C.F.R.'s fandom in Cluj-Napoca provides a site where civic and club affiliations have downplayed the role of ethnicity in establishing opposing relations to such an extent that ethnically different individuals came to support the same club. While the dominant position of the Romanian majority does play a key role in ethnically defining and demarcating the urban public space, local means of identification have decisively worked to create a sense of commonality among otherwise ethnically distinct individuals. More generally, the force of local identities in forging a sense of common belonging among C.F.R.'s football fans tells us much regarding the social divisions that shape Cluj-Napoca's social space. The civic distinctions between the "old Clujeni" and the late "newcomers" to the town, largely reproducing at the discursive level actual class divisions, powerfully structure the urban social space. Ethnicity is thus not the sole principle of differentiation and identification, but only one among others jointly operating to produce particular types of identities.



Conclusions

The dynamic football scene in Cluj-Napoca, Romania provided a key site to explore the ways in which ethnicity and class work in the world of football fandom. The emergence of C.F.R. football club as an apt contender at the national level and its rapid success, culminating at the end of the 2007/2008 when the club won both the Romanian national championship and the Romanian Cup, coupled with the poor performances of Universitatea, the town's better known club, provided the football enthusiasts in Cluj the opportunity to support yet another team. I argued that the lines along which the fans polarized, to support either C.F.R. or Universitatea, and the rivalry that appeared out of this split can't be understood by taking into account only C.F.R.'s increasing performances. The current social composition of the two fan groups shows that the divisions that have historically marked the city of Cluj-Napoca came to be reproduced in the stands. Thus Universitatea came to be supported mainly by young, Romanian, working-class men, while C.F.R. was more appealing for more middle-aged and roughly middle-class fans, Romanian as well as Hungarian. The space of the two stadiums in Cluj became a public space mobilized to express ethnic and class contentions in terms of football fandom.

The interplay between ethnicity and class in the world of football fandom stresses the importance of the processes taking place beyond the realm of sport in mobilizing support, creating passions, arousing emotions and contesting established ideas. In this sense, football and its related activities should not be understood as a distinct domain of social reality, but rather as sites where principles of social differentiation are constantly played with and played out. As this research shows, the social and cultural cleavages that mark the city of Cluj were taken up by football fans and used to identify themselves as well as others. The problem of identification in a



ethnically mixed town raised the question regarding the salience of ethnicity in the everyday relations between football fans.

By focusing on the interactions between the Hungarian and Romanian followers of C.F.R., I was able to show that ethnicity, operating among people with a similar middle-class background, is not the sole modality of identification used by these fans. In contrast with other locations where ethnicity played a key role in the establishment and maintenance of football rivalries, C.F.R.'s fandom in Cluj-Napoca provides a site where civic and club affiliations have downplayed the role of ethnicity in establishing opposing relations to such an extent that ethnically different individuals came to support the same club. While the dominant position of the Romanian majority does play a key role in ethnically defining and demarcating the urban public space, local means of identification have decisively worked to create a sense of commonality among otherwise ethnically distinct individuals. More generally, the force of local identities in forging a sense of common belonging among C.F.R.'s football fans tells us much regarding the social divisions that shape Cluj-Napoca's social space. The civic distinctions between the "old Clujeni" and the late "newcomers" to the town, largely reproducing at the discursive level actual class divisions, powerfully structure the urban social space. Ethnicity is thus not the sole principle of differentiation and identification, but only one among others jointly operating to produce particular types of identities.

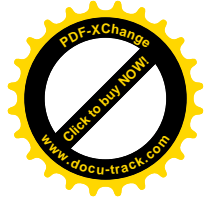
The theoretical implications of the findings presented in this paper are twofold. First, it shows the benefits of introducing class alongside identity in the analysis of football fandom. By historically tracing the class dynamics that marked a particular locality I was able to present the ways in which people gather along class lines to produce a particular type of fandom. In this sense, class operates to create specific types of solidarities and thus contributes to the production of homogenous social spaces able to sustain durable identities. Besides that, the polarization of



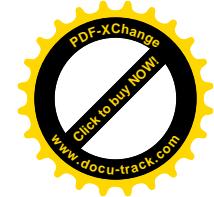
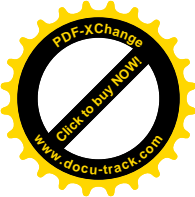
football fans in Cluj-Napoca along class lines stresses the complex interplay between ethnicity and class to be found in specific sites. Rather than treating the two as distinct areas of social reality it is more profitable to analyze them in conjunction looking at the ways in which class differences come to be ethnicized or how ethnic contentions are framed in terms of class. This perspective permits the uncovering of the multiple subject positions hidden behind the broad categories of class or ethnicity (Hall, 1996b).

Second, the constitution of a fan identity illustrated that ethnicity, although often emphasized, is rarely the sole principle of identification among football fans. Situationally people might identify themselves and others in ethnic terms, but in the constitution of identities many social differences, besides the ethnic ones, are also mobilized. This should make us aware of the complex relations to be found between various identifying categories in the everyday practice of individuals and should orient us to look for the whole array of distinctions functioning in particular settings, rather than pointing only towards the well known notions such as ethnicity or class.

