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Fighting Global Uncertainties:

A Case-Study of the Post-Communist Migrations of Hungarian Professional Footballers

by

Győző Molnár

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the award of

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In Memoriam Alan G. Ingham (1947-2005)

ABSTRACT

This thesis embraces the themes of globalisation, labour migration, sport in general, and, football in particular. The main focus of this work is the migration of male professional football players in and out of Hungary's professional football teams. The aim of the study is to map existing migration patterns of Hungarian and foreign footballers playing in Hungarian professional teams, to sociologically make sense of the lived experiences of Hungarian migrant players and to investigate whether the 'triple-function' of Hungary as a host, transit and donor country exists in football migration. In doing so, an historical overview of Hungarian football is developed, a quantitative data set is presented and analysed representing the number of migrant footballers in Hungary and Hungarian players in the first division football teams of UEFA countries. Moreover, foreign and Hungarian players, and key officials of three first division football teams are interviewed, together with officials of the Hungarian Football Association to gain further insight into the given matter and to shed light upon the lived experiences and personal struggles of migrant footballers. Finally, the changing footballing conditions of Hungary are outlined, based on interview-generated data and in relation to the findings of the preceding chapters. Data analysis, through a process-sociologically driven account, provides both an empirically and a theoretically efficient explanation regarding the selected theme. The findings are analysed with reference to local, regional and global footballing processes and within the wider theoretical debate surrounding globalisation of sport and football migrations.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ..... **III**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **IV**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **V**

LIST OF FIGURES ..... **IX**

CHAPTER ONE **1**

INTRODUCTION **1**

1. GLOBALISATION **1**

1.1. SPORT AND GLOBALISATION 2
1.2. THE ISSUE OF HUNGARY IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION 4
1.2.1. Sport Science in Hungary *7*
1.3. THESIS PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE 9
Notes *12*

CHAPTER TWO **13**

LITERATURE REVIEW **13**

I. GLOBALISATION 13
2.1. WHAT IS GLOBALISATION? 13
2.2. HISTORY OF GLOBALISATION 19
2.2.1. Conclusion on Historical Perspectives on Globalisation *24*
2.3. THREE GROUPS OF THEORISTS 26
2.3.1. The Hyperglobalist View *27*
2.3.2. The Sceptical Perspective *28*
2.3.3. Transformationalist Theory *30*
2.3.4. Summary of Theories on Globalisation *31*
2.4. GLOBALISATION: POSITIVE, NEGATIVE OR REALISTIC? 33
2.5. SUMMARY 36
II. SPORT AND GLOBALISATION 37
2.6. VIEWS ON SPORT AND GLOBALISATION 37
2.6.1. Marxist/Neo-Marxist Views *38*
2.6.2. Cultural Studies *43*
2.6.3. Postmodernist Views *47*
2.6.4. Process-Sociology *50*
2.7. CONCLUSION 56
III. LABOUR MIGRATION 59
2.8. HISTORICAL WAVES OF LABOUR MIGRATION 59
2.9. SPORT LABOUR MIGRATION 64
2.9.1. Football Labour Migration within the EU *68*
2.10. LABOUR MIGRATION: A PROCESS-SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH 73
2.10.1. Established - Outsider Relations *75*
Notes *80*

CHAPTER THREE **82**

METHODOLOGY **82**

I. INTRODUCTION 82

3.1. PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL RESEARCH 82
3.2. PROCESS-SOCIOLOGY: METHODOLOGICAL STANDPOINTS 87
II. METHODS 101
3.3. VERBAL DATA: SEMI-STRUCTURED - LONG INTERVIEWS 101
3.3.1. Data Documentation *103*
3.3.2. Issues with Interviews *105*
3.3.3. Empirical Observations on Conducting Interviews in Hungary *106*
3.4. USING QUESTIONNAIRES IN THE HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL CONTEXT 113
3.5. QUANTITATIVE DATA: THE MIGRATION OF HUNGARIAN FOOTBALLERS 115
3.6. SUMMARY 116
Notes *119*
CHAPTER FOUR 120
HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL, MIGRATION AND SOCIETY 120
I. A HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL 120
4.1. The Beginnings (1870s - 1901) *120*
4.2. Hungarian Football on the European Stage (1902 - 1925) *125*
4.3. Launching a Professional League (1926 - 1940) *128*
4.4. From Nazism to Communism (1941 - 1947) *130*
4.5. Sovietised Football (1948 - 1956) *132*
4.6. Struggle for International 'Ideological' Success (1957 - 1989) *139*
4.7. Playing from the East to the West (1990 - Present) *143*
II. GENERAL MIGRATION PATTERNS IN HUNGARY 146
4.8. Austro-Hungarian Migrations (1850s - 1918) *147*
4.9. From Trianon to Rakosi *148*
4.10. Communist Border Policy *151*
4.11. Free Flow of Europeans *153*
4.12. Summary *156*
Notes *159*
CHAPTER FIVE 163
HUNGARY-RELATED POST-COMMUNIST FOOTBALL MIGRATIONS 163
I. IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN FOOTBALLERS TO HUNGARY 165
5.1. GENERAL MIGRATION PATTERNS 165
5.1.1. Donor Confederations *165*
5.1.2. Regions of UEFA *170*
5.1.3. Western Europe *172*
5.1.4. New EU Member Sates *173*
5.1.5. Non-EU UEFA Countries *175*
II. EMIGRATION OF HUNGARIAN FOOTBALLERS 179
5.2. REGIONS OF UEFA 180
5.3. NETWORKS OF HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL EMIGRANTS 181
5.4. SUMMARY 191
Notes *195*
CHAPTER SIX 197
HUNGARIAN FOOTBALLERS IN THE 'TRANSITION': 197
A MIGRATORY PERSPECTIVE 197
6.1. HUNGARIAN FOOTBALLERS 199
6.2. MIGRATION SPECIFIC THEMES 200

6.2.1. The Dynamics of Motivational Forces *200*
6.2.2. Selecting or Selected Host Countries *208*
6.2.3. Transfer Issues: Clarity of Contracts *213*
6.2.4. Professional Adjustments: 'Pick up the Rhythm!' *215*
6.2.5. Defeat: The Hungarian Coping Strategy *223*
6.2.6. Personal Troubles: National Identity in Motion *227*
6.3 CONCLUSION 235
Notes *240*
CHAPTER SEVEN **241**
THE 'JUNGLE' OF POST-COMMUNIST HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL **241**
7.1 POST-COMMUNIST HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL: AN ANALYSIS 243
7.1.1 Infrastructure *243*
7.1.2 Youth-Development *247*
7.1.3 Violence in the Stadia *251*
7.2 CHEAPER, FASTER, FOREIGNER? 254
7.2.1 Further Reasons for Foreigners *257*
7.2.2 The Last Shelter: Why Hungary? *264*
7.2.3 Hungarian Football: A Foreign Perspective *269*
7.2.4. EU Vigilance *275*
7.2 CONCLUSION 280
Notes *284*
CHAPTER EIGHT **285**
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS **285**
7.1 THE RELEVANCE OF HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: LINKING PAST AND PRESENT 288
7.2 POST-COMMUNIST FOOTBALL MIGRATIONS IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT 291
7.3 CONSTRUCTING A MIGRATION TYPOLOGY 297
7.4 HABITUS THEORY AND MIGRATION RESEARCH 300
7.5 DECLINING HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL: IS THERE HOPE? 306
7.6 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH 308
Notes *311*
REFERENCES **312**
APPENDICES **331**
Appendix 1. Outcomes of the Hungarian National Championships between 1945 and 1990 (Data derive from Komaromi, 2003) *332*
Appendix 2. Minimal phase model of globalisation (Robertson, 1992) *334*
Appendix 3. Six Waves of Globalisation (Therborn, 2000) *335*
Appendix 4. A Summary of Peoples' Wanderings and Migrations *336*
Appendix 5. Sample Letter to Teams *337*
Appendix 6. Sample Letter to Hungarian FA *338*
Appendix 7. Sample Letter to UEFA *339*
Appendix 8. Sample Letter to FIFA *340*
Appendix 9. Questionnaire *341*
Appendix 10. Questionnaire in Hungarian *345*
Appendix 11. Questionnaire *349*
Appendix 12. Questionnaire in Hungarian *355*
Appendix 13. Interview Questions Schedule *361*
Appendix 14. Interview Questions Schedule in Hungarian *362*

Appendix 15. Interview Questions Schedule *363*
Appendix 16. Interview Questions Schedule in Hungarian *364*
Appendix 17. Interview Questions Schedule *365*
Appendix 18. Interview Questions Schedule in Hungarian *366*
Appendix 19. Sample Transcript *367*
Appendix 20. Interview dates and locations *372*
Appendix 21. Sample Interview Coding Sheet *373*

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Percentage of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from Donor Confederations 166

Figure 2 Number of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from Donor Confederations 168

Figure 3 Percentage of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from UEFA Donor Countries by Economic Standings 171

Figure 4 Percentage of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from New EU Member States 175

Figure 5 Percentage of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from UEFA Non-EU States 176

Figure 6 Total Number of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from UEFA Non-EU States 177

Figure 7 Percentage of Hungarian Male Pro Footballers in the First Divisions of UEFA Countries 180

Figure 8 Percentage of Hungarian Male Pro Footballers in the First Divisions of New EU Member States 182

Figure 9 Percentage of Hungarian Male Pro Footballers in the First Divisions of UEFA Non-EU States 184

Figure 10 Percentage of Hungarian Male Pro Footballers in the First Divisions of EU Countries and Norway and Switzerland 187

Figure 11 Major Migration Patterns of Male Pro Footballers in and out of Hungary 192

Figure 12 The Process of Rediscovering National Identity – The Case of Hungarian Migrant Footballers 231

Figure 13. A Typology of Hungarian Professional Footballers in the Post-Communist Period 299

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. GLOBALISATION

One does not necessarily need to be involved in social sciences in order to see and feel the swift changes in each and every aspect of contemporary social life. In the last few decades, people could witness the emergence of an accelerated technological development concerning almost all industrial products and services. This development greatly influences everyday life and the structures of societies (Giddens, 1990). One encounters new technological inventions almost every day and has to face urgent political, social, economic, and environmental issues on a regular basis. Moreover, citizens of the contemporary era do not only have to be concerned with the problems of their own region, but with issues occurring in other parts of the globe. That is, local and/or regional matters often generate global concerns and vice versa (Waters, 1995 and 2000).

The media and other electronic channels of communication have constantly fed people with global phenomena. In watching television or reading newspapers, one regularly encounters expressions containing the word 'global' (Giddens, 1999). One can hear about global warming, global environmental pollution and a global economy. That is, the term 'globalisation' has become global itself (Giddens, 1999, Maguire, 1999). The global flow of information and people has never been swifter. Communication too has become faster, a milestone of improvement and a significant part of our life. As Martin-Barbero writes, 'without communication there is no development' (1999, p. 352), and this development is leading us toward the maturation of a highly interconnected planet. Hence, globalisation and technology are

highly intermingled and, although technology is a significant agent in shaping the process of globalisation, it is not the sole one (see Herman, 2000).

Contemporary products of telecommunication technology, such as mobile phones, the internet and interactive television, have become available and popularised all around the world just in the last few decades, creating interconnected global technological highways. Therefore, one may mistakenly date the emergence of the process of globalisation in the recent era. That is, as technology and mass communication have begun to exponentially develop, it may provide people with a false and premature conclusion regarding the historical origins of globalisation. In spite of the fact that the term 'globalisation' and the phenomenon that globalisation stands for has become quite popular and widely discussed only in the last couple of decades, globalisation processes are viewed here as being long-term courses (Giddens, 1990, Robertson, 1992, Held et al., 1999, Therborn, 2000) that have occurred unevenly across the planet (Maguire, 1999). This aspect of globalisation is often and widely debated. Hence, in the first part of the literature review, this will be given consideration. Moreover, there shall be an attempt made to introduce the most relevant contributions to and views on the field of globalisation. The different perspectives on globalisation will be contrasted and compared, and historical roots explored. This is of importance, as global and migratory processes have been argued to be extensively affected by one another (Castles and Miller, 2003). In fact, Appadurai (1990) indicates that migrations (ethnoscapes) are part of global processes.

1.1. Sport and Globalisation

Sport is one of the institutions of social life which has been undergoing processes of globalisation, enduring, often radical, changes in its form, content and relations for quite some time. That is to say, sport has been both a constituent and

facilitator of greater global interdependence. Indicating the historical roots of globalisation and the relationship between globalisation and sportisation, Maguire observes that:

> The last quarter of the nineteenth century, for example, witnessed the international spread of sport, the establishment of international sports organisations, the growth of competition between national team, the worldwide acceptance of rules governing specific sport forms and the establishment of global competitions such as the Olympic Games (1999, p. 82).

Although Maguire (1999) acknowledges the fact that the global spread of sports and sport related regulations also evoked, often intense, national and local sentiments, he argues that the expression of nationalism through sport still manifested within the 'context of the dominant standard setter, the English and by means 'their' rationalised achievement sports' (1999, p. 83). Houlihan (1994), too, highlights the longevity of the global spread of modern sports by suggesting that the international organisational infrastructure of sport has existed for some time. Maguire (1999) outlines the key features of the global sporting infrastructure as follows: the emergence of unified transnational sport federations facilitating the spread of sports; the international acceptance of governing bodies; the establishment of global sporting events; the rapid development of a major global sport goods industry and, the embracing of sport by the media. By virtue of this argument, one must consider the fact that modern sport is global (Maguire, 2000a).

The vivid debate surrounding the role of sport within global interdependencies has conceptualised globalisation in a series of competing ways (see, for example, Bairner, 2001, Maguire, 1999, Donnelly, 1996, Harvey and Houle, 1994 and Houlihan, 1994), and thus, various competing theoretical interpretations of the globalisation of sport have been developed. On the one hand, scholars have argued for the homogenisation (Donnelly, 1996) or heterogenisation (Bairner, 2001) of the sport

sphere. On the other hand, the debate has shifted towards the interplay between local and global sites (Maguire, 1999) and the idea of creolisation/hybridisation has also emerged (see Hannerz, 1992 and Nederveen, 1995). While these theories reflect different perceptions on the process of globalisation, they have all involved the making of significant contributions to the refinement of the subject matter. In this work, an attempt shall be made to discuss various perspectives and theories regarding sport and globalisation by acknowledging the most influential theoretical stances. In doing so, the strengths and weaknesses of various approaches to global sport will be outlined. This will also prove useful in linking sport, migration and globalisation.

1.2. The Issue of Hungary in the Context of Globalisation

The influence of globalisation can be easily revealed in the case of Central and Eastern European countries since communist regimes left those nation-states with obsolete and inefficient industries that had suffered from decades of neglect, outdated technology, heavy debt, and environmental problems (Energy Information Administration, 1995). 'The basic cause of misdevelopment was that economic strategies and enterprise decision were driven...by political and ideological considerations...rather than predominantly by market forces' (Marer, 1999, p. 163). These conditions began to emerge and accumulate during Hungary's Sovetisation wherein the strong political and economic pressure of the Soviet Union (USSR) greatly limited Hungary's marketing possibilities within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), which was a closed economic alliance. The USSR, by military domination, forced the member countries of COMECON to adopt the Soviet economic model (Szilagyi, 2002), which led to severe economic decline. Therefore, after the 1960s, most of the COMECON countries began to search for new markets and market strategies, but within the Soviet system it was a 'mission

impossible', because, as Szilagyi argues, 'without the change of the [Sovietised] system, the process of market economisation was short lived' (2002, p. 34, see also Zwass, 1984). Also, the impermeability of the borders restricted exposure to ideas and knowledge coming from non-member countries (see Meusburger, 2001). By virtue of this, globalisation processes did not influence the way of life in Hungary to the extent that they do now (Molnar, 2002, Szilagyi, 2002). Thus, it can be stated that although Hungary was not an active agent in globalisation whilst the communists led the country (that phase could rather be described as a sovietisation process), globalisation has had a significant impact on Hungary since the multi-party political system re-appeared at the beginning of the 1990s.

Hungary has been re-experiencing democracy for over one and a half decades. As the communist political system vanished and the borders of the post-Soviet countries opened, foreign firms immediately wanted to insert their presence in the new markets available. Marer (1999) identified four accomplishments of the Hungarian economy in the early phases of the socio-economic transition that had the potential to precipitate the infiltration of capitalist market economy. These are: the relatively fast expansion of the private sector, a considerable degree of decision making autonomy of state enterprises in a number of sectors, the implementation of economic reforms in the late 1980s and the gradual liberalisation of information, in tandem with a relatively large number of Hungarians coming in contact with Western practices. So, when the global access to internal markets was re-established, a wide range of capitals, ideas and peoples from various (mostly Western) countries entered Hungary (see Meusburger, 2001 and Chapter 4). However, at the present stage of Hungary's economic, cultural and political development, it is difficult to recognise the

directions of the globalisation process that is shaping Hungary's socio-cultural structure (Kovacs, 2002).

One argument asserts that we cannot just talk about Americanisation, Westernisation, or Europeanisation; globalisation processes seem to be more complex, manifesting themselves, for example, in hybridisation during the post-communist transition process of Hungary (Molnar, 2002, Molnar and Leonard, 2003). Moreover, the United States and the countries of Western Europe are impacting upon and helping to shape Hungary's economy, culture, politics and migratory conditions simultaneously. This is resulting in complex structures throughout the country (Molnar, 2002). The cultural and economic influence of the US is significant all around the world (see Donnelly, 1996), but, due to the geographical location of Hungary, the pressure of the EU is also noticeable and has become even stronger since Hungary's EU accession (2004). These two sets of forces are mainly responsible for the changes that have occurred in Hungary since the re-emergence of the democratic political system. Nevertheless, Kovacs (2002) notes that scholars supporting the heterogenisation, homogenisation, or even the hybridisation theses are not necessarily all wrong. However, they need to take into account the significance of these processes in union and in relation to the given context. This means that one can find examples to support all the above theoretical perspectives, but regarding the future directions in Hungary, we can only speculate. Kovacs (2002) also suggests that this sphere of globalisation research demands a deeper exploration.

All in all, the present Hungarian nation-state seems to be heterogeneous, multicultural and globalising. This is also a context where the phenomenon of 'glocalisation' can be found (Kovacs, 2002). The adaptation of foreign cultures as a part of glocalisation, which also has hybridising connotations, means that Hungarians

are building into their own culture some components of other cultures, which are transformed and converted by Hungary's own culture, creating new and unique cultural formations (Molnar, 2002, cf. Kovacs, 2002). The present work mainly concentrates on the unique social fabric of globalisation with regard to Hungary related football migrations in the years of transition (1990 - 2003) and, thus, without further explorations, the findings may not perhaps be representative of the entire Hungarian society, only of a predefined segment and period.

1.2.1. Sport Science in Hungary

In order to highlight the scientific relevance of this research, a brief overview of past and present of Hungarian sport science will be provided, focusing on sport sciences in general and the sociology of sport in particular.

Years of cultural, economic and political transition have been unfortunate for the development of the social sciences in Hungary, especially in the field of sport. This slow development can be attributed to multiple factors, such as financial hardship, leading, indirectly, to the integration of universities to reduce administrative expenses, ratifying new scientific titles and degrees (see Reszketo and Varadi, 2002), and, perhaps, a decline of the significance of sport in Hungarian society as well. Interestingly, during the present transition period, Hungarian sport life has produced several exciting issues and scandals that could and should have been more thoroughly researched and explored.[1]

Although some argue that there is an improvement to be seen in the field of sport sciences in Hungary (see Foldesi and Inotai, 2001), this opinion needs to be carefully examined. It is often thought and informally advocated that Hungarian sport sciences are about to catch up with Western standards. This observation, however, is an overstatement and depicts an unrealistic image of the Hungarian sport sciences. In

fact, it is argued here, the author having been familiar with contemporary Hungarian sport science and research, that this sphere of academic life is seriously in need of new ways of embracing both theory and evidence, and of monitoring social phenomena.

In revealing the lack of reliable scientific sources on Hungarian sports, a systematic search was conducted for Hungary-related literature. This yielded numerous contemporary writings on the recent economic and political conditions and development of Hungary (e.g. Korosenyi, 1999, Cox and Furlong, 1995, Meusburger, 2001), many of which are written in or translated into English. However, a similar search for Hungarian sport-related literature produced limited results. In narrowing down the topic to the field of the sociology of sport, further difficulties were encountered. Although the recent works of Gyongyi Foldesi (1991, 1993, 1996, 2004), who is perhaps one of the most well known Hungarian sport sociologists stands out, the sources are generally scarce. Foldesi has examined various sport related social issues such as the transition of the Hungarian sport system (see Foldesi, 1993). It must be noted, however, that her writings are both ideologically driven and predominantly descriptive. Also, there were five Hungary related presentations given at the 2nd World Congress of Sociology of Sport in Cologne (2003), but, up to this point none, of them has been published.

If one tried to refine this search further and looked for football, migration and/or globalisation related Hungarian sport literature then there are very limited resources available. For instance, Foldesi has focused upon some of the problems of football fans (Foldesi, 1996). Janos Bali (2001) conducted a case study on the Ferencvaros football club. And Miklos Hadas and Viktor Karady (1995), and Hadas (1999, 2000) investigated the relationship between football and Hungarian national identity.

Furthermore, there is a study written by Rex Thomson and Istvan Soos (2000) comparing the situation of youth sport in New Zealand and Hungary against the background of globalisation and local resistance. Thomson and Soos (2005) also addressed the issue of sporting subcultures in Hungary via an investigation of Rroma physical culture. Moreover, there is an anecdotal book about the migration of Hungarian football players by Tamas Denes, Pal Peterdi, Zoltan Rochy and Jozsef Selmeci (2000). Other non-academic writings on Hungarian football, such as Dlusztus (1999), Bocsak (2001), Hamori (2001) and Bocsak and Imre (2002, 2003) do not provide objective accounts. Nevertheless, these have been used here to provide evidence or to back up specific arguments. However, there are no other significant studies of Hungarian sport, sport and globalisation or sport and labour force migration in English or in Hungarian.

This systematic search underpins the relevance of the present study which provides an in-depth analysis of Hungarian football and labour migration in the post-communist transition era. In other words, the importance and relevance of this thesis is demonstrated by the fact that Hungary-related issues of this sort have not been the foci of academic investigations.[2]

1.3. Thesis Purpose and Structure

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a sociologically driven account of the interconnectedness between globalisation, labour migration and football in the context of Hungary. This analysis highlights issues that surround global/regional interdependencies and incorporates a detailed examination of Hungarian football, especially Hungarian football migration. In this thesis I intend to examine and map the migration pattern(s) of Hungarian male professional footballers. Furthermore, I shall seek to shed light on the present circumstances of domestic and immigrant

soccer players in Hungary. In addition, in this thesis I shall analyse the expectations, problems and hopes of Hungarian footballers regarding their experiences as migrants.

The thesis is divided into five major thematical parts. First, a systematic overview of relevant globalisation, labour migration and sport literature is provided. This section shall shed light on general concerns and help to explain the present sport and globalisation interconnectedness with regard to sport labour migration issues in globalising/Westernising Hungary.

Second, a methodological overview of a sociological standpoint is outlined, and fundamental theoretical and empirical problems are discussed with regard to this research project. Methodologically, this research provides an interpretive analysis of the selected theme. In order to achieve this goal, this thesis draws upon both secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources are chiefly used for theoretical conceptualisation, and in the literature review, in particular, I cover of a wide range of secondary sources within the social and sport sciences. Moreover, a quantitative data set has been used to illustrate the migration of professional male footballers in and out of Hungary between 1991 and 2003. These data were derived mainly from The European Football Yearbook (1991-2003). In terms of primary resources, this thesis is based upon semi-structured interviews with Hungarian and foreign professional football players, football club officials and key officials of the Hungarian Football Association (Hungarian FA). These sources of information and methods were selected to reveal the multi-faceted and multi-directional globalisation - sport - labour migration nexus.

Third, a brief historical overview of the development of Hungarian football is provided as an aid for shedding light on current migration patterns in Hungarian football. Furthermore, as one of the fields of Hungarian area studies, a brief overview

of general migration in Hungary will be provided that will shed light on Hungary related migration sequences over the last century, which is a useful aid for understanding patterns of migration in post-communist Hungary.

Fourth, an empirical investigation of Hungarian professional football will be presented, focused on patterns of labour migration. In this section, I intend to map migration pattern(s), based on a quantitative data set, to reveal and explain sport migration related issues, and to provide an in-depth analysis of the attitude of Hungarian football players to the given theme through semi-structured interviews. Light will also be shed on numerous personal and occupational struggles, difficulties and uncertainties professional Hungarian footballers have encountered in the host environment. The transformative conditions of Hungarian professional football, centring on issues of migration and post-communist football conditions, will also be considered.

The final part concludes and summarises the findings and the limitations of the present study, outlining possible directions for future research. Observations will be summarised and linked to both the globalisation of sport, and the wider globalisation and labour migration debate.

Notes

[1] These issues included, for instance, struggles over rights to broadcast the matches of the professional football league, competing for the presidency of various football clubs and fundamental restructuring within the organisation of the Hungarian FA.

[2] To explain the lack of critical scientific works concerning Hungarian sport life, and its relation to First World countries, a clear understanding of the intellectual oppression of the Hungarian white-collar strata in the communist era is necessary (For an explanation see Molnar, 2002).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

I. GLOBALISATION

> A friend of mine studies village life in central Africa. A few years ago, she paid her first visit to a remote area where she was to carry out her fieldwork. The day she arrived, she was invited to a local home for an evening's entertainment. She expected to find out about the traditional pastimes of this isolated community. Instead, the occasion turned out to be a viewing of *Basic Instinct* on video. The film at that point had not even reached the cinemas in London.
>
> Giddens, *Runaway world*, 1999, p. 6 (italics in original)

2.1. WHAT IS GLOBALISATION?

The above quotation from Anthony Giddens (1999) illustrates an optimal example of what can be understood as globalisation. Accordingly, one could define globalisation as a process that makes various products, cultures and information swiftly available worldwide and overrides spatial and temporal boundaries. This observation, however, appears only to provide a preliminary definition of the phenomenon under examination, and a deeper analysis is necessary.

The importance of defining 'globalisation' originates in the fact that it has recently become popular both in everyday discussions and in social scientific works (see Giddens, 1999). The term 'globalisation' has become global itself (Maguire, 1999) and globalisation studies have become something of a bandwagon (Friedman, 1994). Giddens reinforced the worldwide spread of the term 'globalisation' when he wrote: 'The global spread of the term is evidence of the very developments to which it refers' (1999, p. 7). Some scholars, such as David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton, even argue that as a consequence of its popularity and 'globalisation is in danger of becoming, if it has not already become, the cliché of our times: the big idea which encompasses everything from global financial markets to the Internet' (1999, p. 1).

Different thinkers have applied this term in various ways to describe numerous phenomena. Some of them have taken almost completely opposite views on the globalisation debates that have occurred over the past few decades. Thus, one should not be surprised if the meaning of the notion is not always clear (Giddens, 1999; Albrow, 1996). Therborn (2000) suggests that the presence of varying views on globalisation derives from five separate, but topical discourses. These are: competition economics, sociocritical, state (im)potence, cultural and planetary ecology. The 'competition economics' debate is concerned with the global implications of the extensive and 'cut-throat' world-wide monetary competition; the 'sociocritical' perspective is a fundamentally negative response to the perceived and predicted social consequences of globalisation; the 'state (im)potence' dispute is centred on the current role, capacity, functions and effectiveness of the nation-state in the globalised world; the 'cultural' discourse addresses the direction(s) cultures are taking under the pressure of globalisation processes; and the 'planetary ecology' topic focuses on the potential obliteration of the Earth and self-destruction of humankind by the (unintended) consequences of human actions. These areas seldom express an awareness of one another (Therborn, 2000) and, hence, have generated numerous, often contradicting, definitions of, largely, the same phenomenon. By virtue of this and due to the currently existing numerous meanings and definitions attached to the term and phenomenon in question, it is crucial to indicate how globalisation is understood here.

It is challenging to find a generally accepted and used definition for globalisation. The Collins Dictionary of Sociology defines globalisation as a 'multifaceted process in which the world is becoming more and more interconnected and communication is becoming instantaneous' (Jary and Jary, 2001, p. 249). Held at

al. write that: 'Globalisation may be thought of...as the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual' (1999, p. 2). These definitions, however, are vague and do not encapsulate the whole complexity of the given process. Nevertheless, they importantly point out the issue of 'multifacetedness' that can be seen as a fundamental feature of globalisation. Perhaps this multifacetedness is also responsible for the existence of various views on globalisation, which will be further traced below.

The idea of globalisation has emerged within the social sciences to capture the global network of social interactions and is considered to be a complex process (Robertson, 1992). It has industrial/technological, economic, cultural, and political aspects (Herman, 2000; Giddens, 1999). According to Roudometof and Robertson (1995), globalisation constitutes a process of mutual interactions among different power networks and refers to the increasing integration and interconnectedness of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. It is a process through which a global economy is being formed, an economy that is less and less concerned with national barriers (Harvey and Saint-Germain, 2001). However, the notion of 'interconnectedness of the world' incorporates the emergence of not only a global economy, but also transnational cultural and social movements, and the growth of communication networks and migratory patterns of people across international borders (Waters, 1995). Therefore, 'it is wrong to think of globalisation as just concerning the big system, like the world financial order' (Giddens, 1999, p. 12). So, considering globalisation only as a new stage of international economic integration (see Mucchielli, Buckley and Cordell, 1998) does not reflect the complexity of this process.[1]

In addition, globalisation is strongly interconnected, relies upon and is deeply tied to the inventions of technology, primarily telecommunication technology (Giddens, 1998, 1999; Robertson, 1992; Held et al., 1999). Through modern technology, global culture can travel and be transmitted much faster and more effectively. According to Appadurai (1990), the global culture is being distributed through five dimensions which are: ethnoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes and technoscapes. He describes ethnoscapes as the results of the exponentially growing movement of people facilitated by highly developed transport networks and increased mobility. Financescapes are the monetary flows around the world. Mediascapes are the world-wide distribution of global images and information through media outlets such as television, movies and Internet. Ideoscapes are the global distribution of ideas and ideologies. Technoscapes are the flows of machines and technology created by national and multi-national corporations. Appadurai's (1990) observation further reinforces the complexity of the process under investigation and fundamentally states that it consists of multiple dimensions and cannot be viewed as a phenomenon which is triggered only by one factor, i.e. a prime mover such as economy, politics or technology.

In order to gain a clearer picture of globalisation, it is necessary to take into account its most distinctive features. These can be summarised under four major headings: 'stretched social relations', 'intensification of flows', 'increasing interpretation' and 'global infrastructure'. Held (2000) interprets stretched social relations as cultural, economic and political processes which are increasingly spread across nation-state boundaries so that events and decisions taking place on one side of the globe have a significant influence on other parts. Also, Giddens (1990) refers to globalisation as the intensification of world-wide social relationships, which link

distant places in such a way that local events are shaped by, traditionally, regional episodes occurring many miles away and vice versa.

Held (2000) explains the intensification of flows of globalisation as an increased density of interactions across the globe, which implies that the impacts of (international) events are felt more strongly than before. For instance, the electronic flows and communication networks stretching across the globe can connect people into a shared social space and existence that is quite distinct from territorial space (see Massey, 1994). Furthermore, Waters also points out that:

> In a pre-modern context, both time and space were fundamentally linked to a person's immediate location. The temporal rhythms of everyday life were determined by local diurnal and seasonal cycles. Equally, space was confined to what one immediately could perceive and was measured in relation to one's home, even if one travelled (1995, p. 62).

Globalisation has changed this traditional time and space relation. In consequence, human beings can organise and experience different activities across vast temporal and spatial distances facilitated by the changing and increasing extent and intensity of global interactions (Held, 2000).

As social relations stretch, there is an increasing interpretation of economic and social practices, bringing distant societies face to face with one another at the local as well as the global level (Held, 2000). This means, for instance, that Western cultures have been having a growing cultural impact on the rest of the world. However, Mostafavi (1999, cited in Held, 2000) notes that the process of globalisation also incorporates a counter action that can be viewed as 'the reframing of old colonial powers'. This global 'reframing' can be perceived as the collective actions of people from post-colonial countries who have been 're-colonising' the countries and cities of the West without actual physical, military occupation of the territory.

Furthermore, Held (2000) indicates that globalisation, and the interconnectedness it leads to, has its own institutional infrastructure and he calls it the fourth distinctive feature of globalisation. This infrastructure is composed of both 'formal and informal arrangements that are required for globalised networks to operate' (Held, 2000, p. 17). Information and communication technology as a part of this infrastructure contributes to the support, spread and growth of global markets and events as well as local activities.

Through understanding the aforementioned features of globalisation, one can see that globalisation and 'the global' cannot be correctly interpreted without taking into consideration 'the local'. Robertson (1992) states that globalisation also involves a kind of localisation, 'glocalisation', meaning the localisation of the global or the global outlook of the local (see also Albrow, 1996). The global-local interaction, glocalisation, constitutes a dichotomy, which means that the global is founded in and impacts upon the local (e.g. the spread of fast food restaurants), and the local influences and is related to the global (e.g. global dispersal of local products) (see Beynon and Dunkerley, 2000; Robertson, 1992).

Glocalisation is usually portrayed as national/indigenous versus global. It represents both national resistance and local adaptation to foreign cultures and businesses. In other words, glocalisation is the global outlook adapted to local conditions (Robertson, 1992). Robertson (1990) also writes that through globalisation the world is becoming a 'global village', which is, in fact, a 'glocalised' area. This means that local communities try to resist the process of globalisation to preserve their own local narratives and identity or they try to adapt only a small part of the global culture into a particular local one.[2]

By virtue of the above, it can be observed that the impact of globalisation on the local is far more complex than the simple local availability of global products and it is obvious that the border between 'the local' and 'the global' has become less meaningful (Beynon and Dunkerley, 2000). That is, in our present era 'we must thus recognise directly 'real world' attempts to bring the global, in the sense of the macroscopic aspect of contemporary life, into conjunction with the local' (Robertson, 1992, p. 173). This additionally underscores the complexity of globalisation that cannot be wholly understood without making sense of the local.

In summarising this section, globalisation, so far, can be defined as a multidimensional and multifaceted process, triggered by manifold factors, through which a global infrastructure is being formed, often at the expense of the local ones. In further exploring the global-local nexus and the definition of globalisation, a brief historical overview of the process shall be introduced by a discussion of four essential historical models.

2.2. History of Globalisation

In spite of the fact that the term 'globalisation' has become popular and widely discussed only in the last couple of decades,[3] globalisation processes are viewed here as long-term processes (see Waters, 1995; Therborn, 2000). In other words, globalisation is an historical process, the result of human innovation, technological progress (International Monetary Fund Staff, 2000) and civilisation. Nevertheless, one could argue that these are not the only factors that triggered the process of globalisation.

Even though one may acknowledge that globalisation is not an exclusive phenomenon of the last few decades, 'the origins of globalisation as we experience it today are varied and not easy to explicate' (Beynon and Dunkerley, 2000, p. 8).

Hence, in order to develop a comprehensive definition of globalisation, its historical aspects must be explored. Four accounts of the process of globalisation are discussed and contrasted here in order to shed light on the historical roots of the given phenomenon. These accounts are those presented by Giddens (1990), Robertson (1992), Held et al. (1999) and Therborn (2000).

For Giddens (1990), globalisation has a direct connection with the development of modernity and with its concomitants such as industrialisation and the accumulation of material resources. Therefore, from an historical perspective, to Giddens the modern form of the process of globalisation began with the crystallisation of nation-states. The emergence of state sovereignty and autonomy inside a territory surrounded by borders were key features in the development of nation-states, modernity and globalisation. Giddens finds it important to differentiate between nations and nation-states, because in the pre-modern era, before the existence of nation-states, 'the notion of "international relations" made no sense' (1990, p. 73).[4] This argument refers to the essential relationship between the global and the local. Therefore, the occurrence and concretisation of nation-states, the local, made it possible for the global to come into existence. So, for Giddens (1990), the beginning of globalisation occurred at the same time as nation-states first materialised.[5]

Robertson (1992) dates the origin of globalisation in an earlier historical era (1400s) and offers a 'minimal phase model' (see Appendix 2), which indicates the main constraining tendencies in history from a globalisation perspective. The minimal phase model proposes that the historical path to the present can be delineated through a very high degree of global density and complexity. It suggests that globalisation is a long-term process, emerging around the 1400s, and that, in different historical eras, there were various drives towards globalisation which influenced the process in

different ways. In other words, the globalisation process of our time is qualitatively different from earlier manifestations in that modernisation and technological development has accelerated the process (Beynon & Dunkerley, 2000). This means that, through the course of history, some actors globalised more effectively than others depending on the particular epoch and circumstances (see Appendix 2). For instance, in terms of religion, the Roman Catholic Church must have been a more successful globalising force during the first four phases of globalisation than it is nowadays. On the other hand, today, technology probably has a larger globalising power than it did in earlier historical eras. Furhermore, it can be observed that due to the varied melange of and the constantly changing power balance between globalising actors, individuals always had their unique, time and region specific experience of globalisation. For instance, the idiosyncracy of the contemporary (uncertainty) phase can be identified as follows:

> what makes contemporary globalisation unique is that the world has moved from being 'in itself' towards being 'for itself' an that, increasingly, nations now engage more on a wide range of economic, military, cultural and political contracts and people everywhere have increasingly come to comprehend the world as 'one place' and think, feel and act globally (Beynon & Dunkerley, 2000, p. 9).

Robertson (1992) also suggests that this minimal phase model is merely an outline, and that a more rigorous, deeper analysis needs to be worked out. However, the main point is that 'there is a general autonomy and 'logic' to the globalisation process, which operates in relative independence of strictly societal and other more conventionally studied sociocultural processes' (Robertson, 1992, p. 60). That is, Robertson (1992) recognises the process of globalisation as the long-term interaction of a mélange of numerous factors.

Held et al. (1999) view globalisation as neither a totally novel, nor a primarily modern social phenomenon. They recognise contemporary globalisation as the latest

manifestation of a set of historical processes and differentiate between four major eras in the development of the process of globalisation, setting aside the pre-historical and pre-agrarian eras, perhaps because of insufficient evidence (see Beynon and Dunkerley, 2000). However, Held et al. argue that 'initial populating of the planet by homo sapiens began over many millennia and could be thought of as a form of globalisation - in the sense that human beings spread from Africa and Eurasia to all the habitable parts of the planet' (1999, p. 414). Despite this, Held et al. (1999) mainly concentrate on a shorter period, the most recent millennium of humankind, and define the phases of globalisation accordingly, without setting an exact date to its beginning.

Held et al. (1999) understand globalisation as a long-term process, the amalgam of multiple driving forces which are unique and representative of globalisation in any given historical epoch. They describe globalisation as a process of lineal development. However, this view may not reveal the true nature of globalisation as in reality things rarely develop lineally. In this regard, the next standpoint will present a different concept of globalisation in terms of its maturation.

Therborn, similarly to the above theorists, understands globalisation[6] as a multifaceted process that 'is neither solely cultural nor exclusively economic' (2000, p.165) and refers to 'tendencies to a world-wide reach, impact or connectedness of social phenomena or to a world-encompassing awareness among social actors' (2000, p. 154). Therborn (2000) identifies six historical eras as the major periods of the forming of globalisation. These are the 'six waves of globalisation' (see Appendix 3, cf. Robertson, 2003).

Therborn finds 'no evidence of anything properly cyclical in the waves of globalisation [however,] they tend to have certain common features' (2000, p. 165).

These universal elements are represented as the multidimensionality of the waves including politico-military, economic and cultural forces and processes. Nonetheless, Therborn argues that 'one wave did not follow upon and from the other' (2000, p. 165). Consequently, the waves cannot be unequivocally separated from one another in terms of their starting and ending points. They are intertwined or as Therborn phrases it: 'All the waves, so far, have petered out after some time... [but] the contraction of one might coincide in time with the rise of another' (2000, p. 165).

The fundamental significance of Therborn's 'wave-theory' regarding the history of globalisation is that it does not perceive the process of globalisation as a linear or continuous development. It means that the waves 'were followed by longer or shorter periods of deglobalisation' (2000, p. 165). These recurring phases of *deglobalisation* obstructed and weakened the process of globalisation by reducing the strength and relevance of the global network (system) and interconnectedness. For instance, wars such as the First and Second World Wars and their aftermath undermined the global system and divided the nations into regions based on politico-military alliances. Shortly after these wars, trade, transport and communication were reduced between hostile regions of the world. Cvetkovich and Kellner write that 'especially during the period of the cold war..., the system of modern nation-states divided into two camps - capitalist and socialist - producing a shifting series of alliances' (1997, p. 7). These socio-historical events are to be perceived as deglobalising phases.