The current research uncovered a series of questions that remained largely unaddressed given the limited scope of the present work. By concentrating on processes taking place at the local level the regional and national dynamics of football fandom in Romania was kept out of sight. An exploration of the relations linking football fans across the country would offer a complete picture about the existing rivalries and solidarities. The place of football fans in the Romanian football world should also be questioned by exploring the institutional structure of the game. Football officials, investors, trainers, players, referees and football fans are all caught in a web of relations shaping the world of Romanian club football, in its turn dependent on continental and international legal and sporting arrangements. An accurate picture of the game would include an analysis of this field in its entirety. Not least, the power of capital in creating

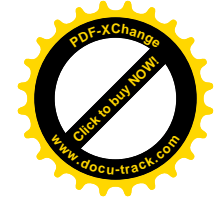
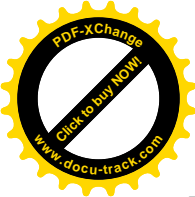


football sites should also be taken into account. As the case of C.F.R. in Cluj-Napoca shows, an influx of capital in the club triggered changes going well beyond the boundaries of the business. The sources of the capital invested in football, the agents involved in this process as well as the effects of mobilizing large amounts of money for sporting (and other) purposes should be critically engaged with.

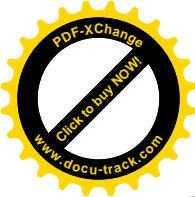


Bibliography

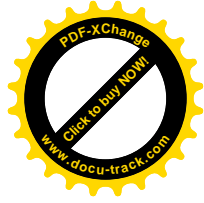
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. Sovereignty without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography. In Yaeger, Patricia (Ed.). *The Geography of Identity*. Ann-Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p. 40-59.
- Armstrong, Gary, Giulianotti, Richard. 2001. Fear and Loathing: Introducing Global Football Oppositions. In Armstrong, Gary, Giulianotti, Richard (Eds.) *Fear and Loathing in World Football*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, p. 1-8.
- Ben-Porat, Amir. 1986. *Between Class and Nation: the Formation of the Jewish Working Class in the Period before Israel's Statehood*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Brubaker, Rogers, Cooper, Frederick. 2000. Beyond "Identity". *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 1-47.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. Ethnicity without Groups. In Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, p. 7-27.
- Brubaker, Rogers, Feischmidt, Margit, Fox, Jon, Grancea, Liana. 2006. *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Cârjan, Ștefan. 2004. *Însemnări despre "U"*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Eikon.
- Dimeo, Paul. 2001. 'Team Loyalty Splits the City in Two': Football, Ethnicity and Rivalry in Calcutta. In Armstrong, Gary, Giulianotti, Richard (Eds.) *Fear and Loathing in World Football*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, p. 105-118.
- Dunning, Eric. 1999. *Sport Matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence and Civilization*. London and New York: Routledge.



- Edensor, Tim, Augustin, Frederic. 2001. Football, Ethnicity and Identity in Mauritius: Soccer in a Rainbow Nation. In Armstrong, Gary, Giulianotti, Richard (Eds.) *Fear and Loathing in World Football*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, p. 91-104.
- Faje, Florin. 2007. "Cluj Is Us!": Rivalry and Symbolic Conflict among Football Supporters in Cluj-Napoca. *Studia Universitatis Sociologia*, no. 2, p. 55-75.
- Giulianotti, Richard. 1999. *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Hall, Stuart. 1992. The Question of Cultural Identity. In Hall Stuart, Held, David and McGrew, Tony. *Modernity and Its Futures*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 274-316.
- Hall, Stuart. 1996a. Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'? In Hall, Stuart, du Gay, Paul (Eds.). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 1-17.
- Hall, Stuart. 1996b. New Ethnicities. In Morley, David and Chen Kuan-Hsing. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, p. 441-449.
- Hay, Roy. 2001. 'Those Bloody Croatians': Croatian Soccer Teams, Ethnicity and Violence in Australia, 1950-99. In Armstrong, Gary and Giulianotti, Richard (Eds.) *Fear and Loathing in World Football*. Oxford, New York: Berg Publishers, p. 77-90.
- Kalb, Don. 1997. *Expanding Class: Power and Everyday Politics in Industrial Communities, The Netherlands, 1850-1950*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Kalb, Don. 2005. "Bare Legs Like Ice": Recasting Class for Local/Global Inquiry. In Kalb, Don, Tak, Herman. *Critical Junctions: Anthropology and History beyond the Cultural Turn*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 109-136.
- Lazăr, Marius. 2002. *Paradoxuri ale Modernizării. Elemente pentru o sociologie a elitelor culturale românești*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Limes.



- Lazăr, Marius. 2003. CLUJ 2003 – The Metastasis of Ostentation: Black & White Illustrations of Tricolor Cluj. *IDEA*, No. 2-3.
- MacClancy, Jeremy. 1996. Sport, Identity and Ethnicity. In MacClancy, Jeremy (Ed.). *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, p. 1-20.
- Moor, Liz. 2007. Sport and Commodification: A Reflection on Key Concepts. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, Vol. 31, No. 2, p. 128-142.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. 2002. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Petrovici, Norbert. 2006. Socialist Urbanization in the Ceausescu Era: Power and Economic Relations in the Production of Habitational Space in Cluj. *Studia Universitatis Sociologia*, no. 1, p. 97-111.
- Podaliri, Carlo, Balestri, Carlo. 1998. The *ultras*, racism and football culture in Italy. In Brown, Adam (Ed.). *Fanatics! Power, Identity and Fandom in Football*. London and New York: Routledge, p. 88-100.
- Strauss, Anselm, Corbin, Juliet. 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Sorek, Tamir. 2003. Arab Football in Israel as an 'Integrative Enclave'. In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, p. 422-450.
- Walton, John. 2001. Basque Football Rivalries in the Twentieth Century. In Armstrong, Gary, Giulianotti, Richard (Eds.) *Fear and Loathing in World Football*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, p. 119-136.
- Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



Wolf, Eric R. 1982. *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London:
University of California Press.