On the other hand, it is to be noted that wars, especially the World Wars, can be perceived as the very evidence of globalisation itself. Wars in general can lead to acceleration of technological development and of social processes that pave the way for further globalisation. For example, it can be argued that technological development during World War II was more profound than any other period in human

history. A wide range of new inventions, such as patent applications for dual-use technology and weapon contracts issued to private contractors, were deployed to the task of killing humans more effectively and to avoiding being killed. Moreover, World Wars (deportations, imprisonments and a large number of human casualties) and their aftermath (peace treaties and the dearth of employable labour force) triggered migrations and, thus, contributed to the escalation of global ethnoscapes. Castles and Miller write that in order to reduce the vacuum in available labour force 'immediately after the Second World War, the British government brought in 90 000 mainly male workers from refugee camps and from Italy through the European Voluntary Worker scheme' (2003, p. 69). Consequently, it can be observed that while wars indeed have relative *deglobalising* effects, as argued by Theroborn (2000), these events also have the tendency to facilitate and be the prelude to the next phase of escalated globalisation by accelerating social processes (see Hirst and Thomson, 1999) and the development of (dual-use) technology.

2.2.1. Conclusion on Historical Perspectives on Globalisation

All in all, it can be seen that the four historical accounts of globalisation discussed here carry some basic differences and similarities. These parallels and inconsistencies, which are to be contrasted and compared below, will hopefully shed light on the genesis of globalisation.

One of the differences is regarding the date of commencement of the phenomenon of globalisation. For example, Giddens (1990) associates the birth of nation-states with that of globalisation and dates this to around the 1800s. Robertson (1992), in his minimal phase model, locates the emergence of globalisation around the 1400s. Held et al. (1999) are not as specific about the date, stating only that the first phase of globalisation began before the 1500s. Therborn (2000) shares this

perspective and does not set an exact date for the launch of globalisation. In this study, the accounts of Held et al. (1999) and Therborn (2000) are favoured based on the fact that ancient history has not been completely uncovered and, thus, we do not have enough evidence to establish an exact date for the origin of globalisation.

Another difference between these viewpoints is how the phases of globalisation are compartmentalised. For instance, Giddens (1990) does not categorise this process of development as detailed; neither does he trace his historical analysis as far back as the other theorists. Roberston's (1992) approach to the history of globalisation is more developed. However, he still does not explore the incipient phases of globalisations in depth, but rather pays particular attention to the present phases. The third reading, that of Held et al. (1999), is a more detailed and considered analysis of the early epochs of globalisation. It does not introduce the various eras as if they were independent. Instead, Held et al. (1999) recognise connections between the eras of globalisation. In this way, they build up a chain of interdependent (intended and unintended) actions that actually triggered the contemporary phase of globalisation. Therborn (2000) employs a similar approach and identifies six distinctive, but overlapping phases of globalisation. More accurately, Therborn calls those phases 'waves' because, differently from the others, he does not see the progress of globalisation as lineal. Nor does he set boundaries to the waves of globalisation as these cannot be divided in time. This is arguably the corollary of the uneven spread of globalisation over the planet. In this sense, it is possible to argue that, for instance, while a wave might be fading out in one part of the globe, the same wave may be in its prime in another part. Therefore, to Therborn this process is rather a sinus curve or waves than a lineal line. This view is supported here and globalisation is viewed as a complex, long-term,

unevenly distributed process which is the result of a mélange of unintended and intended consequences of human beings' deliberate actions (cf. Maguire, 1999).

In spite of the aforementioned differences, the four analyses of the history of globalisation share some key issues, which could be seen as the strengths of the four arguments and the chief components of the process of globalisation. One of the common bases of the four arguments is that all of these scholars understand globalisation as a process that has historical roots, i.e. globalisation is not a phenomenon of the last couple of decades, and has not yet reached its zenith. In sociology, it is crucial to view social phenomena as long-term processes in order to provide a reliable account and prevent the 'retreat of sociologists into the present' (Elias, 1983) as sociological explanations must be relational and historical, involving references to sequences over time (Dunning, 2002).

Moreover, the analyses of globalisation introduced above interpret this process from a broader - multi-causal - perspective, which is more advanced than the mono-causal understanding of globalisation such as the World-system (Wallerstein, 1974), World-polity (Meyer, 1980) and World-culture (Hall, 1992) theories. This multi-causal viewpoint is sustained in this study as the principal means for understanding social processes. Therefore, building upon the above, globalisation should be seen as a long-term historical, multidimensional and multifaceted process, with an indeterminate beginning and which was triggered by a variable mixture of intended and unintended consequences of deliberate human actions, and through which a global infrastructure is being formed, often at the expense of local ones.

2.3. Three Groups of Theorists

As was mentioned earlier, the process of globalisation incorporates various aspects and, thus, has been interpreted in numerous ways. Similar to the definition and

history of globalisation, scholars have structured and introduced the globalisation debate differently (see, for example, Held et al., 1999; Beynon and Dunkerley, 2000; Giddens, 1990). In fact, three distinct broad schools of thought have been recognised as part of the globalisation debate (see Held et al., 1999) - 'hyperglobalists', 'sceptics' and 'transformationalists' - which will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.1. The Hyperglobalist View

Hyperglobalists,[7] such as Kenichi Ohmae (1995) and Jean-Marie Guéhenno (1995), define globalisation as a new epoch of human history in which traditional nation-states have become 'unnatural', even impossible business units in the global economy (Ohmae, 1995). This perception proffers an economic logic and celebrates the emergence of a single global market (Held et al., 1999), which, as hyperglobalists argue, is decreasing the importance and functionality of nation-states.

Most hyperglobalists share the idea that globalisation is primarily an economic phenomenon and that it constructs a new pattern of winners and losers in the global economic arena (Held et al., 1999). As a consequence of its purely economic base, this viewpoint of globalisation is linked to Wallerstein's (1974) world-system theory. Although hyperglobalists do not fully accept Wallerstein's approach, and, as a critique of that, argue that a new global division of labour is replacing the traditional core-periphery, bipolar structure with a more complex architecture of economic power (see Held et al., 1999), they view globalisation, the rise of the global economy, as the emergence of institutions of global governance. Moreover, for them, the global diffusion and hybridisation[8] of cultures are understood as evidence of a radically new world order (Ohmae, 1995).

In sum, hyperglobalists explain the economic and political process of denationalisation through globalisation (Ohmae, 1995). The major weakness of the

hyperglobalist viewpoint is that it explains the phenomena of globalisation from a mono-causal perspective and derives global changes mainly from the economy. Even though this view is also concerned with political changes and interactions, it states that politics are subordinated to the economy, which is the prime mover of the process of globalisation and manifests itself in denationalisation and hybridisation. On the other hand, hyperglobalists do consider labour force migration to be an important part of global flows and, even though the mono-causal perception of globalisation is not supported in this thesis, the observations of hyperglobalists on ethnoscapes with regard to financial incentives will be valuable for understanding sport labour migration in Europe.

2.3.2. The Sceptical Perspective

The sceptics, such as Linda Weiss (1998), Paul Hirst (1999) and Grahame Thompson (1999) fundamentally believe that contemporary global conditions are not unprecedented. In this account, as Held and McGrew (2000) describe the sceptics' view, there has been an intensification of international and social activity in recent times and this has reinforced and enhanced state powers in many domains. Hirst and Thomson argue that: 'Our scepticism deepened until we became convinced that globalisation, as conceived by the more extreme globalisers,[9] is rather a myth' (1999, p. 2). Moreover, Hirst (1997) believes that globalisation is no more than a fashion, an appealing expression of our modern societies, and he is more willing to admit the presence of internationalisation than globalisation where internationalisation is seen as refering to political exchanges that 'culminate in the establishment of territorial boundaries that are coterminous with nation-state-societies' (Waters, 1995, p. 9). Although, Hirst (1997) admits that 'it is clear that some important aspects of economic activity have further internationalised since the early 1970s, but [he asks] is

this sound evidence for globalisation?' (1997, p. 209). He observes that the prominent international companies' bases have remained in the country of origin and they conduct the bulk of their business within their home region.

Sceptics argue for the importance of nations and nationalism as means for perpetuating the integrity of nation-states (see Weiss, 1998). In fact, ethnic nationalism[10] can be an obstacle to global or, as the sceptics say, international flows as a way of resisting the infiltration of foreign products, cultures and migrant labour. This can lead to the regional fragmentation of the world structure. Therefore, sceptics argue that the international economy is undergoing a process of regionalisation and distinguish three main financial and trading blocs: Europe, Asia-Pacific and North America (Ruigrok and Tulder, 1995). The regionalisation[11] part of the sceptic view is an adaptation of Wallerstein's world-system theory. However, sceptics perceive the organisation of regional blocs in a different way.

In sum, sceptics do not accept the existence of globalisation and rather support the idea of internationalisation instead. However, the sceptics' standpoint regarding the mythification of globalisation cannot supported in its entirety. Nevertheless, certain aspects of it will be taken into account in order to provide a better and broader understanding of sport labour migration. For instance, nationalism and national identity can be a significant push or pull factor when migrating to another country. Nationalistic values can prevent athletes from migrating or can create a xenophobic atmosphere, which possibly leads to adjustment problems for migrants (see Maguire et al., 2002). Therefore, the sceptics' view of globalisation possibly has a high significance in interpreting labour migration patterns in general.

2.3.3. Transformationalist Theory

Transformationalists, such as Anthony Giddens (1990), Saskia Sassen (1996) and David Held (2000), argue that globalisation is creating new economic, political and social circumstances which, however unevenly, are serving to transform state powers and the context in which states operate. This thesis looks at globalisation as mainly a social phenomenon that has brought qualitative changes in all cross-border connections (Hoogvelt, 2001). According to Held and McGrew (2000), transformationalists do not predict the outcome of globalisation - they believe it is uncertain - but argue that politics are no longer, and can no longer simply be, based on nation-states. Thus, this view suggests that governments and societies have to adjust to a world in which there is no longer a clear distinction between international and domestic, external and internal affairs (Sassen, 1996). That is: 'The functions of the state become reorganised to adjust domestic economy and social policies to fit the exigencies of global market and global capitalist accumulation' (Hoogvelt, 2001, p. 65). Although globalisation does not eradicate difference or power, it changes the context (Brown, 1995). This 'changing context' is leading to deterritorialisation,[12] which is a key consequence of globalisation (Hoogvelt, 2001) and increasingly requires global and transnational dimensions to be restructured (Held et al., 1999). In addition, transformationalists also put forward an argument for the phenomenon of 'time-space compression', concluding that we are witnessing the total eradication of space via time (see Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1990; Waters, 1995; Brown, 1995; Hoogvelt, 2001). This states that individuals and communities, which have been separate or loosely connected, are becoming tied together, and this broadens the world-wide network of interdependency (Brown, 1995). For Giddens, time and space have become compressed in two processes: distanciation and disembedding.[13] This

part of the transformationalist view fundamentally presupposes a growing global interconnectedness via technological innovations, which manifests itself as the shrinking of the planet or the annihilation of distances. This, for transformationalists, denotes the emergence of a new world order and way of life.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the 'time-space compression' theory and the annihilation of geographical distances, must be considered with caution. Time (the indefinite continued process of existence) and space (the dimensions within which all things exist) themselves, as physical entities, have not shrunk or been physically compressed. What has changed is the length of time required to move across space due to the invention of faster and more reliable means of locomotion. Therefore, it can be argued that our personal experiences of these concepts are different from what people had in preceding eras. This, however, does not indicate or prove that time and space, as physical entities, have been actually altered. Nor have geographical distances been completely annihilated as intercontinental travelling still takes a significant amount of time and there are considerable financial implications, which should not be ignored when interpreting contemporary global ethnoscapes. In fact, this phase of globalisation could be interpreted as 'modernity's flight into space' (Therborn, 2000, p. 150) and time.

2.3.4. Summary of Theories on Globalisation

Hyperglobalists accept the term and fact of globalisation, and they believe in the emergence of a new global society without the constraining forces of states, which are eroding under the pressure of globalisation. They believe that humans live in a global world and understand history as a global civilisation. For them, globalisation is primarily driven by capitalism and technology.

Sceptics do not believe in globalisation and even reject the term, preferring the use of 'internationalisation' instead. They argue that the driving forces of social change are nation-states and markets through internationalisation and regionalisation. Furthermore, they understand history as the civilisation of regional blocs and that nation-states still can hold a significant position in directing economic activities.

Transformationalists understand globalisation as a process that is transforming state power and world politics. Moreover, for them, globalisation is a long-term historical process leading to unprecedented global interconnectedness. Therefore, globalisation is seen as an indeterminate global integration and fragmentation, and the prime movers of this process are, they think, the combined forces of 'modernity'.

Generally speaking, the transformationalist's view is a more advanced and complex explanation of globalisation (Jary and Jary, 2000) as it provides a multi-causal understanding of the phenomenon instead of the mono-causal account sustained by hyperglobalists and sceptics. Although hyperglobalists do not exclusively consider economic forces when explaining globalisation, they argue that the changing political and power relations are inevitably triggered by economic 'forces' (Hoogvelt, 2001).

Furthermore, transformationalists perceive globalisation as a fundamentally long-term historical process with a plethora of contradictions which is significantly formed by a range of conjunctural factors (Held et al., 1999). Globalisation is an open-ended and dynamic process and transformationalists make no claims about the future structure of globalisation. Nor do they attempt to evaluate the present 'in relation to some single, fixed ideal type 'globalised' world' (Held et al., 1999, p. 7). By virtue of this, transformationalists refuse both the hyperglobalist argument according to which there is an end to the sovereign nation-state and the sceptics' view

that nothing significant has changed (Held, 1991). However, there is a parallel between the hyperglobalist and the transformationalist perspectives as both sets of scholars refuse to believe in the old regionalised world order based on core-periphery interdependency. Instead, they support the idea of a new international division of labour and social division of the world economy (Hoogvelt, 2001).

2.4. GLOBALISATION: POSITIVE, NEGATIVE OR REALISTIC?

One of the numerous debates concerning the interaction of globalisation with local societies is whether it is a benefit or a threat. That is, globalisation can be perceived positively, negatively or realistically. In other words, globalisation can benefit as well as constitute a risk for societies. Local cultures and places seem to be increasingly threatened by global flows or, on the contrary, they are reinvented in new and diverse ways (Held, 2000). By virtue of this, globalisation is often referred to as either a positive or a negative process. However, viewing it realistically, it is rather a mélange of both, as are most social porcesses.

Scholars adopting a positive view on globalisation, maintain that this process reflects benefits and results in globalising influences that induce welcome change (Held, 2000). Furthermore, Held (2000) observes that this perception focuses on facts such as the improved quality of life, rising living standards and bringing people together. It also promotes the idea of sharing and understanding cultures among nations and all over the world. That is, as a result of a growing number of sites and opportunities, particularly in large cities around the world, people of different ethnicities, cultures, religions, and values can now meet one another with relative ease (National Institute for Research Advancement, 1997). Hence, this view advocates the phenomenon of globalisation, describing it as an occurrence that provides better facilities and opportunities for people of the Third World, while facilitating cultural

interchange and the world-wide locomotion of people, and, via the technological achievements of modernity, constituting a cost-reducing network of (e-)business.

On the other hand, globalisation has been seen as cultural imperialism - the domination by one nation over another (Mohammadi, 1999) - or as a part of cultural hegemony as it tends to occur at the expense of the importing culture and the local population (Yiannakis and Melnick, 2001, Zuzul, 1998). Wagner (1990) and Guttmann (1991) also support this idea and state that homogenisation is a process towards which human civilisation is moving. This means that the world is losing the logic of indigenousness (Smith, 1999). From this perspective, globalisation is a set of forces that produces a complex and irresistible system of world economic, political, and cultural interdependence and domination (Rowe, Lawrence, Miller, and McKay, 1994). Consequently, scholars who view globalisation from a monocultural perspective, interpret it as a process that erases national, cultural, religious and other differences (Zuzul, 1998). Scholars who believe that the final result of the process of globalisation is going to be one homogeneous society talk about 'Americanisation' (Robins, 1991), 'Europeanisation' and 'Japanisation' (Mohammadi, 1999; Smith, 1999; Harvey and Houle, 2001). These terminologies refer to the process of broadcasting a popular - cheap - culture all around the world, leading to the emergence of a common culture created by the expansion of the dominant (see Lull, 1995).

By virtue of the above, one can observe that the process of globalisation certainly has positive and negative features. However, it should not be perceived as an exclusively positive or negative process. Thus, one might adopt a realistic perspective by arguing that the process of globalisation is a necessary continuation of the mélange of our intended actions and their unintended consequences. Brown notes that: 'The

term globalisation does not automatically imply that globalisation is good or bad or that it indicates the victory of Western liberalism or that globalisation has the same effects everywhere' (1995, p. 55). This means that the perception of the process of globalisation regarding its positive and negative consequences depends on the ways in which individuals or groups of people experience it. For some people, the global spread of supermarkets has provided tremendous job opportunities, while the same phenomenon has led to the bankruptcy of numerous small private retailers. That is, similar to most social processes, as Brown (1995) phrases it, some people will benefit from the process of global integration more than others (see also Sage, 1996b).

If one views globalisation as a process that involves multidirectional movements of people, cultures and practices (see Maguire, 1999) then one could say that this process has planned and unplanned features. In fact, 'for process-sociologists, globalisation processes have a blind, unplanned dimension to them and a relative autonomy from the intentions of specific groups of people' (Maguire, 1999, p. 40). The unplanned dimension of globalisation means that humans try to pre-plan their actions in order to achieve, in an optimal case, a better future, larger profit or safer, more advanced circumstances. Nevertheless, the possible consequences of an action cannot be fully calculated since it manifests in conjunction with millions of other intended individual actions in a dense network of human relations, wherein they exert impact upon one another, leading, often, to unexpected conditions. Therefore, the unpredictable outcomes of human actions could be perceived as negative, undesired features of globalisation such as environmental pollution, de-culturalisation and the exploitation of less developed countries that are the very consequences of human actions' relative autonomy from the groups of people involved.

One can argue that these consequences of globalisation do not happen by chance and that multinational companies exploit the workers of Third World countries, pollute the environment and diminish local cultures in order to gain higher profit. This is the slippery side of this approach, i.e. in some cases one cannot state for certain if the outcome(s) of an action was (were) planned or accidental. Therefore, the compartmentalisation of the consequences of globalisation can be quite subjective, based on the information that one knows or is allowed to know. Consequently, to establish a realistic account of globalisation might be a challenging task as reality itself is to be questioned.

2.5. SUMMARY

This review of globalisation has demonstrated the complexity of the phenomenon itself and the vehement academic debates that surround it. Indeed, this section is intended to shed light on the different approaches to globalisation and has referred to the fundamental interconnectedness between 'the global' and 'the local'. Additionally, it introduced some of the ways in which globalisation can be viewed and defined, with the understanding of globalisation being neither a positive nor exclusively negative process (see Brown, 1995). Hence, globalisation should rather be perceived as a combination of both beneficial and detrimental attributes spreading unevenly over the planet. In consequence, as sociologists, we may choose to stay away from morally evaluating and analysing social processes in general and globalisation in particular, but endeavour to capture and provide systematic insights, and substantive and understandable explanations of everyday life (Quilley & Loyal, 2004), of which globalisation is part.

Four different approaches to the history of globalisation have been introduced and contrasted. It can be said that, regardless of their differences, all four share some

fundamental viewpoints according to which globalisation is a long-term historical process and should be viewed from a multi-causal standpoint.

In addition, three different approaches to theorising globalisation have been introduced (hyperglobalist, sceptical and transformationalist), favouring the transformationalist outlook because it provides an historical, multi-causal interpretation of the given theme. Transformationalists argue that the interaction between globalisation and societies cannot be understood from a purely economic or political perspective. In other words, globalisation is a complex process (Robertson, 1992), including 'the emergence of a global economy, a transnational cosmopolitan culture and a range of international social movements' (Maguire, 1999, p. 3), which should be understood through the changes occurring in multiple social spheres, such as politics, economy and culture.

In consequence, a network of interdependency has been developed by the process of globalisation that is described through the concept of 'time-space compression' and, as a result, nowadays the whole world is interconnected. Some people, such as the sceptics, may reject the existence of globalisation or may resist this process. Nevertheless, they are already a significant part of this worldwide network of interdependency, however they may interpret or react to it idiosyncratically.

II. Sport and Globalisation

2.6. Views on Sport and Globalisation

Sport is a social phenomenon, and scholars dealing with sport-society relationships interpret this interconnectedness from various perspectives depending on their theoretical standpoints (see Maguire and Young, 2002). Therefore, in order to provide a valid picture of sport and globalisation, it is relevant to present those

arguments which have notably contributed to the debate in this area. In the field of globalisation and sport, four major theories have significantly shaped the existing literature. These approaches, Marxism/neo-Marxism, cultural studies, postmodernism and process-sociology, shall be discussed below. Each review of these theoretical perspectives includes three sub-sections. The first will introduce the understanding of sport by exponents of each perspective. The second sub-section examines how the sport - globalisation interconnectedness may be understood. Subsequently, it will be briefly summarised how specific scholars have linked sport and globalisation, and their observations will be integrated into the framework of the present thesis.

2.6.1. Marxist/Neo-Marxist Views

The Marxist approach has been utilised by several scholars such as Brohm (1978), Gruneau (1983), and Rigauer (1981), to shed light on modern sport (see also Beamish, 2002). Both Marxist and neo-Marxist scholars view sport as one of the tools of capitalism for exploiting and oppressing the proletariat. That is, Marxist scholars argue against the myth of sport that exists in societies cultivating a type of physical activity that mainly consists of play-like characteristics. Rather, they state that sport and work are structurally analogous (Rigauer, 1981). Marxists (Brohm, 1978, Ingham and Loy, 1973, Ingham, 2004) strictly distinguish between the features and functions of sport and play. Play is a voluntary activity which gives pleasure and does not have an apparent goal other than enjoyment (Jary and Jary, 2000, see also Guttmann, 1978). On the other hand, sport can be perceived as essentially a product of capitalism that incorporates the following: the achievement principle, result rationalisation, specialisation, bureaucratisation, quantification and an obsession with records (Guttmann, 1978). In addition, Brohm (1978) classifies five major features of sport that is called the 'Marxist definition of sport': competition, the idea of record, a

sporting scale of values, training (the hard work of sport) and the principle of maximum output. This argument suggests that sport possesses most of the characteristics of a capitalist based society and is driven by performance and profit and incorporates the idea of social-Darwinism.[14]

Athletes, as workers, sell their labour power and talent to the bourgeoisie for some financial return. The product is the performance of athletes which can be recorded and quantified. So, to push the argument of Brohm (1978) a bit further, sport is not only a prison of measured time, but the penitentiary of capitalist values, class struggles and supply and demand. Following this account, Ingham and Loy (1973) further argue in terms of the existing difference between sport and play, as well as the parallel of play-game-sport complex with real life circumstances. This has been refined and further developed by Ingham (2004) through a much deeper analysis of play-game-sport nexus combining some of the works of Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Freud.

The Marxist approach to understanding the globalisation of sport has been conducted through use of the dependency (Baran, 1973) and world-system (Wallerstein, 1974) theories. These theories compartmentalise the countries of the world into certain (two or three) regions and support the idea of economic and political regionalisation.

At first, dependency theory was utilised to interpret the broad Latin American debate regarding the issues of underdevelopment (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). According to this viewpoint, the sport culture of the dominant countries oppresses and forms the sport of those countries which are in a dependent position. Therefore, it can be argued that the emergence of sports in different continents is basically led by economic dependency, and the acceptance and popularity of sports on different

continents, or in different countries, are defined by local socio-economic structures and their relation to the process of globalisation. For example, Arbena (1988) argues that the relationship between underdevelopment and dependency in Latin American sport led to the adoption of foreign sports, rather than the cultivation of local sports. That is, mainly uneven economic and political conditions of various countries allowed and facilitated the sport-imperialism of core nation-states. Klein (1989) provides an example of how the development of baseball in the Dominican Republic has been influenced by American major league baseball.

Dependency theory interprets the existing differences in financial conditions and political significance between nation-states through which regionalisation can be perceived. Nevertheless, Jarvie (1991) extended the boundaries of this theory and defined dependency relations within core nation-states by discussing the case of the Scottish Highlands. The significance of this study is that it reveals a new segment of dependency theory and the intra-societal tension of Western nation-states. One may think of Western nation-states as politically, economically, culturally and militarily solid units, but in reality one nation-state, such as the UK, consists of multiple nations. Those nations, being parts of the state, have cultural, political and economic differences, and one nation might be superior to other(s). These circumstances perhaps lead to the formation of certain dependencies, regionalisation and tensions within a nation-state (see Jarvie, 1991).

World-system theory is the other Marxist approach to globalisation, which has been relatively neglected by scholars researching global sport (see Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). George Sage (1994, 1996a, 1999), however, has applied this approach to illustrate the characteristics of the American sporting goods industry. He describes an international flow of industry that has a significant cost-reducing

tendency for franchises of the core countries. This has led to the relocation of most sporting goods factories, which still have their headquarters in their country of origin, but a large part of the sporting goods are produced in China, Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea (Sage, 1996a).

For franchise-holders of First World countries this division of labour has increased profit but has created dependency and regionalisation elsewhere. The high revenue derives mainly from low labour costs, loose safety regulations, long working hours and under-organised workers' unions. Workers of Third World countries earn less than $US1 per hour but their products are often worth over one hundred US dollars on the Western market. This kind of exploitation has attracted global attention. Sage illustrates this debate through the case of the Nike Corporation and suggests that 'economic and political relationships among the First and Third World Countries envisioned by Wallerstein's world-system model of global development becomes abundantly evident to even a casual observer' (1994, p. 48, see also Sage, 1999).

Both dependency and world-system theorists argue for a dominant - recessive relationship that takes place in the global realm. This means the domination of economically leading nation-states and the abandoning of those in an economically disadvantaged position. Scholars using a Marxist approach to (sport) globalisation tend to understand this dominant - recessive struggle as Americanisation or Westernisation (see Robins, 1991, Mohammadi, 1999, Smith, 1999, Harvey and Houle, 2001, Yiannakis and Melnick, 2001). For instance, Miller, Lawrence, McKay, and Rowe (2001) note that children in the People's Republic of China rated Michael Jordan as one of the most important figures of the century. Also, 'Japanese schoolchildren ... rated a pair of Air Jordan sneakers and Coca-Cola as their most desirable commodities' (Berkow, 1999, LaFeber, 1999, cited in Miller et al., 2001, p.

8). This is noteworthy because 'children in parts of the world with neither running water nor electricity could be found wearing number 23 on their backs' (Miller et al., 2001, p. 8). Through these examples, Miller et al. (2001) illustrate the significance of sport in such societies and that it is undergoing a process of Americanisation.

Scholars who adhere to a neo-Marxist perspective have also examined certain aspects of sport labour migration. For example, John Bale (1989, 2003) and Bale and Sang (1996) have tried to point to some significant economic factors in labour force migration. Bale observes that 'modern sport is a part of the entertainment industry [and] as profit and commercialisation have become increasingly prevalent in Western sport, so sport clubs have engaged in a number of geographical readjustments' (2003, p. 107). One of these 'geographical readjustments' has stimulated clubs into widening their geographical area of recruitment. In other words, there can be seen an increasing flow of athletes from non-Western countries to Western ones, which is caused by financial reasons (Bale, 2003, see also Zimbalist, 2001).

In summary, it can be noted that both the dependency and world-system theories are global adaptations of a Marxist perspective in terms of the interactions of nation-states and global flows of sport. These approaches provide the projection of Marxist theories to the global domain and recognise a worldwide class structure and struggle. These views constitute an important framework for understanding and interpreting global flows of labour in general, and sports/athletes in particular. That is, 'there is a genuine powerful legacy to Marx's work upon which we can all still draw' (Beamish, 2002, p. 38).

The major criticism of Marxism is that it is based chiefly on economic conditions and does not discuss political, cultural and other globalising factors as either relatively autonomous or in depth. Also, this scholarly standpoint tends to

neglect the means through which indigenous populations can resist and protest against global dominations and that even the dominant global force(s) change(s) throughout the course of history. Therefore, it is argued here that the theory of homogenisation does not cover the whole complexity of the process of globalisation.

The incorporation of a Marxist approach into the present study will be important in understanding and mapping Hungarian sport labour migrations. Nonetheless, one must keep in mind that this approach to social phenomena offers an economically determinist perspective, and thus, in the final analysis, it provides a monocausal explanation. Such a mono-causal outlook on the process of globalisation and labour force migration is not favoured here because of its reductionism. This is not to deny, however, that financial benefits and factors are significant components in the migrations of elite athletes, but it is necessary to note that there are other motivational forces at play (see labour migration).

2.6.2. Cultural Studies

The cultural studies approach has been adopted by several academics working in the sphere of sport such as Klein (1991a), Cantelon and Murray (1993), Donnelly (1996), Hargreaves and McDonald (2000), Bairner (2001) and Howell et al. (2002). The first sport related cultural studies analysis was predominantly focused on working-class male subcultures such as football hooliganism through the broader sphere of sport and media (Hargreaves and McDonald, 2000). The first sociology of sport book with cultural studies orientation was edited by Hargreaves (Sport, Culture and Ideology, 1982), in which most of the authors adopted the cultural studies standpoint and created a trend that later became institutionalised (Hargreaves and McDonald, 2000). This approach to the sociology of sport provided a new way of analysing sport related social phenomena.

Cultural studies scholars perceive sport as a part of cultures and argue that sport cultures have moved from a local, national level to a global stage (Bairner, 2001). Therefore, proponents of cultural studies tend to interpret sport and globalisation via a cross-cultural perspective. This means that, as sport moved to a global stage, it has been influenced by, and has impacted upon numerous cultures, and thus a cross-cultural approach to the understanding of sport is required (see Klein, 1991a).

Cultural studies scholars examine cultural relations between industrial and developing nations (see Klein, 1991a). Researchers also tend to adopt Wallerstein's (1974) world-system theory to interpret the existing cultural hegemony and oppression. They, for instance, Howell et al. (2002), often use the term 'Americanisation' instead of globalisation and try to understand the balance of differences and similarities between these two processes (see also Bairner, 2001).

Donnelly (1996) argues that modern sport is Americanised whether or not the particular sport originated in America or only has an American sponsoring organisation. Non-American sports, such as soccer, golf and tennis, have been undergoing a process of Americanisation, and have been restructured and mediatised by their American sponsoring organisations for a few decades (Donnelly, 1996). Other scholars such as Kidd (1991) examining Canadian sport and McKay and Miller (1991) focusing on Australian sports, have also recognised the cultural power of the US that has sometimes resulted in anti-American movements (local resistance).

On the other hand, Bairner (2001) observes that Americanisation is only a part of the global spread and development of sport and, hence, the above perspective appears to be reductionist in neglecting the influence of other nations and localities on the development of sport. As Bairner notes, 'it is important to resist some of the implications of concepts such as "McDonaldisation" and "Cocacolonisation". Global

processes have not created a universe in which everyone drinks Coca-Cola and eats Big Macs' (2001, p. 12).

In reinforcing Bairner's (2001) argument, Howell et al. (2002) use the case of a Nike TV advertisement in New Zealand to analyse and interpret the flows and collisions of global media images with the local sphere. They recognise the influence that dominant global cultures can exercise over nation-states. However, they also believe that the citizens of nation-states have certain means to protest against cultural imperialism. They note that multinational sporting goods companies, such as Nike, 'employ international sporting celebrities along with innovative and, often controversial, advertising campaigns' (Howell et al., 2002, p. 168) to invade domestic markets. Some of these advertisement campaigns have been subjects of controversy and local resistance in New Zealand.

In sum, it can be observed that a cultural studies approach provides a more complex understanding of social processes than a Marxist/neo-Marxist account, while still preserving some degree of what one might call 'economic fundamentalism'. That is, cultural studies scholars endeavour to go beyond the classical Marxist explanation, but acknowledge most of its basic principles. Also, proponents of cultural studies view sport as a significant part of human cultures and thus give emphasis to culture driven explanations and the existence of cultural imperialism/domination that relies on political, military, and economic superiority of one nation, certain nations or regional blocs over others.

Nonetheless, not all cultural studies scholars agree on the domination of the processes of Americanisation and homogenisation in the global spread of sport. For instance, McKay and Miller (1991), Bairner (2001) and Howell et al. (2002) highlight the limitations of the Americanisation thesis and state that Americanisation is only a

constitutive part of a broader process that includes alternative cultural flows. In a similar vein, Bairner (2001) notes that the question to ponder for contemporary sociologists of sport is whether global trends can be legitimately described as Americanisation and/or as involving a unidirectional flow of culture.

Despite the fact that the cultural studies standpoint regarding the globalisation of sports seems to be well defined and deliberate, the phenomenon of global cultural interchange is often not taken into account. That is, some advocates of cultural studies fail to refute the idea of monoculture and homogenisation and to fully embrace the existence of mutual interactions and changes between and within cultures. As a corollary, Rojek and Turner (2000) have defined three points of criticism for cultural studies. According to them, cultural studies are a-historical, lacking in a tradition of comparative research, and profoundly politicised. This analysis should be borne in mind when using this theoretical approach.

The relevance of cultural studies with regard to the present work is to understand those cultural factors that can hinder or motivate the migration of footballers in Hungary. Perhaps Hungarian footballers are more likely to favour some foreign cultures/countries above others. Therefore, they would have their countries of preference, which could be traced through migration routes. Furthermore, 'foreign legionnaires' playing in Hungary may encounter problems with accommodating some aspects of Hungarian traditions and culture, and, thus, may prefer not to migrate to Hungary. Also, there might be a certain degree of national/local resistance in Hungary to recruiting foreign players. This resistance to the presence of foreign players in Hungarian football can make the recruiting and adjustment process of foreign athletes much more difficult. All in all, viewing the migration of football players from a

cultural studies perspective will help map migration patterns in terms of transmigration, emigration, and immigration of football players in Hungary.

2.6.3. Postmodernist Views

Similar to other areas of sociological study, postmodernism penetrated the study of sport and influenced the views of several scholars such as Genevieve Rail (1991, 1998, 2002), David Andrews (1996, 1997) and Michael Silk (See Silk and Andrews, 2001). Despite the importance of this trend in various fields of science and social spheres, postmodernity 'when compared with other traditions of social thought which have informed research agendas on sport and leisure, the postmodern influence has been relatively limited' (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994, p. 215). In fact, there is a conspicuous absence of postmodern analysis in sport studies (Morgan, 1995). Nevertheless, a few relevant postmodernist works and concepts with regard to sport have to be discussed as this theoretical perspective has recently been gaining momentum in the field of sport studies (see Rail, 2002).

Postmodernist scholars, such as Gleyse (1998), as a consequence of adopting fundamental Marxian ideas, agree with Brohm's (1978) perspective on modern sport, and assume some arguments of Marxist scholars (see Rail, 1991) and understand sport as a form of alienated labour (Beamish, 1988) or as a commodity (Gruneau, 1988). On the other hand, sport is also seen as a social occurrence that is 'marked by the transformations and innovations specific to a period that could be described as "postmodern" (Rail, 1991, p. 745). That is to say, sport is reinterpreted as pop culture and 'appropriates and reproduces postmodern...forms in order to better constitute itself as an object of hyper-consumption made for postmodern citizens' (Rail, 1998, p. 155).

Rail (1991) notes that the ethical crisis and occurring dissolutions affecting postmodern sport appear mainly in dualities such as male versus female, work versus leisure, self versus body and universal versus particular. She argues that the above-mentioned social differences are being dissolved through the conditions and demands driven by postmodernity. The discussion on the 'particular and universal' is the most relevant to the issue of sport and globalisation through which Rail (1991) introduces the vanishing borderlines between global and local, and ascribes this to postmodernity.

In one of her latest works, Rail (2002) notes that at the local or the global level, discourses in general are more complex than the Marxist idea of class struggles. Hence, she advocates the idea of 'social plurality' and states that the 'plurality of social discourses and social relations cannot be simply unified by grand explanations of 'reality' such as those proposed by Marxists' (Rail, 2002, p. 179). Although, she does not make reference to the term 'synthesis', she overtly refutes the possibility of developing a scientifically acceptable explanation of social phenomena by considering only one grand sociological theory. By virtue of this, she suggests that, in the postmodern era, research requires the creation of new sociological theories, epistemologies and methodologies.

Another postmodern analysis of sport has been developed by Andrews (1997) who examined the roles and functions, beyond physical prowess, of the American National Basketball Association (NBA) and its players, as they have been affected by the commercialised mass media. Andrews observed that the goal of the organisers of this sport league was 'to turn the NBA into one of the most popular commodity-signs that had usurped the material economic commodity as the dynamic force and structuring principles of everyday American existence' (1997, p. 75). This goal has

been reached through the restructuration of the functions and images of NBA players from a subsidiary sport league to a 'hyperreal circus'.

The worldwide spread of this popular culture in general and sports culture in particular leads to homogenisation. However, Andrews writes that 'it would be...fallacious to suggest that an increased circulation of commodity-signs leads to the creation of globally homogeneous patterns...rather, it is important to acknowledge the cultural dialectic at work in relation to globally intrusive texts' (1997, p. 73). It seems to be contradictory to talk about the global spread and domination of a 'pop-culture' and, at the same time, refuse the idea of homogenisation and diminishing cultural contrasts. Perhaps, this is one of the reasons why Silk and Andrews (2001) adopt the notion of 'cultural Toyotism'[15] because it provides a clearer scholarly explanation.

In summary, it can be observed that the postmodernist view of sport has shed light upon new issues and introduced sociological debates from different angles. In this way, postmodernity has significantly influenced sport-society discussions, though concentrating mainly on recent times. Postmodernists attribute social changes to features of modernity such as industrialisation, computerisation, technologisation, and scientisation. However, this today-centred feature of postmodernist interpretation of social phenomena perhaps carries the problem of reductionism in terms of neglecting long-term historical processes as a part of socio-cultural interpretations (for an explanation see Jarvie and Maguire, 1994).

Interestingly, several of the postmodernist scholars (see Rail, 1991,1998, Andrews, 1997, Silk and Andrews, 2002) are tending to adopt some of the fundamental ideas of Marxism in terms of understanding exchanges between high and mass cultures and global-local interactions as a sort of class struggle. This critical

view of postmodern times examines the exploitation of economically less developed countries and the masses in general. Despite this, Rail (1998, 2002) recognises that one grand theory cannot provide a satisfactory explanation for complex postmodern social practices and she calls for new theories and research methods. This argument could be understood as a suggestion to attempt theoretical synthesis, i.e. (post)modernism and Marxist theories should only be part of a synthesised explanation of contemporary social practices in general and sport in particular, and researchers should not investigate social reality with pre-conceived theoretical mind-sets, which cannot be penetrated through by empirically grounded evidence.

Postmodernist approaches to sport are relevant to works mainly concerned with the impact of technological development on social change. Hence, when discussing labour migration in general and the migration of athletes in particular, it is significant to take into account all those features of (post)modernity that have made humans reconsider spatial distances and have made travelling easier and faster. Thus, it is possible to argue that (post)modernity is one of the factors that has reshaped labour migration both on the local and global levels (see Castles and Miller, 2003).

2.6.4. Process-Sociology

Process-sociology in the sociology of sport has been applied over the last four decades. This sociological trend has been well grounded in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and has been consolidating in Canada, Germany, France, Japan (Dunning, 2002) and Hungary (see Hadas, 2003). Some of the scholars who have applied this analysis to sport are Norbert Elias, Eric Dunning, Joseph Maguire and Grant Jarvie. Dunning (2002) observes that process-sociology concerns itself with a wide range of sport related social phenomena. Nevertheless, in this chapter, reference

will be made to the global spread of sports and the concept of habitus and how these facets of this approach help in making sense of migratory experiences and attributes.

While Elias paid only partial attention to the global spread of modern sports in terms of looking for relations between the processes of globalisation, civilisation and habitus-formation, the real advancement in this field happened through the works of Maguire (1993a, 1994b, 1999; see Dunning, 2002). Various elements of sports and globalisation have been under academic scrutiny, from a process-sociological perspective. These include: the global role of the media/sport complex (Maguire, 1993a), national identity politics (Maguire and Tuck, 1998), athlete migration (Maguire and Stead, 1996, 1998), the Americanisation of European sports (Maguire, 1990, 1991) and the global diffusion of sports (Maguire, 1999; Maguire, et al., 2002; Bottenburg, 2001). Some of the significant contributions of process-sociology to the discussion on the global diffusion of sports will be introduced below.

A relevant contribution of process-sociologists to an understanding of the globalisation of sport is the use of the concept of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties (Elias, 1939/2000; Maguire, 1999). This concept can help one to understand the phenomena of the global diffusion and differential popularisation of sports. This approach can be seen as examining the sport-cultural interchange between different nations, indicating a two-way process between Western and non-Western cultures. Western societies attempt to introduce and imprint specific values onto outsider groups, but a concurrent reaction comes from the outsider (non-Western) groups. 'As a result of this cultural interchange, outsider, non-Western codes and customs began to permeate back into Western societies' (Maguire, 1999, 44). The form and degree of interaction between the established and outsider societies depends on various factors, which are to be taken in to consideration in union. For instance, the dominant groups

took sport forms and the ethos of sport and introduced them to subordinate populations. These subordinate populations sometimes only adopted the sport or the ethos, and sometimes adopted both aspects, depending on the culture of the specific subordinate population and its relations to the dominant groups.

Modern sport is an optimal example of globalisation and cultural interchange, i.e. 'sport is a significant touchstone of prevailing global, national and local patterns of interchange' (Maguire, 1999, p. 76). The worldwide spread of modern sports has been recognised by scholars and has been understood as a long-term historical process that began to emerge around the mid-nineteenth century (Elias and Dunning, 1986; Maguire, 1999; Maguire et al., 2002). Modern sports originated in England and many types of them are practised globally today. These types of sports spread from England to other countries mainly between the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries (Elias, 1986). This type of organised physical activity was mostly unknown in the receiving countries. Therefore those countries did not only adopt the activities and their rule systems, but the word 'sport' as well (see Elias, 1986).

The global dispersal of modern sports, i.e. the sportisation process, is bound up in globalisation processes (Maguire, 2000b) and has been described via different historical phases (Elias, 1986; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Maguire, 1999, 2000a, 2000b; Maguire et al., 2002). The term 'sportisation' derives from Elias and Dunning (1986) who identified two phases of the given process. Maguire (1999) further developed this framework and added three more stages to it, following the framework of Robertson's (1992) Minimal Phase Model (see Appendix 2) and, in turn, paying more attention to the twentieth century. The latest contribution to the interpretation of

the sportisation process is also documented by Maguire (2000b, 2005) incorporating the work of Therborn (2000) and his concept of six historical waves of globalisation.

Furthermore, in understanding the complexity of the interconnectedness of globalisation, sportisation and the civilising process, Maguire (1999, 2000b) defines 6, later 7, structured processes that emerged during the course of the last three centuries. These structured processes characterise global sport and are consequences of a melange of intended and unintended social occurrences. It is relevant to see and understand the meaning of these processes as 'they now form an interlocking fabric...that provides the context within which people experience global sport' (Maguire et al., 2002, p. 9).

During the course of history and by social/cultural interactions, people have developed certain region/culture-specific behaviour patterns that can be argued to be an indicator for the way they perceive and react to (global or local) social encounters. For instance, the ways in which certain people perceive global phenomena or in which groups of migrants respond to the circumstances and challenges of the host country can be interpreted through their cultural heritage and customs. These particular cultural practices can be described as habitual manifestations. The concept of habitus appears vital for understanding general and migration-specific behaviour patterns and thus it will be discussed below.

Initially, the notion of 'habitus', 'personality-structure' or 'second nature'(as Elias called it) was used by several sociologists and it appears in the work of Hegel, Husserl, Weber, Durkheim and Mauss (Jenkins, 2002). Norbert Elias also employed this term (see Elias 1939/2000, 1991 and 1996), but Pierre Bourdieu was the one who further developed this concept, which has become one of the trademarks of his sociology (see Jenkins, 2002). In the Eliasian sense, shared social habitus constitutes

the basis of individual human conduct (Krieken, 1998) and denotes 'the level of personality characteristics which individuals share in common with fellow members of their social group' (Mennell, 1992, p. 30). Put differently, habitus refers to deep-rooted habituated, learned behaviour that grows out of common practices which the individual shares with others (Elias, 1991).

Nevertheless, for Bourdieu, 'habitus[es] are the mental and cognitive structures through which people deal with the social world' (Ritzer, 1992, p. 578). To paraphrase, habitus is internalised, embodied social structures, which emerge and transmute as a result of long-term historical processes within the social world. Jenkins argues that 'the power of the habitus derives from the thoughtlessness of the habit and habituation, rather than consciously learned rules and principles' (2002, p. 76). That is, social practices, in general, are carried out without 'reference to a body of codified knowledge' (Jenkins, 2002, p. 76). Hence, it can be argued that social practices and the manner in which they are to be performed in a certain social setting are indoctrinated via the process of socialisation and the human body, serving as a mnemonic device, reproduces these dispositions as a matter of routine.

The key aspect of the habitus theory (which perhaps makes it applicable to analysing the dispositional traits unique to Hungarian footballers) is the fact that not everyone possesses the same habitus. Nonetheless, those of the same nationality and/or profession - who occupy the same position within the social world - tend to have similar habitus (see Ritzer, 1992). Hence, the way people perceive and react to the host environment and the presence and performance of others is not entirely individualistic. Rather it has common attributes that are driven by, for instance, a shared national history and culture, which are structural constrains as a result of common occupational, ethnic or class positions.

These attributes often operate at a subconscious level and individuals come to realise these subconscious processes are at work when they are displaced or become migrants. Elias claims that 'it is easier...to recognize the shared elements of the national habitus in the case of other people than in the case of one's own' (1996, p. 2). This observation indicates that people can see the way they operate and behave in a different light when moving to a foreign environment where they are exposed to other habitual practices. Athletes in general learn (at least) a sporting trade that is driven by globally accepted rules and regulations. This trade, although driven by a global rule system, is deeply embedded in local social practices and conditions and influenced by the domestic culture. Hence, the process of developing or obtaining a sport habitus is not culturally neutral. Jarvie and Maguire explain this as follows: 'The learning of an appropriate habitus reflects the occupancy of a specific position within the [social] field. In turn, it is embedded in wider political and cultural struggles that structure the learning experience' (1994, p. 205). Since the conscious and unconscious learning of habitus is rooted in political and cultural struggles which tend to change from historical era to historical era, people's national habitus, in turn, is not constant (see Elias, 1996), but an ever-changing blend of individual and collective practices over the course of time (see Ritzer, 1992).

In summary, through process-sociology globalisation is viewed as a multifaceted and multidirectional long-term historical process, a part of the civilising process. Furthermore, according to this scholarly standpoint the process of globalisation represents a cultural interchange between various nation-states. Thus, the cruder notions of homogenisation are rejected and, although, the importance of Americanisation and Westernisation are recognised as a part of globalisation, the idea of cultural mingling is supported. In addition, regarding sport, the works of Maguire

and his colleagues have shed light upon various novel dimensions of the debate on sport and globalisation such as further exploring the sportisation process. These writings provide a broader understanding of globalisation patterns in terms of the diffusion of modern sports. Process-sociologists, especially, have sought to re-focus the existing sport and globalisation debate through multidisciplinary and multi-causal analyses of globalisation processes.

In striving for satisfactory scientific approach to research on labour migration, a monocausal, unidirectional or one-theory-based approach is argued to be inadequate. In analysing the literature concerning sport labour migration, it can be observed that athletes are motivated by numerous different factors (see section on labour migration) that are usually at play simultaneously. But it must be noted that these 'forces' which shape the migration patterns and lives of migrant athletes do not equally impact on migration practices. Therefore, first, the structure and intensity of various (de)motivational forces within the sphere of sport related migration need to be clearly identified so as to gain sufficient insight for sketching out migration patterns. To achieve this, it is essential to conduct research that discovers the full complexity and historical depth of sport labour migration. By virtue of the features of process-sociology and the nature of the theme under scrutiny, this sociological approach appears to provide the most adequate theoretical and methodological framework for this thesis (for further details see Chapter 3).

2.7. Conclusion

The social scientific study of sport has been rooted in sociological theories (Maguire and Young, 2002). Hence, it is important to acknowledge the major theories in the field of the sociology of sport. The sociological theories discussed above are those which have most notably contributed to the sport and globalisation narrative.

While these sociological theories have sometimes been described as independent grand theories that could individually explain and explore, within their own paradigms, the operation of society to its full extent, it is important to note that these sociological theories overlap. In fact, it is argued here that social phenomena in general cannot be adequately interpreted by employing only one grand theory. Rather, 'theories need to be read in clusters or groupings - with the underlying aim of seeing linkages as well as differences' (Maguire and Young, 2002, p.4). Sociological theory thus operates as a guide that allows one to conduct better research (Maguire and Young, 2002). Hence, sociological theories are essential in designing and conducting sociological research. It must be admitted, however, that there is not one single theory or piece of research which could uncover the 'ultimate truth' (Maguire and Young, 2002) and one should bear in mind that not all sociological theories are equal in value.

It is a challenging task to see the fundamental values of sociological theories objectively or to select the (most) suitable theory or theories for a particular research purpose. In spite of this, Baert identifies a few crucial points through which theories can be measured such as 'intellectual depth, originality, analytical clarity and internal consistency' (1998, cited in Maguire and Young, 2002, p. 8).[16] Therefore, in order for us to objectively evaluate sociological theories, we must be 'aware of a range of theories, noting connections and differences and how their work builds on a tradition of sociological knowledge' (Maguire and Young, 2002, p. 10). By virtue of this, the main purpose of this section has been to introduce the major sociological theories in the field of sport and globalisation, and to highlight the strengths, weaknesses and relevance of those theories for this work.

Reading these sociological theories and the work embedded in them, one can notice that scholars have begun to realise the fact that one grand theory cannot explain

the complexity of society to its full extent. For instance, Rail (1998, 2002), in her postmodernist account, and Howell et al. (2002), in their cultural studies account, note that one grand theory cannot provide a satisfactory explanation for complex postmodern social practices. Furthermore, some academics are not satisfied with monocausal accounts and suggest a rethinking of explanations of this nature. For example, in the cultural studies account, McKay and Miller (1991) highlight the limitations of the Americanisation thesis, and Howell et al. (2002) refuse to support the view according to which Americanisation is the major force in the process of globalisation. Hence, to understand sport and global processes to their fullest degree, other agents, such as local conditions, need to be taken to account (Bairner, 2001). This multicausal orientation, one may argue, is possibly leading to synthesised theorisation that process-sociology has to offer.

Process-sociology incorporates certain aspects of a range of sociological theories and synthesises them to gain a more accurate understanding of social reality. While some of the sociological theories still sustain the idea of a prime mover, process-sociology takes into account the effects of multiple agents, causes and directions. For instance, in the account of process-sociology the process of sportisation is not only understood from the perspective of economy (Marxism), fast technological development (Postmodernity) or politico-cultural interactions (Cultural Studies), but all these agents are combined and traced back through their historical roots. That is to say, the process-sociological approach to sport and globalisation presents a more complete picture of the given process than the other sociological theories. Hence, this synthesised approach is supported in this thesis and provides the theoretical and methodological framework for the present study, as globalisation is perceived as a multifaceted and multidirectional historical process.

III. LABOUR MIGRATION

In this section, as a vital segment of globalisation and sport debate in the sociology of sport and the focus of this thesis, the concept and phenomenon of sport labour migration will be introduced. First, a brief overview of the general history of labour migration is provided. Second, the trend of sport labour migration and the fundamental notions and characteristics it ivolves will be introduced. This part will also include discussion of the European Union (EU), and football and sport labour migration related issues. Subsequently, sport labour migration in Hungary will be briefly reviewed. Finally, the established-outsiders theory will be introduced and discussed with regard to the migration of footballers as a part of the civilising process.

2.8. HISTORICAL WAVES OF LABOUR MIGRATION

Labour migration and globalisation are interconnected and involve similar historical attributes (see Stalker, 2000). In other words, labour migration, similar to globalisation, is an historical process (Stalker, 1994, 2000; Cohen, 1995). For instance, various types of labour migrations were present in the West in medieval times. These migrations included the colonisation-related slave trade and the mass movement of Europeans seeking better land and an easier life.

According to Stalker (1994), most migrations of today are associated with the idea of the international labour market. In this sense, the international migration of labour can be observed to have started with slavery. Though one can argue that migrations (the wanderings) of peoples must have existed before the middle ages (see Appendix 4), here only labour migration is considered to be the focal point of the study, beginning with slavery.[17]

Following Stalker (1994), the onset of labour force migration can be dated back in the 15th century starting with the colonisation-related slave trade (see also Cohen,

1995). The transportation of slaves from Africa to Europe emerged around the 1440s as a corollary of European colonisation processes, but it reached an industrial size only a hundred years later. The slave trade was abolished by the British Government in 1807 - interestingly, it was not banned until 1834 in the British and 1864 in the Dutch colonies (Castles and Miller, 2003) -, and a novel form of migration, indentured labour, gradually replaced it (Stalker, 1994).

Indentured labour systems were not much different from slavery (Stalker, 1994), i.e. they were also highly exploitive of workers. However, workers usually had to sign some sort of contract stating that they were willing to work abroad and accept definite conditions, to which workers were often forced to agree. Castles and Miller observe that 'wages and conditions were generally very poor, workers were subject to rigid discipline and breaches of contract were severely punished' (2003, p. 54). Despite the inhumane conditions this type of employment represented, indentured labour was not quickly abolished. On the contrary, in the Dutch colonies the Coolie[18] Ordinance remained in force until 1941 (Stalker, 1994).

The next phase of labour migration involved a fundamental change in the migration patterns as in earlier periods peoples mostly migrated to Europe. Over the whole period from 1834 to 1939, approximately 59 million people left Europe in the hope of finding a better life, whilst there still was a significant migration of workers within Europe. Stalker (1994) argues that industrialisation contributed significantly to the mass emigration from Europe (see also Castles and Miller, 2003). In opposing this view, Massey (1988) suggests that migration research could not find a cause and effect relationship between industrialisation and mass out-migration from Europe. The intensity of this emigration process decreased during the First World War, the emergence of emigration regulations and the depression of the 1930s. Then, the

Second World War put a halt to migrations from Europe (Stalker, 1994). During the interwar era of migration, the USA appeared to be one of the most important termini - an estimated 54 million people moved there (Borjas, 1990) -, along with other destinations such as Canada and South America, which became gradually popular as a result of the stricter migration policies imposed in the USA (see Fermi, 1968).

The post Second World War era can be divided into two segments; before and after 1950. In the first part of this period, migrations were mostly driven by the repercussions of post-war peace treaties and took place within Europe. Borders were re-drawn and people were fighting with post-war hardships and relocations (Stalker, 1990). This created a serious labour force vacuum and a rearrangement in Europe whereby, as one of the outcomes of the Second World War, the working population had become significantly low. Therefore, for example, immediately after the Second World War the British government brought in 90.000 workers to relieve labour force problems (Castles and Miller, 2003). Later on, at the end of the 1950s, and at the beginning of the 1960s, the economies of Europe began to develop exponentially and the overseas migration of Europeans decreased in number. Thus, 'Europe became a net importer of workers...Between 1950 and 1973 there was net immigration of nearly 10 million people into Western Europe' (Stalker, 1994, p. 17). There was another relevant migration route from the less developed European countries to Australia and North America (Castles and Miller, 2003). The increase of migration to Europe ended in 1973 as a result of the 'first oil shock', which reduced the high demand for unskilled physical labour (Castles and Miller, 2003).

In the present era, labour migration patterns have become even more complex. It has been argued that the political and economic upheavals of the contemporary epoch 'have been [heavily] linked in various ways with mass population movements'

(Castles and Miller, 2003, p. 3). Therefore, it seems logical to name the twentieth century 'the age of migration' (Castles and Miller, 2003).

Stalker (2000) examines whether neoclassical economic theory can create a general overview of contemporary global labour migrations. He approaches this problem through the idea of 'factor price equalisation'. This scholarly viewpoint states that 'goods, people, and capital moving across national borders should tend to equalise prices between countries. Labour should travel from low-wage to high-wage economies and capital should move in the other direction' (Stalker, 2000, p. 11). Stalker concludes that most of the states exert very strict control over their borders and want to eliminate a mass inflow of foreign people (see also Castles and Miller, 2003). On the other hand, capital has a high degree of mobility and thus, this leads to the exploitation of workers who are lawfully bonded to their countries of origin (Stalker, 2000).

Stalker's (1994) approach to labour migration adopts a Marxist viewpoint, and interprets local and international flows of labour from a chiefly economic perspective that neglects political and cultural issues. Regardless of the reductionism that this historical model and research represents, it can still provide a basis for understanding some aspects of labour migration patterns and issues. Therefore, this model is useful but needs further development (for other economic theories on migration see, for example, Wallace, 2001).

Nonetheless, this historical overview of labour migration (see Appendix 4) provides adequate evidence to state that labour migration has been an historical process that, similarly to the process of globalisation, occurs in waves. Furthermore, the waves of labour migration cannot be unequivocally separated from one another in terms of their starting and ending points. They are intertwined. Hence, the argument

of Therborn (2000), concerning the waves of globalisation, can also be applied to the given process with reference to the observation that the early waves eventually faded out and that their disappearance might, but not necessarily, have coincided in time with the rise of another. Moreover, there can be observed some degree of connection between the process of labour migration and the civilising process (regarding the civilising process see Elias, 1939/2000). That is, a process of development in the level of civilisation can be detected throughout the waves of labour migration, which interconnects the process of labour migration with the civilising process.

The civilising process is an historical process, through which humans gradually, but not lineally, acquire a higher degree of decorum, greater control of their emotions and appreciation of changing human values (see Krieken, 1998). In other words, once accepted everyday behaviour practices become increasingly unacceptable and are declared 'uncivilised' over time. For instance, the slave trade was the earliest form of labour migration representing a very low level of civilisation. It was not regulated or institutionalised, and migrants could be destroyed and tortured without any legal consequences. Indentured labour migration could be said to have been a more 'civilised' form of slavery. It had certain regulations such as contracts, but was not fully institutionalised, e.g. there was no regulatory body. So workers were still the 'toys' of their employers. Later on, with the formation and concretisation of nation-states, migratory issues in general and labour migration in particular became the concern of governments. As a result of this, labour migration was becoming more regulated and institutionalised, representing a higher level of civilisation. It became less socially and officially accepted to maltreat employees. Besides, workers began to form 'trades unions' for the protection of their rights, and after the Second World War, the level of bureaucracy significantly increased in the field of labour migration.

Leaving and entering borders of nation-states began to require certain credentials. This does not mean that the process of labour migration was stopped by the provisions of nation-states' authorities, but that it has undergone fundamental changes in its forms and directions.

In sum, during the course of the history of labour migration, this process has undergone certain civilising developments (and decivilising phases) and has become more regulated, structuralised, institutionalised and bureaucratised. The above-presented historical overview of labour migration illustrates a similar development pattern to that of globalisation, and shows that these processes are intermingled in the structure of the civilising process. Moreover, migration patterns are in a constant flow of change and being shaped from one historical era to another. Thus, migration patterns are, perhaps, best described through the concept of 'ever-changing social figurations' (Elias, 1978) and could be termed as 'migration figurations' (see Maguire, 1999). By virtue of this argument, the sphere of labour migration will be understood through the framework provided by process-sociology and the last part of this section will offer a more indepth analysis in terms of the implications of process-sociology for the theme in question.

2.9. Sport Labour Migration

In the case of sport, the global movement of people involves athletes, administrators, coaches, officials and scientists (Maguire, et al., 2002). Sport labour migration is a complex and multidimensional process, and one of the characteristics of global sport systems (Maguire et al., 2002). The migration of people working in the sphere of sport happens at three levels. These levels are: within nations, between nations located within the same continents and between nations located on different continents (Maguire, 1999 and Maguire et al., 2002).

The migration of workers (athletes) usually follows certain patterns. These patterns can create so called 'talent/migratory pipelines' through which endowed individuals can be recruited. For example, 'after the people's revolution of 1989 and the subsequent 'opening up' of Eastern [and Central] Europe, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovakians and Romanians moved west - creating a talent pipeline' (Maguire et al., 2002, p. 27). This pipeline is the umbilical cord between host and donor countries. Host countries, such as Western European countries and the US, hire labour force from donor countries for a certain amount of time to improve or maintain the quality of their domestic sport leagues. Donor countries, e.g. Latin and Central American, South African and Central and Eastern European countries, provide the required skilled labour force. Host countries have the financial power to pay higher prices for athletes who were trained and taught in underdeveloped countries. This possibly leads to a phenomenon that can be called the 'deskilling of donor countries' (Maguire, 1999; Maguire et al., 2002; see also Klein, 1991b). Differently put, donor countries invest time, money and energy into manufacturing athletic talent, and when athletes achieve a proper development, clubs from economically more highly developed countries exploit donor countries (see Maguire, 1999). Having stated the importance of this tension between host and donor countries, it is to be noted that sport-related migrations are more complex and, thus, Maguire and Stead (1996), Maguire (1996, 1999) and Maguire et al. (2002) do not only distinguish between various migration patterns and dimensions but they recognise different types of sport migrants such as pioneers, mercenaries, settlers, nomads and returnees (cf. Tilly, 1990; Iredale, 2002; and Magee and Sugden, 2002).

Pioneers are highly enthusiastic about their sports. They promote their own sport and are usually responsible for the worldwide spread of sports (Maguire et al.,

2002). Settlers belong to the category of long-term migrants. They settle in the host country where they sell their labour and stay there even after their work contract is over (Maguire, 1996). This type of migration manifests itself either through marriage or long-term attachment to a specific country in order to qualify for national status (Maguire and Pearton, 2000). Mercenaries are mainly motivated by short-term contracts and high monetary rewards. 'These migrants have little or no attachment to the local, to a sense of place where they currently reside or play...[and] are motivated by short-term gains' (Maguire et al., 2002, p. 33). In addition, there are athletes who like travelling, living in a foreign country and being an outsider just for its own sake. These nomad migrants are 'motivated more by a cosmopolitan engagement with migration...[and] use their sport career to travel and experience other cultures' (Maguire et al., 2002, p. 33; see also Maguire and Stead, 1996). The last category of migrants that needs to be addressed is the returnees. These are the migrants who cannot leave their home country behind for a long time, as 'the lure of the 'home soil' can prove too strong' (Maguire, 1999, p. 106). After a while they usually return to their country of origin to compete and/or finish their sporting careers. Migrants belonging to all the other categories of migration may still act as returnees. The above categories of migrants should not be viewed as totally separate as they are interconnected and overlap (see Maguire, 1999).

These categories of migrants reflect and reinforce certain problems and issues that surround the sphere of labour migration. The problems of sport labour migration have been recognised by Maguire (1996, 1999) who argues that these issues and dimensions of sport labour force migration are interconnected and constitute a part of global sport flows. Furthermore, Maguire (1999) organised the problems and issues of sport migration into a model, which summarises and demonstrates the crucial points

of the given subject. This model illustrates the factors that influence sport labour migration including political, cultural, economic and ethical issues and that the 'sport labour process is bound up in a complex political economy that is itself embedded in a series of cross-cultural struggles that characterise the global sport system' (Maguire, 1999, p. 104). The man issues and problems that migrant athletes in general probably come up against during their foreign sojourns are: motivation, labour rights, off-field adjustments, xenophobia and national identity.

In sum, it can be said that the sphere of labour migration in general and sport labour migration in particular is complex, involving political, economic, cultural and social segments. There are numerous de-motivators and motivators simultaneously at play. As has been pointed out by Maguire and Stead (1996, 2000), migrant athletes sometimes have to give up their families, cultures and a part of their identities in order to pursue their careers abroad. Nevertheless, in the hope of obtaining money, prestige and/or professional improvement, athletes leave their homelands to join foreign teams. During this journey, migrant athletes face serious professional and personal challenges in the host countries. They usually possess fewer labour rights and enjoy less legal protection than their indigenous peers. Foreign athletes can also encounter the disrespect of indigenous players and populations. Local players can perceive immigrants as a threat, ones who take their jobs and positions away (see Castles and Miller, 2003). This can cause tensions within teams and frustrations within individuals. Furthermore, migrants have to cope with accommodating to foreign cultures, traditions and the absence of friends and family.

All these factors should be taken into consideration when researching the area of sport migration (see Chapters 6 and 7). Therefore, in order to find a satisfactory

explanation for the migration of athletes a multi-causal interpretation and multidirectional approach are required (Maguire et al., 2002).

2.9.1. Football Labour Migration within the EU

The phenomenon of sport labour migration has been studied by scholars for over a decade and there have been different sports under investigation. Klein (1991b) examined the migration of baseball players. Maguire (1994) focused on basketball, ice hockey (Maguire, 1994a, 1996, 1999) and cricket (Maguire and Stead, 1996). In addition, football has been the subject of several studies, for example, Bromberger (1994), Lanfranchi (1994), Lanfranchi and Taylor (2001), Maguire and Stead (1998), Maguire and Pearton (2000), Stead and Maguire (2000), and McGovern (2000, 2002). In this section, the migration of football players within the EU will be considered.

Pierre Lanfranchi (1994) discusses the case of football migration in France between 1932 and 1982, and argues that football is unique in France because 'it does not reflect most of the values which are attached to the game in other countries' (1994, pp. 75-76). Football was used to forge a national identity among the working class, and therefore, French football can be seen as an example of a melting pot, meaning the presence of a significant number of foreign players who were all considered to be footballers and not players from other nations.

Lanfranchi also highlights the importance of migrant players in the life and development of French football. He notes that foreign players constituted the core of French First Division football. This argument is reinforced by the fact that, while in other countries foreign players were not recruited for certain positions, in France 'foreign players were recruited to play in any position...and from 1971 to 1986 the top scorer in the league was always a foreigner' (Lanfranchi, 1994, p. 72). Hungarian players also acted both as settlers (Desire Koranyi) and mercenaries (Erno Nemeth)

mainly prior to the Second World War. After the war and during the era of communism, Hungarian players, similarly to the footballers of the other countries of the Eastern communist bloc, were not a significant part of this migration process (see Lanfranchi, 1994).

The findings of this research are important for understanding the various migration patterns that have been evident in Europe in the last century. Lanfranchi (1994) highlights the importance of France in the flow of footballers in general, but this does not cover the whole complexity of European football labour migration. Besides, his work was published prior to the verdict of the Bosman case, which caused a fundamental restructuring of the migration patterns of footballers in Europe.

Prior to the Bosman case, the situation in European football was very different with regard to player transfers and quotas from that which prevails today. A football player could only move to another club with the agreement of both clubs, which was called the 'retain and transfer system'. Usually this agreement was only reached by setting a 'transfer fee', whereby the buying club actually purchased the player from the selling club. This applied regardless of whether or not the player's contract with the selling club had ended. Hence, out of contract players were not allowed to sign for a different team unless a transfer fee had been paid, or a free transfer had been granted. Additionally, in many national leagues quota systems existed which meant that only a limited number of foreign players could play in a particular match. For instance, in UEFA matches only 3 non-indigenous players were allowed to play, preventing the accumulation of foreign players in national leagues. So, keeping the conditions which existed before the Bosman case in mind, the subsequent changes in patterns of labour migration will be clearer (Jeanrenaud and Kesenne, 1999; for more

information with regard to the Bosman case see Blanpain and Inston, 1996; Downward and Dawson, 2000; Parry, 1996; Moorhouse, 1999).

The implications of the Bosman case have been far-reaching for football across Europe (Moorehouse, 1999, Szymanski, 1999). Clubs now need to sign players for longer contracts than before, otherwise they risk losing their players on free transfers. This disadvantages smaller clubs, which cannot afford to pay as much or sign longer contracts with players. Therefore, the skilled players at smaller clubs will usually be able to move to a bigger club on a free transfer. Nonetheless, Szymanski notes that 'the Bosman ruling certainly does not appear to have had any restraining effect on transfer activities at least in the short run' (1999, p. 145). In the long run, however, it may lead to the loss of competence of smaller clubs or they may be forced to turn amateur: 'Alternatively, some clubs which are currently marginal as professional clubs might have a healthier future as semi-professional clubs' (Szymanski, 1999, p. 148).

The Bosman case improved players' benefits, as out-of-contract players could demand higher wages, or move to a club that offered them more. That is to say, the Bosman case increased players' power considerably. This has possibly led to the emergence of new migration patterns and what Maguire and Stead call the 'influx of cheap foreign players...with...a damaging effect on the development of indigenous talent' (1998, p. 61). This observation, however, needs to be considered with caution as good quality foreign players, acting as role models, can, on the contrary, boost the development of indigenous talent (see Chapter 7).

In discussing the migration of footballers to and within Europe, it is relevant to highlight the fact that Europe and UEFA represent the 'core' role in the world of football (Sugden and Tomlinson, 1998, Maguire and Stead, 1998). FIFA is the

governing body of world soccer that consists of six confederations. These are: UEFA, the Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbal (CONMEBOL), the Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF), the African Confederation of Football (CAF), the Asian Football Confederation (AFC), and the Oceania Football Confederation (OFC). These confederations do not share equally the global football revenues, and the popularity-level of the sport differes between the different continents (see Bottenburg, 2001). So the first question that needs to be addressed is why Europe and UEFA occupy such a major status in world football?

Sugden and Tomlinson (1998) note that UEFA is the most powerful confederation, and that the European nation-states generate more than 80% of global soccer revenues. Hence, UEFA represents the core economy of world football (Maguire and Stead, 1998). Moreover, Maguire and Pearton (2000) point out the fact that fifteen of the finalist teams were provided by the European nation-states in the 1998 World Cup. They also found that 62% of the players participating in World Cup '98 worked in Europe. In contrast, out of the 330 players representing UEFA, only 3 played outside the federation. While CONMEBOL was represented by 110 players, 41 of whom played their club football outside this federation. CAF was represented by 110 players, 74 of whom played for clubs outside Africa. These statistics reinforce the argument of Maguire and Pearton (2000) according to which Europe and UEFA represent an enormous pulling force in terms of financial and professional attraction for the footballers of other confederations.

Maguire and Pearton (2000) also observed that the most popular destinations of migrants in Europe were England, Italy, Spain and Germany. 'Clubs in these four leagues employed 270 of the 704 players taking part in the World Cup finals'

(Maguire and Pearton, 2000, p. 764). Based on this, the immigration of footballers to these four countries' leagues was further analysed. In the case of Germany, 35 non-German World Cup players - from the five other federations - had contracts with German clubs and came from 17 different countries. It was indicated in addition that there is a migration flow between Austria and Germany, and one between Bulgaria and Germany. They note that:

> Given the linguistic and geographical considerations, Austrians (with 14%) formed the highest percentage of World Cup migrants recruited by Bundesliga clubs. Bulgarians were also prominent with 11%, perhaps for geopolitical reasons but also maybe in part connected to the more general process of Eastern European migration (Maguire and Pearton, 2000, p. 765).

England was represented by 54 immigrants in the World Cup, and three major migration trails were identified: between England and Norway - a long established migration trail based on agent networks and ascribed footballing status; another between England and Scotland - these two football nations belong to the same nation-state (McGovern (2002) a fact which further reinforces the importance of this migration track; and England and Jamaica - historical colonial links and the presence of the British-born descendants of a large immigrant population from Jamaica to England (Maguire and Pearton, 2000).

The Italian and Spanish migration patterns showed some similarities. However, neither of these countries had players coming from AFC and CONCACAF. In the case of Italy, the major migration trails consisted of an inflow of players from Argentina (21%) and Brazil (12%), while within UEFA, France was the major provider (13%). There was also a significant stream of players coming from Eastern Europe (16%) (Maguire and Pearton, 2000).

Maguire and Pearton (2000) described two major migration trails to Spanish football clubs, with Eastern Europeans who played in Spain constituting 34% of those

who represented their countries in the 1998 World Cup. The other major trail was players coming from Africa (26%). The possible reasons for the existence of these migration patterns can be explained by geographical proximity, monetary reasons, perceived playing styles, and cultural and linguistic contacts and parallels.

In summarising the major migration patterns and their significance in the overall picture of migration to and within the EU, it can be stated that there is a major migration line between the EU and Central/Eastern European countries. There is also a continous migration flow within the EU between northern and southern countries. However, it appears that the 'north-to-south' migration is larger than the 'south-to-north'. Finally, there is a flow of footballers coming to the UEFA from other football confederations. By virtue of the above, it is argued here that the migration of athletes is driven by several factors: monetary benefits, cultural and linguistic dissimilarities and similarities, historical colonial links, geographical proximity and agent networks. This way of analysing the sphere of football migrations provides a multidimensional picture of the phenomenon. Following upon this argument, the above multidimensional approach will be taken into account when the migration patterns of Hungarian footballers are discussed in Chapter 5.

In the next section, I shall build on this introduction to various migratory processes and phenomena by means of a synthesis the established-outsider perspective, migration practices/occurrences and the lived experiences of migrants.

2.10. Labour Migration: A Process-sociological Approach

A process-sociological approach to the problems of labour migration can reveal new issues and interconnections, and tie migrations into a larger process (see, for example, Maguire, 1999, Maguire et al., 2002). Moreover, by adopting a process-sociological account one can gain a more reality-congruent view of social processes in

general and labour migration in particular than is usually possible with more present-centred, one-dimensional approaches. For instance, it has been pointed out by Maguire and Stead (1996, 1998) and Stead and Maguire (2000) that one agent is insufficient to interpret the migrations of athletes, and so, it would be biased to assert that human migrations, in modern times, are triggered by a 'prime mover'.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that a multicausal explanation does not necessarily imply that all the factors are to be equally considered regarding their impact on the phenomenon studied. For instance, Kovacs (2002) suggests that the different facets of globalisation (e.g. homogenisation, hybridisation, and heterogenisation) are all constituents of the ongoing globalisation process. However, they are not equally powerful. Hence, in understanding the process of globalisation and/or labour migration, one needs to consider multiple 'forces' that have differential effects. The effects and blend of forces, as Kovacs (2002) highlights, vary, depending on the region and historical period one examines. In Hungary, for instance, monetary reward is perhaps the most significant motivation for footballers to move to another country. In contrast, for Scandinavian football players, it is rather the professional challenge (Maguire and Stead, 1998, Stead and Maguire, 2000). At this juncture, it can be argued that the power balance between the interacting forces is an indicator of local/regional social circumstances.

Process-sociology ties the process of labour migration into the civilising process (see Elias and Scotson, 1994), and, thus, provides an historically driven theoretical framework. In explaining the relations between various interacting sub-groups such as indigenous and newcomer populations, we are told by Krieken that 'Elias developed a model for social relations within and between communities which revolved around the concept of relations between 'established' and 'outsider' groups' (1998, p. 147).

Elias argued that the power difference between social classes or strata could not be satisfactorily described based solely on financial class or social status (Mennell, 1992). Mennell notes that '[Elias] sought categories which, though simpler in themselves, would yet enable him to grapple better with the complexities of inequality actually observed within the flux of social relationships' (1992, p. 115). The direct outcome of this endeavour was the theory of 'established-outsider relations', which will be introduced below and its implications discussed for purposes of adding to the understanding of labour migration.

2.10.1. Established - Outsider Relations

The roots of the 'established-outsider' theory go back to the study that Elias and Scotson conducted in the early 1960s. A sample (every 30th household) of the target population was selected and interviewed on the suburban outskirts of Leicester, disguised under the name of Winston Parva (Mennell, 1992). This community consisted of three interest groups and, thus, was divided into three zones. Elias and Scotson (1994) pointed out that the major difference between these groups was not exclusively based on financial conditions. Even though there was an obvious class difference between Zone 1 and the other two Zones, there were not significant dissimilarities detected between Zones 2 and 3 in terms of class, religion, ethnicity or education (Krieken, 1998). The major disparity was the length of time the inhabitants of Zone 2 and 3 had spent in Winston Parva. Elias and Scotson observed that 'the principal difference between the two groups was precisely this: that one was a group of old residents established in the neighbourhood for two or three generations and the other was a group of newcomers' (1994, pp. xxi-xxii). By virtue of the above difference, Zone 2 and 3 communities displayed different degrees of social cohesion

and integration, and a particular ideological construction of the relative status and worth of each group (Krieken, 1998).

People living in Zones 1 and 2, the established groups, considered themselves as superior to the inhabitants of Zone 3, based on 'oldness', the time they had spent in the territory. Interestingly, Krieken notes that 'this conception had little to do with the actual length of time a group and its predecessors had spent in the region' (1998, p. 150). Regardless, when Elias and Scotson conducted their study, they observed that after twenty years 'the older residents of the 'village' still spoke of people from the Estate as 'foreigners' (1994, p. 19). In other words, people from the established groups did not mingle with the outsiders as they considered themselves superior and more civilised at the beginning of the migration process, and, even later on, the gap between the established and outsider groups continued to exist. Surprisingly, the established group's perception of the outsiders was adopted and internalised by the newcomers themselves who began to believe in their own inferiority (Krieken, 1998).

All in all, it can be observed that established groups judged -and often misjudged -outsiders who represented a threat to their identity as inferiors, and, thus, the established groups morally separated themselves from the outsiders believing in their own 'natural' moral superiority. Krieken argues that 'it is the shared identity of the established group and the perception that this group identity may be threatened by newcomers which sets the whole mechanism of established-outsider relations in motion' (1998, p. 151). So instead of getting to know the people of the Estate (Zone 3), they simply stigmatised them as morally weak, dirty, promiscuous and criminals. This view of the outsiders was highly unrealistic and skewed (see Elias and Scotson, 1994). Nevertheless, the established groups felt morally justified to behave the way they did.

Elias also connected the theory of established-outsider relations to the civilising process (see Mennell, 1992). During the course of the present study, it was observed that the established groups viewed themselves as more civilised and the outsiders as more barbarian. Established groups think of themselves as more restrained in their leisure time and more controlled in their social interactions. This perception of the outsiders was biased, but, regardless, they were characterised as 'all that threatens civilisation', whilst the established groups thought themselves to be the 'bearers of human civilisation itself' (Krieken, 1998).

This case study sheds light on how relationships between indigenous and newcomer groups of people might develop, and introduces an approach that could be considered when researching, for instance, diasporas and labour migration related matters. It promises especially to be useful regarding the exploration of issues and problems that migrants tend to face in foreign lands. Furthermore, it can help us understand the standpoints of indigenous workers/athletes, and, perhaps, it could shed light upon some of the motives determining their behaviours. Through understanding both established and outsider interest groups, one could potentially develop a scheme that might help to reduce conflict, which in the long run could lead to an improvement in team performance. This issue is a current one and becoming more relevant as the number of foreign athletes increases in EU countries.

Some people might think that the international flow of athletes is not a recent phenomenon and, thus, native players will not experience significant problems with migrants anymore. While this argument may seem plausible, a case study by Ronald Reng (2003) of Lars Leese, a German goalkeeper, indicates otherwise and reinforces the importance of research into sport labour migration in general and the established-

outsider concept in particular. In the next section, some of the problems Leese encountered while playing for an English football club will be discussed.

Reng's book addresses Lars Leese's personal and professional experiences as a foreign player in English club football. In this book, Leese describes various aspects of what it means to be a migrant player in England. Leese's account and examples indicate the sociological value of the established-outsider approach to sport migration research. For instance, when arriving at his new club, Barnsley FC, Leese did not feel that he received a warm welcome. Reng writes that:

> The English players weren't exactly falling over themselves to welcome them [foreign players] into the team. Before their first day's training the new foreign players, even though they did not know one another, had sat down one after the other on the short bench nearest to the door of the dressing-room; the established local players sat on the long bench opposite (Reng, 2003, pp. 97-98).

Leese also highlighted certain communication difficulties with his team and the vulgarity of the English footballers. Leese declared that 'he went for training in Barnsley. Once they got started, all he could make out was the word 'fuckin'. What exactly 'fuckin' was, he did not know because of the strong accents of most of the players' (Reng, 2003, p. 84). Besides, he came across various practical differences in training (see Reng, 2003 on page 96-97) and in social interactions on and off the football field. For instance, he complained about the harsh and disgusting behaviour of English footballers that included 'urinating under the table', 'fighting each other', and 'throwing food in restaurants'. These are just a few of the numerous examples Leese mentions as a part of his experience in English club football.

In terms of the established-outsider concept, Leese was definitely in the position of an outsider and the English players represented the established group. However, interestingly, in this particular case the 'outsider' represented the higher moral values and level of civilisation. Nevertheless, it must be taken into consideration that Reng's

(2003) assertions were based purely on the anecdotes of Leese and describe a one-sided view. In order to gather scientifically acceptable evidence in terms of the relationship between domestic and foreign players, one needs to consider interviewing various individuals make up the segments of a migration figuration. Regardless of the scientific merit of the above book, it underscores that the established-outsider theory has significant implications for the issue of labour migration in general and sport labour migration in particular. However, some aspects of the theory may need to be reconsidered and adapted to particular cultural, social, and, perhaps, global conditions (for an attempt see Maguire, 2004, 2005). In order to obtain as realistic a picture as possible of the figurations in which migrant Hungarian footballers are involved, these figurations will be researched by examining the relations between the indigenous/established and the migrant/outsider parties.

Notes

[1] The intricacy of globalisation can also be seen through the work of Beck who differentiates between 'globalism', 'globality' and 'globalisation', which depict the different shades of this process. He understands these terms as follows:

> Globalism [is]...the view that the world market eliminates or supplants political action...It proceeds mono-causally and economistically, reducing the multidimensionality of globalisation to a single, economic dimension that is itself conceived in a linear fashion;
> globality means that we have been living for a long time in a world society, in the sense that the notion of closed spaces has become illusory ...from now on nothing which happens on our planet is only a limited local event;
> globalisation [is]...the process through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undetermined by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks (2000, pp. 9-11).

[2] This kind of local resistance or adaptation occurs in four different ways: The local-global nexus involves the resistance of indigenous people toward the dominant global culture, that is, local responses to economic practices, local resistance to ideological processes, local revivals of traditional customs, or local celebrations of diversity (Maguire, 1999). These four perspectives of the local-global nexus are understood here as two ways of domination (economic and ideological) and three ways of resistance (cultivating local values, revivals of traditions and celebration of diversity).

[3] Taking into consideration the argument of Appadurai (1990), one can realise as to why the process of globalisation has only recently been discovered worldwide. The current development of the scapes of globalisation has made the global distribution of various products, cultures and people possible and visible in a more efficacious way. Thus, it can be argued that the scapes, although they have not reached their zenith yet, have never been as highly developed as they are in the present time. Therefore, the phenomenon of globalisation was not as obvious and as effective as it is nowadays (Held et al., 1999, Robertson, 1992), which perhaps has led to false conclusions concerning its origin.

[4] Giddens uses 'globalisation' and 'international relations' interchangeably.

[5] For a critique of Giddens (1990) see Robertson (1992).

[6] Therborn further argues that globalisation is plural per se and 'the concept refers to a polarity of social processes, and the word had therefore better be used in plural: globalisations' (2000, p. 154).

[7] Aknie Hoogvelt (2001) calls it the 'declinist view'.

[8] Hyperglobalists conceive hybridisation as an important component of globalisation, which is the competition between the global and the local that may result in the pluralisation of local societies and cultures, meaning 'to create new hybrid identifications in place of declining national identities' (Maguire and Tuck, 1998, p. 106).

[9] Extreme globalisers or globalists claim of the most enthusiastic globalisation theories (Hirst and Thompson, 1999).

[10] Ethnic nationalism represents the assumptions about the primordial and natural origins of the nation. It is often bound up with language and race, and assumed that the intrusion of ethnic elements and sentiments of collective belonging into the life of the nation breeds intolerance toward other cultures. Therefore, it is an exclusive form of nationalism (see Bairner, 2001).

[11] Regionalisation is understood here as a part of internationalisation and refers to the concentration of international economic relations into continental blocs (Lipietz, 1997). In the words of Harvey and Saint-Germain (2001), regionalisation means that international trade that flows among countries of the same political, economic, and cultural contents would gain in importance compared to other regions of the world.

[12] The deterritorialisation of social life, coupled with the disembedding of institutions from the nation/state society, means that the social configuration of the Global Age coexists as multiple worlds in the minds of people. As socio-economic realities they exist as a complex of stratified spheres of varying extent and differential control over resources (Albrow 1996, p. 159).

[13] Distanciation refers to 'the condition under which time and space are organised so as to connect presence and absence' (Giddens, 1990, p. 14), while disembedding means the 'lifting out' of social relations of their local context and restructured 'across indefinite spans of time-space' (Giddens, 1990, p. 21)

[14] Social-Darwinism is the theory according to which persons, groups and races are subject to the same laws of natural selection as Darwin proposed for plants and animals in nature. Scholars who hold this position state that the life of humans in society is a struggle for existence driven by the 'survival of the fittest' (see, for example, Runciman, 2003).

[15] Toyotism is 'a new and flexible management system that allowed it to respond effortlessly to the inherent...dynamism of advanced economies' (Silk and Andrews, 2001, p. 189). Cultural Toyotism, in terms of sport, is 'the ways that sport practices, celebrities, and spectacles have been appropriated by transnational corporate capitalism as culturally resonant vehicles used in the commercially motivated process of national reimagining' (Silk and Andrews, 2001, p. 191).

[16] Maguire and Young note concerning the argument of Baert (1998) that 'while these are useful pointers...they do not exhaust the possible benchmarks by which the research acumen and sociological quality can be judged' (2002, p. 8).

[17] It is perhaps important to note why only a certain period of human migrations is considered here as a focal point. In order to shed light to this matter, first, the notion of migration shall be defined. Migration is perceived here as moving of people in space, from a known starting location to a definite terminus with exact purposes. In other words, migrating people can locate both the starting and final points of their journey and have predefined purposes for migrating. By virtue of this, the moving of people before the 1500s should rather be viewed as 'wanderings' or 'peregrinations', not migrations, because people, during those times, could not usually locate their own positions on a continental or global scale and did not usually have predefined termini, and, moreover, the moves were predominantly arbitrary, driven by forces of nature. Therefore, here attention is mostly paid to the historical waves of migration of people, not the peregrinations of those.

[18] 'Indentured workers were often known as "coolies". The origin of the term is uncertain. It might come from the Tamil word Koli to "hire" or from Kuli, a tribe of West India' (Stalker, 1994, p. 11).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I shall address the relationship between sociological research and philosophy, looking at fundamental ontological, epistemological and methodological issues. This is of major importance since certain methodological aspects of process-sociology have not been fully explored (see Bloyce, 2004). Thus, one of the goals of this chapter, after briefly reviewing general socio-philosophical issues, is to unfold a possible approach to ontology, epistemology and methodology, underpinned by process-sociology. Subsequently, the specific methods used in this project will be described, along with acquired experiences in relation to conducting research in the Hungarian football context. The final section offers a summary of the chapter.

3.1. PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

Ontology is a branch of philosophy that is concerned with the fundamental nature of things which exist in the world (Jary and Jary, 2000), 'i.e. that people see as basic in their world' (Bruyn, 1966, p. 162). According to Bryman, social ontology is concerned with 'the nature of social entities' and the major question is 'whether social entities can be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they...should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors' (2001, p. 16). Differently put, the ontological questions, from a sociological perspective, are whether there is a 'caged' social reality (see Weber, 1949) and how it should be interpreted. In general terms, there can be said to be two different ontological positions: objectivism and constructivism (Bryman, 2001, Grix, 2002, cf. Bruyn, 1966, Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

Objectivism claims that 'it is possible to provide 'objective' representations and accounts of the external physical and social worlds, i.e. representations that capture these worlds accurately and reliably...[and are not] coloured by one's own preferences and prejudices' (Jary and Jary, 2000, p. 424). In other words, there is no difference between the way the world is 'in reality' and the interpretation of it created by individuals. On the contrary, constructivism argues that the real world is only knowable through the human mind and through socially constructed meanings (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Hence, society is understood as the construction of social actions, which are 'process[es] of endowing a situation with meaning, and it is those meanings, ideas, symbols, etc. that are the 'stuff' of the social world' (Johnson et al., 1992, p. 14).

By virtue of these ontological differences, it can be stated that the cognition of reality in general and of social structures in particular can be achieved in two fundamental ways. One standpoint (objectivism) asserts that both the natural and the social world exist in analogous ways, and are driven by universal laws. The other ontological perspective (constructivism) notes that the social world is different from the natural/material world as it is open to the interpretation of social actors. Thus, cognition of the social world must be achieved through the individuals who construct it. Johnson et al. clarify this dilemma as follows:

> When you *comply* with the laws of the state, there is no equivalence to the way in which a stone *complies* with the laws of gravity when it has been thrown into the air. This is not to suggest that you are free to disobey state law, while the stone cannot disobey gravity. It means you can *think* about whether to obey the state or not, and that in so doing you *interpret* what the law of the state is, and what the likely future consequences of that action might be... [Therefore] any attempt to explain human action in terms of existing material conditions loses sight of the ability of a human being to act in terms of interpretations that do not even relate to the material present or past (1992, p. 14, italics in original).

In other words, when interpreting human behaviour one needs to consider the fact that even though there are locally/regionally/globally enforced and accepted social regulations, individuals may (re)interpret and disobey them, bearing the consequences their actions may entail. This approach is crucial when the ways in which humans learn about the social world are considered.

Epistemology is a branch of philosophy concerned with theories of knowledge that guide us in how we can know the world (Jary and Jary, 2000). In the social sciences, epistemology mainly refers to the way knowledge is formed or better influenced by social structures. 'Epistemology is concerned with ways of knowing and learning about the social world and focuses on questions such as: how we can know about reality and what is the basis of our knowledge?' (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 13).

There are fundamentally two epistemological stances in the social sciences: positivism and interpretivism (Bryman, 2001, Grix, 2002). Epistemology, based on these two perspectives, is concerned with three major issues: the relationships between researchers and their subjects; theories about truth/reality; and the way in which knowledge is acquired (Snape and Spencer, 2003). The researcher-subject relationship can basically be perceived in two ways. First, social phenomena are independent and unaffected by the acting of the researcher, and thus, sociology can be viewed as objective in its methods and value free[1] in its interpretations. Second, social occurrences are influenced by the fact that they are studied, i.e. there is an interactive relationship between the social world and the researcher. Due to this, researchers cannot hold an objective standpoint, and interpretations are 'value-mediated' (Snape and Spencer, 2003).

The epistemological debate regarding 'truth' goes back to conceptions regarding fundamental differences between the natural and social worlds. The natural sciences claim that the truth can be observed as an independent reality. While the alternative approach states that truth is not an independent reality, and, thus, it can only be determined in a consensual way (Snape and Spencer, 2003).

Finally, knowledge can be acquired in two ways: deduction and induction. The deductive stance is used mostly in the natural sciences. It requires a theory and a hypothesis (or hypotheses) deduced from it. This drives the data collection process and produces the findings. Based on whatever results are obtained, the hypothesis is accepted or rejected and the theory is revised (Bryman, 2001). The inductive approach is quite opposite to the deductive method. In this case, primarily, data are collected or observations are made, then findings are generated. The research comes prior to the theory and theoretical standpoints are generated from the data (May, 2001). In other words, theory is the outcome of research (Bryman, 2001).

In summary, it can be said that the sphere of science can be divided into two major segments: the natural and the social sciences. The paradigm of the natural sciences incorporates the quantification of data and the presence of an objective (outsider) observer who examines and interprets the general regularities of nature in terms of cause and effect relationships. According to this standpoint, 'reality' is independent of humans and their interpretations of it. As a corollary of this underlining of objectivity as the cornerstone of natural science, this approach has been viewed as 'real' or 'hard' science, the singular and only way to acquire scientifically acceptable data and explanations.

While such an approach may seem to coincide with features of the natural sciences, the social sciences, investigating a different environment that is not driven

by stable and general laws, require a different approach and understanding. Accordingly, in the sphere of social sciences one can find the use of qualitative methods, the presence of a subjective observer who is a part of social constructions that s/he is researching. This paradigm asserts that 'social reality' is dissimilar from 'natural reality' and, thus, that it must be examined and understood in a different way. Social reality is constructed by social actors and is open to the interpretation of the individuals who construct it. At this juncture, social reality can only be understood through the eyes of individuals who are parts of it.

Despite the above depicted fundamental differences in the scholarly ways of perceiving reality (ontology) and generating knowledge of it (epistemology), in practice the demarcation line between these strategies is not so definite or clear cut. Thus, to apply such a categorisation may possibly lead to the oversimplification of the complexity and variations of approaches that actually exist within a given discipline (Johnson et al., 1992). Maguire and Young observe that, 'while theorists may favour one of the strategic resolutions outlined [above], they do so in conjunction with, or in opposition to, the issues posed by alternative positions' (2002, p. 13). The dissimilarities and similarities between scientific approaches can create tensions, overlaps, diversity and unity, and can possibly lead to the stabilisation of one scientific concept that may become 'the concept'. Alternativley, they may lead to the emergence of certain anomalies within a dominant paradigm (see, for example, Kuhn, 1996). So the differences between approaches, alternative strategies and their internal shortcomings are to be taken into consideration when preparing for research. 'These are, then, both pulls and pushes in the interrelations between the strategies, which result in particular theorists 'drifting' from one to another' (Johnson et al., 1992, p. 23). This process of 'drifting' is not only an existing feature of theorising, but is also a

desirable part of it (Maguire and Young, 2002), and in order to solve theoretical problems and develop new strategies, sociologists must confront the alternative academic options available (Johnson et al., 1992, see also Mills, 2000).

Having stated the significance of acknowledging alternative theoretical approaches, an introduction to process-sociology will now be provided from a methodological perspective in the section below. This builds upon the above logic and underpins the rationale for selecting this theoretical strategy for the present study.

3.2. Process-Sociology: Methodological Standpoints

Process-sociologists acknowledge the above-mentioned philosophical debates but not wholly support any of the above arguments. Process-sociologists, rather, perceive the key aspects of social reality as social figurations. Sociologists following this position argue that, by acknowledging the sensitive balance of 'involvement' and 'detachment', a melange of objectivity and subjectivity is crucial for understanding and forming knowledge of social 'figurations'. Process-sociologists, while paying attention to the sociology and psychology of knowledge, tend not to be overly concerned about ontology and epistemology as they, in a traditional sense, represent a false dichotomy. For process-sociologists, there are more object-adequate ways of understanding and researching social reality (Bloyce, 2004). Since process-sociologists do not entirely follow any of the above standpoints, it is crucial to discuss some ontological (social figurations), epistemological (homo clausus vs. homines aperti and knowledge development) and methodological (involvement and detachment, theory and evidence, and adequacy of evidence) aspects of process-sociology.

Elias did not attribute too much significance to philosophy since he did not recognise it as a science[2] and, thus, did not think that it could contribute to the

development of our knowledge and understanding of societies (Smith, 2001). Nevertheless, it must be noted that, regardless of the attitude of Elias towards Western philosophy, every system of scientific theory involves a certain number of philosophical assumptions (Smith, 2001, see also Williams and May, 2000). Elias' negative view of philosophy derived from his argument according to which Western philosophy is lacking with regard to grasping social reality as it was mainly focused on the importance and role of 'the individual' as an independent being. In other words, philosophy is 'the conception of the person (in the singular) as the 'subject' of knowledge, as a single thinking mind inside a sealed container from which each one looks out and struggles to fish for knowledge of the 'object' outside in the external world' (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998, p. 33). Other minds are also locked inside their own containers and the main epistemological question this raises is how can these 'trapped' beings ever know what is known by other beings or 'objects'? Elias termed this concept of the 'closed humans' as *homo clauses*.[3] He saw it as involving, among other things, a static duality between object and subject (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998). Elias rejected this approach to understanding human societies and, rather, supported the concept of pluralities of *homines aperti*, i.e. of open people who are bonded together in a variety of ways and who form recognisable (con-)figurations with each other. These (con-)figurations are dynamic and have at their core a stabile balance of power.

By virtue of the above, Elias conceived of the structure of human society as a dense and flexible network of human figurations. Therefore, he criticised Western philosophy to the degree to which it filtered into and contaminated contemporary sociology (see Elias, 1939/2000). As a way of overcoming Western approaches to explaining the nature of society, Elias developed his own concept (Elias, 1978). He

stated that 'given the present state of sociological discussion, there is a specific reason for introducing the concept of 'figuration'' (1978, p. 129). Through the concept of figuration, Elias felt, the complexity of social reality could be better illustrated: 'It makes it possible to resist the socially conditioned pressure to split and polarize our conception of mankind, which has repeatedly prevented us from thinking of people as individuals at the same time as thinking of them as societies' (Elias, 1978, p. 129).

Figurations, in the Eliasian sense, are real and describe societies as human beings living together as parts of complex networks (Burkitt, 1991). The concept of figurations reveals that 'human beings are interdependent, and can only be understood as such...[T]hese figurations are continually in flux, undergoing changes of different orders... [and] that the processes in such figurations have dynamics of their own' (Goudsblom and Mennell, 1998, p. 131). Figurations also involve power balances and are influenced by long-term, largely unplanned processes. Human beings constitute these figurations, creating a flexible lattice-work of tensions and interdependencies between them (Elias, 1978).

Figurations are flexible and fluctuating, and the constructing elements of them, humans, can be best imagined as persons with a given number of valencies or bonding capacities some of which are shared, some of which are unique to particular individuals. Individuals connect to others, making friendships or developing work partnerships, and this constitutes a framework of figurations (Elias, 1978). Bonds can be strong, firm and long lasting, or weak, short and superficial. In other words, some bonds will last longer while others are temporary, and the constant search by human beings for new linkages and the atrophy of old bonds fuel the perpetual change of human figurations. Elias (1978) further explained the nature of figurations via the 'personal pronouns model' and 'game models'. These representations are meant to

help in the interpretation of the network of social figurations and to provide a simplification of social reality (for further details on figurations see Elias' personal pronouns and game models, 1978, pp. 71-103 and 121-128).

Another relevant argument in process-sociology is the way its exponents explain the development of knowledge in general and scientific knowledge in particular. Elias focused on studying the sociology of knowledge and emphasised the historical development of human knowledge (Krieken, 1998). He argued, for example, that 'all scientific knowledge arises out of non-scientific ideas and knowledge' (1978, p. 38)[4] and refered to human knowledge 'as the end product of a process of development that has spanned hundreds, perhaps even thousands of generations' (1978, p. 39). 'Hence the knowledge which people have at any time is derived from, and is a continuation of, a long process of knowledge acquisition of the past' (Elias, 1971, p. 158).

In a similar fashion to Comte, Elias argued that scientific development has gone through three different stages: speculative, metaphysical, and scientific. In the scientific stage, the 'aim of knowledge becomes to find out relationships between actual events. As we express it nowadays, theories are models of observable relationships' (1978, p. 39). Hence, Elias poses the question of how prescientific 'thought and knowledge have developed into scientific ones and of what overall processes of social transformation form the context for this development' (1978, p. 39). Furthermore, Elias argued that most sociological theories of knowledge have been dominated by attempts to unfold ideas and thoughts of knowledge 'without examining the long-term development of knowledge, and its links with other processes of long-term social change' (Krieken, 1998, p. 138). Consequently, Elias (1956, 1971, 1978, 1982) paid particular attention to the long-term historical

development of scientific knowledge and stated that scholars of today stand on the shoulders of preceding generations who had previously generated bodies of knowledge themselves. In fact, Elias stressed the interconnectedness of the development of societies, civilising processes, and the growth of knowledge, and suggested that human knowledge, similar to societies, undergoes processes of development (see Goudsblom and Mennell, 1998). This development, similar to the civilising process, should not be imagined as linear. Rather, it is a sinus curve, involving of different ratios of scientific and non-scientific knowledge at any given time.

Elias perceived the interconnectedness between the development of knowledge and the levels of civilisation of societies via the existing blend of scientific and non-scientific knowledge in thinking of and explaining natural and social events. Depending on the level of civilisation and different social and scientific circumstances the ratio of this blend displays temporal variation. Elias claims that this blend consists of two types of knowledge: scientific and magical-mythical or animistic (non-scientific). Scientific knowledge is mostly present in industrial societies where generations of people have acquired knowledge through evolving scientific methods (Mennell, 1992). On the other hand, animistic knowledge is mostly associated with societies at a lower level of civilisation where people have less control over the forces of nature and are more emotionally involved in interpreting experiences and thinking, which leads to a highly limited capability to control danger (Elias, 1956). These two kinds of knowledge should not be considered as existing separately. On the contrary, they should be understood as two opposing directions of an open knowledge continuum. This means that in industrial societies where scientific knowledge is dominant, one may still encounter individuals who think in highly emotional, non-

scientific ways (Elias, 1956). In a similar vein, not even the least civilised society possesses a purely animistic body of knowledge. Its body of knowledge may be dominated by animisms but at the same time there also must be a blend of calm observations (scientific/detachment) and uncontrolled feelings of experiences (animistic/involvement). Even the earliest, most 'primitive' humans were capable of forming reality-congruent representations of phenomena even though they may have explained and experienced them in magical-mythical terms.

In addition, Elias (1956) observes that the development of scientific knowledge is impeded by, what he termed, 'double-bind' concepts. That is, at an embryonic stage of scientific knowledge development, when the social stock of knowledge mostly consists of animism and people are largely governed by natural events, and are bound by their own emotionality, humans have little chance of controlling their own feelings and manufacturing detached concepts of natural and social events (Elias, 1956). This high degree of personal insecurity, emotionality and involvement prevents people from developing knowledge and explanations of a scientific nature, which could enhance their understanding and control of natural forces. Mennell explains that, according to Elias, the clue to animism lies in:

> The higher level of involvement and emotionality of experience and thinking, and the more limited scope of knowledge, which in turn are linked to a more limited capacity for controlling dangers, which in turn again helps to maintain a high level of involvement and emotionality (1992, p. 167).

This is the vicious circle of the 'double-bind' demonstrating a particular point of difficulty in the continuous development and spread of scientific knowledge.

Nevertheless, this is not the only factor that can impede the development of scientific knowledge. A scientific establishment or hegemony may also prevent a new form of scientific knowledge from emerging or simply delay it. This argument illuminates the power balances and interconnectedness between different scientific

establishments. A scientific establishment could be perceived as 'a group of people who collectively are able to exercise a monopolistic control over resources needed by others, and who both administer a body of knowledge which they inherit from a previous generation and control the transmission of that body of knowledge' (Elias, 1982, p. 40). By virtue of this, Krieken suggests that 'the production of scientific knowledge should thus be regarded as integrally bound up in historically specific relations of power within particular social settings, characterised by fluctuating power ratios between the various groups of scientists and non-scientists' (1998, p. 140).

It has been established that human knowledge consists of a constantly fluctuating blend of scientific and animistic knowledge. It does not develop on a linear scale, and its development is influenced by the 'double bind' concept, the power balance between various scientific establishments/hegemony and, levels of civilisation. At this point, we can conclude that there are similarities between the growth of human knowledge and the development of civilising processes such as 'civilising and growing' phases and 'decivilising and setback or re-progression' phases, but it is not yet completely understood how these phases impact upon one another. One might argue that the development of a civilising process could trigger the growth of scientific human knowledge, while, during a decivilising phases the growth of human knowledge might stagnate or even declines. But it is also possible that a setback in the growth of human knowledge could trigger decivilising phases in the civilising process. This is only a preliminary observation on the interconnectedness between these processes and a more thorough examination is yet to be worked out.

The above argument directs attention towards the concepts of involvement and detachment, 'which [are] central to the account of development of knowledge,

highlighting differences in the relationship and development of magico-mythical and reality-congruent knowledge and the way in which human beings regulate themselves' (Maguire, 1995, p. 12). This concept of involvement and detachment refers to the 'rejection of *both* the concept of 'truth' as absolutely distinct from 'falsity' *and* a relativistic conception of knowledge' (Krieken, 1998, p. 137, italics in original). On the contrary, process-sociologists state that human knowledge and its acquisition necessarily involve a shifting, dynamic blend of involvement and detachment.

Involvement and detachment can be described as an open-ended bipolar scale, along which blends of involvement and detachment are located (Mennell, 1992). Elias argues that there is not total involvement or detachment in a normally functioning society: 'Only small babies, and among adults perhaps only insane people, become involved in whatever they experience with complete abandon to their feeling here and now' (Elias, 1956, p. 226). So, adult behaviour normally lies between the two extremes on the scale of involvement and detachment. Elias further argues that if adult behaviour patterns extend too far in either direction, then social life becomes impossible (Mennell, 1992). It is a sensitive balance that is characteristic of any social group and social situation.[5]

In the case of the natural sciences, objectivity has a long historical tradition and, in fact, the trademark of scientific enquiry is an attitude of detachment (Maguire, 1988, 1995, Maguire and Young, 2002). To paraphrase, 'in the study of physical and biological phenomena, communities of natural scientists have, over time, developed methods of professional and personal restraint that hold their fantasies, wishes and feelings in check' (Maguire, 1995, p. 12). To be detached from the subject(s) of research is not as difficult for natural scientists as it is for researchers dealing with

society. Natural scientists can detach themselves from their subjects as they are not an organic part of what they study. 'The natural scientist who, in studying the behaviour of enzymes or galaxies, does not have to know what it feels like to be one of its constituent parts' (Maguire, 1995, p. 13). On the contrary, social scientists are part of social figurations and are involved in everyday social life. They study social interactions, which they, directly or indirectly, are involved in. Therefore, for them it is much more demanding to manufacture distance from and provide a detached explanation of social phenomena.

In reality, to be fully detached is impossible without severe harm in social life. Moreover, social scientists cannot become overly detached from social reality otherwise they will lose their sensitivity towards and understanding of the structure of social figurations. 'They must, therefore, be both relatively involved and detached to grasp the basic experience of social life' (Maguire, 1995, p. 13). In other words, the process-sociologist must be an organic and functioning part of the society that s/he is investigating (involvement), and, simultaneously, s/he must be capable of standing back as an observer, interpreter (detachment). The knowledge that is created and accumulated by this process of scientific inquiry is applied to gain grater control over natural and social forces. This is what Elias named the 'detour via detachment' (1939/2000, see also Mennell, 1992).

Elias (1983) explained this aspect of involvement and detachment through the example of one of Edgar Allen Poe's (1845) stories, 'The descent into the maelstrom'. In this story three brothers and their boat were caught up in a maelstrom and their chances for survival were insignificant. The first brother was swept overboard and drowned at once. The second brother was full of fear and could not think of any way of escaping. The third brother, in his desperation, could remain calm enough to

distance himself from the events surrounding him and recognised the pattern of the whirlpool. He noticed that objects with a cylindrical shape were descending slower than others. By virtue of this observation, he leapt into a barrel and jumped into the water. His brother could not follow his example as he was (too involved) paralysed with fear and drowned. The third brother, in a barrel, survived, because the whirlpool subsided before he reached the bottom.

By this story, Elias refers to the role of social scientists in understanding and observing social phenomena. Researchers must remain calm and view social occurrences from the distance so as to notice and understand their patterns. He also highlights the difficulty of this critical process, as sometimes it can be quite demanding to detach ourselves from ongoing social happenings and see them from a distance. Elias concludes the study of the surviving fishermen thus:

> He began to think more coolly; and by standing back, by controlling his own fear, by seeing himself as if it were from a distance, like a chessman forming a pattern with other on a board, he managed to turn his thoughts away form himself to the situation in which he found himself. It was then when he recognised the elements in the uncontrollable process which he could use in order to control its condition sufficiently for his own survival (Elias, 1983, p. 43).

The theory of 'involvement' and 'detachment' offers significant insights into the growth of human knowledge. However, Mennell (1992) argues that this critical process does not inevitably advance knowledge in this way. He lists four points that could prevent the formulation of this sort of knowledge: sometimes, the immediate danger is extremely overwhelming and individuals cannot control their fear and create or maintain an adequate measure of detachment. Sometimes the process has gone so far that even finding the solution will not lead to survival and the generation of knowledge. A detached way of thinking will lead to death, in some instances, whereas a sudden, instinct-led, action would have been more advantageous. Ultimately, the

existence of chance is also concerned as an intervening concept. This refers to the fact that people are more likely to escape dangerous situations by luck than by design (Mennell, 1992, cf. Kirk and Miller, 1986). Nevertheless, Mennell (1992) argues that detour behaviour has played an important part in the development of human knowledge, although, it is important to note that not all detour behaviour counts as science. Yet, all scientific knowledge involves a certain level of it.

Another aspect of the concept of 'involvement and detachment' is 'secondary involvement', which Elias (1987) introduced in one of his later works. Kilminster notes that 'this concept was developed in relation to the effect of realism achieved by Renaissance perspective painters such as Masaccio, van Eyck and Velazquez' (2004, p. 33). The considerably high degree of detachment those painters achieved allowed them to realistically recreate certain aspects of the society they lived in, which, in turn, made possible for viewers of those paintings to engage with the societies of that era. Consequently, viewers became involved, although not directly, without physically experiencing that part of history. Kilminster explains that:

> Through detachment those painters achieved the effect of realistic perspective on the canvas, something that came to be supplemented later by a secondary involvement, whereby viewers of the paintings become involved in the aesthetic qualities of the ensemble of details assembled in the paintings (2004, p. 33).

However, it must be noted that the degree of detachment those painters mastered did not embody an emotionless and calculating rationality. In fact, it would be a misconception of secondary involvement to 'equate detachment with emotionless rationality and involvement with affect and feeling' (Kilminster, 2004, p. 34). Loyal and Quilley further argue that secondary involvement allows 'aspects of interpersonal competition and even conflict, actually to facilitate the expansion of scientific knowledge' (2005, p. 847), reflecting an intimate relationship between knowledge and

human interest (Elias, 1971). Dunning summarises the scientific significance of secondary involvement as follows:

> Through a process of what he [Elias] called 'secondary involvement' we should use our more reality congruent knowledge to devise a more realistic and effective policy for dealing with the problem that was previously presented (2004, p. 4).

Elias' 'methodological' discussions are not only concerned with the gap between the natural and social sciences, and their connections to fields of research. Neither are they focused exclusively on the question of subjectivity versus objectivity. Rather, they are concerned with the historical development of scientific knowledge and the sensitive balance of involvement and detachment. Elias tried to explain all of this through his synthesised approach that mainly relied on three great thinkers: Comte, Durkheim, Marx, Weber, Mannheim and Freud (see Mennell, 1992).

Although the methodological implications of the involvement-detachment concept are crucial in unfolding key sociological issues, there are other methodological matters that must be discussed regarding process-sociology. One of the key terms in understanding the concepts of process-sociology is 'balance'. Elias argues that power balances are crucial in the operation of social figurations (see, for example, Krieken, 1998). This means that at the core of all changing figurations there is a fluctuating balance of power which is characteristic of the flow of every figuration (Elias, 1939/2000). Moreover, there is a sensitive balance involved in the concept of involvement and detachment which suggests that in maintaining a balance between being too involved or too detached, one can better understand the adequacy of one's conceptions (Krieken, 1998).

Elias highlighted another significant balance-related conception that should be noted that between 'theory and evidence'. This is a fundamental issue, since both in the formulation and execution of research, the social scientist is confronted with the

relationship between theory and evidence (Elias, 1978; Maguire, 1988; Maguire and Young, 2002). Process-sociologists reject both the imposition of grand theory onto evidence and the empiricism that lacks theoretical insight (Goudsblom, 1977, Maguire, 1988). Maguire and Young suggest that 'the process of theory formation and empirical inquiry are interwoven and invisible. A constant interplay between the mental operations directed at theoretical synthesis and at empirical particulars is part of the ongoing craft of the sociologist' (2002, p. 15). By this, Elias (1978) meant that, in order to avoid the mutual contamination of theory and evidence, sociologists must find a balance between the use of theory and abstract empiricism. This 'commits researchers to a rather agile life in which they must work on the empirical without dominating it with theory and, the same time, develop insights firmly informed by evidence' (Abrams, 1982, cited in Maguire and Young, 2002, p. 15). This results in the 'acquisition of an uninterrupted two-way traffic between two layers of knowledge: that of general ideas, theories or models and that of observations and perceptions of specific events' (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998, p. 232).

Another methodological concern is the problem of the 'adequacy' of evidence revealing another shortcoming of sociological research that derives from sources other than those discussed here. Weaknesses in existing sociological investigations can occur by virtue of the source materials being utilised, or from the interpretation placed on evidence (Maguire, 1988). Regardless of how the evidence has been gleaned, there is always a need to question how evidence was/is collected (Maguire, 1988, Maguire and Young, 2002). The way evidence was/is gathered needs to be carefully considered to avoid a distorted conception of the making of social processes. With data, the researcher must consider that there is no such thing as innocent text. Nor do 'the facts' speak for themselves. Maguire and Young provide an explanation for this:

> By necessity, analyses have to view the past through the 'narrow' and 'misty lens' of what particular writers thought, felt, and wrote, the researcher is still required and...*able* to asses how blurred the image actually is. In some respects, the task is to subvert or escape from the ways of thinking and feeling in which the documents were conceived. The aim is to provide an account that is more adequate and more consistent, both internally and in relation to other areas of knowledge, than previous accounts (2002, p. 17, italics in original).

That is, the researcher must take into account certain facts regarding the evidence used and the nature of the original information source under analysis. This can be done through focusing on both the level of participation of the narrator in the particular event and his/her relation to the subjects observed. The rationale for tracing this back is to evaluate the possible distortion of the described event by the insider or outsider observer. As Maguire observes:

> The 'insider's' account will provide, sometimes inadvertently, the minutiae and emotional resonance of what is being examined; the 'outsider's' account is likely to provide a more detached view but may be distorted as a result of, for example, class bias or lack of detailed knowledge (1988, p. 191)

Following this, the researcher should bear in mind the above possibilities and be aware of the contamination of evidence through which s/he can provide a more objective and adequate account of the social event or social structure being investigated.

An attempt has been made here to explore some key sociological matters discussed by process-sociologists. In this endeavour, some fundamental concepts of process-sociology have been discussed and examined through a range of conceptions. Social figurations were discussed, which are real, dense, interconnected and flexible socially constructed networks of human beings. Also considered was the misperception of social reality by using a homo clausus model and the way to understand the operation of social figurations via the concept of homines aperti. The development and composition of human knowledge was outlined that consists of both scientific and animistic components and grows following a sinus pattern. Moreover,

the issue of involvement and detachment was introduced that highlights the position of individuals in general and the researcher in particular in social figurations. Finally, the relation between theory and evidence, emphasising the equal distribution of them in sociological research, and the adequacy of evidence were discussed, pointing out the need to question how evidence was/is collected. In conclusion, these ideas can be said to characterise the methodological spine of process-sociology and provide the framework of this study.

II. METHODS

Since process-sociology does not fundamentally reject or prefer one research method to another (Bloyce, 2004), the empirical part of this thesis engages with various methods in order to provide a deep and, as far as possible, reality-congruent analysis of Hungarian football and its migration figurations. This type of research strategy could be described as triangulation,[6] which is employed here so as to strive for higher validity. The methods underpinning the empirical part of this research will be discussed below, along with some practical observations with regard to the methods applied in the Hungarian football context.

3.3. VERBAL DATA: SEMI-STRUCTURED - LONG INTERVIEWS

Various types of interviews are used in qualitative research for generating data. In general, in an interview conversation, 'the researcher listens to what people themselves tell about their lived world, hears them express their views and opinions in their own words, [and] learns about their views' (Kvale, 1996). Tim May also highlights the importance of this method when he notes that 'interviews yield rich insight into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings' (2001, p. 120). Interviewing is an active data collection technique that gathers information about social interactions through interaction between an

interviewer and an interviewee. There are four major types of interview used in social research. These are structured, semi-structured, unstructured, and group interviews. Here, a version of semi-structured interview, the long interview (see McCracken, 1988), will be discussed as the preferred data collecting procedure.

The semi-structured interview can be interpreted as falling between structured and unstructured interviews. It possesses a certain structure, i.e. the questions are normally specified (see Appendix 13-18), but at the same time the interviewer is free to engage in conversation beyond the outlined structure (May, 2001). 'This enables the interviewer to have more latitude to *probe* beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewee' (May, 2001, p. 123, italics in original). In a similar fashion, Bryman (2001) notes that, despite having an interview guide, questions that are not included in the guide may still be asked if the interviewer notices something s/he wants to inquire into further. Subjects may be given time to explain, clarify and elaborate their responses.

The long interview is a type of semi-structured interview and possesses all the above-described features of a semi-structured interview. Further to this, it enables the researcher to gain a deep insight into social phenomena without extensive and intimate involvement in the life of the community under investigation. McCracken defines the long interview as follows:

> The long interview departs from participant observation insofar as it is intended to accomplish certain ethnographic perspectives without committing the investigator to intimate, repeated, and prolonged involvement in the life and community of the respondent. It departs from [focus] group methods of qualitative research...insofar as it is conducted between the investigator and a single respondent. It departs from the "depth" interview practised by the psychological inquirer insofar as it is concerned with cultural categories and shared meanings rather than individual affective states (1988, p. 7).

The long interview allows researchers to achieve the above through a 'four-step method of inquiry' and the concept of 'familiarisation' (involvement) and

'defamiliarisation' (detachment) (see McCracken, 1988, pp. 33-34). This model outlines the necessary steps for researchers to prepare, conduct and analyse interviews (for a discussion see McCracken, 1988, pp. 29-48).

3.3.1. Data Documentation

Research data must be recorded and logically structured for analysis and testability. In the case of interviews, an important part of this process is to record the spoken words and then to transcribe them (Flick, 2002). Uwe Flick defines three major phases for data documentation. These are: 'recording the data, editing the data (transcription) and construction of a 'new' reality in and by the produced text' (2002, p. 166).

Data recording was conducted via a digital voice recorder device that records conversations directly on a memory card (SmartMedia) by creating a (wav) file. This device requires preloaded software (Olympus DSS Player 2000) that is an aid for organising and editing voice data. This voice recording solution provides high voice quality and easy access to data. Also, due to the capacity of the memory card (32 MB), roughly 5 hours of good voice quality interview data can be uninterruptedly recorded. This eliminates the problem of disrupting the flow of interviews by switching off the recorder and turning over or exchanging audiotapes.

The transcribing procedure represents the next stage of the data documentation. The interviews were mostly conducted in Hungarian and this was the language of the verbatim transcriptions. The relevant parts of the transcripts were then translated into English. When translating texts from one language into another, it is crucial for the translator to be familiar with, not only the written/formal forms of the languages in use but also the colloquial forms. For instance, Bryman observes, that 'it is not simply the formal language that must be understood [but]...it is also very often the 'argot' –

the special uses of words and slang that are important to penetrate that culture' (2001, p. 328). Some of the difficulties encountered during the data collection and translation procedures are discussed under the heading: 'Empirical observations on conducting interviews in Hungary'.

The next phase is the documentation of data - a specific way of organising material -, which is basically the preparation of raw data for analysis. Documentation has to be structured and exact. Flick argues that documentation has to be:

> Exact enough to reveal structures in...materials and it has to permit approaches from different perspectives. The organisation of the data has the main aim of documenting the case in its specificity and structure. This allows the researcher to reconstruct...and to analyse...its functions, the meaning underlying it, [and] the parts that characterise it' (2002, p. 174).

That is, through documentation, the researcher prepares empirical material for interpretive procedures.

After conducting interviews, the data must be interpreted and analysed. There are five different methods for analysing interviews (Kvale, 1996): meaning condensation, meaning categorisation, narrative structuring, meaning interpretation and generating meaning through ad-hoc methods. Meaning categorisation is the preferred method that is used in this thesis to analyse the transcribed interviews. This method reduces long sentences into shorter categories, and thus, renders data handling and interpretation easier. Kvale describes the above method the following way:

> *Meaning categorisation* implies that the interview is coded into categories. Long statements are reduced to simple categories..., indicating occurrence and non-occurrence of a phenomenon...Categorisation can thus reduce and structure a large text into a few tables and figures (1996, p. 192, italics in original).

By virtue of the large number of interview subjects in this study and the length and depth of the interviews, there was a great amount of data generated which needed to be processed and analysed. The method of meaning categorisation helped to reduce and structure the transcribed raw data.

In consequence, a systematic process of analysis was established, and an interview protocol sheet developed. This sheet (see Appendix 21) indicates the fundamental categories of analysis, under which a certain number of sub-categories were identified. Some of the sub-categories were established prior to the interview analysis, based on the semi-structured interview schedules, but new categories also emerged and were taken into account. This mode of analysis indicates a melange of both deductive and inductive approaches underpinned by process-sociological ideas in terms of avoiding the false dichotomies that are prevalent in social research. Due to the fact that most of the interviews were conducted in Hungarian, first, the interviews were analysed, then the contents of the sub-categories were translated into English, in such a way as to preserve the original meanings of Hungarian phrases.

The interview analysis was carried out in the following way: relevant parts, sentences of the interview text were electronically moved verbatim to the appropriate sub-categories of analysis on the protocol sheet. The instances in each and every category were identified with a code number referring to the particular transcript and page number. For instance, '10p5' refers to the fifth page of the tenth transcript. Examples which belong to more than one sub-category were cross-referenced. A typical protocol sheet used in this project is shown in Appendix 21.

3.3.2. Issues with Interviews

When conducting interviews as a data collecting procedure, the researcher must acknowledge some of the problems s/he is likely to encounter. One of the problematic issues in conducting interviews is that of the interviewer-interviewee relationship. Researchers have to establish a good working relationship with different people, which can be demanding (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003). 'A good working relationship is achieved where the researcher seeks to put the participant at ease and to

create a climate of trust' (Legard et al., 2003, p. 143). The researcher has to gain the trust of the interviewee, which can be facilitated through creating a friendly and open atmosphere. This is a crucial consideration, in terms of obtaining rich information. For instance, the presence of a voice-recording device may prove to be a hindrance to the quality of information offered by the interviewees.

Another issue is the misinterpretation of the interviewees' responses. Sometimes the researcher's desire to prove her/his point or to hear what s/he really wants to, can lead to the misinterpretation of the voice data. This bias, being obtrusive, can be the direct consequence of the idiosyncrasy of the researcher. Therefore, the researcher must keep this problematic issue in mind and try to eliminate it by way of asking the same question in different ways.

Taking notes during the interviews can contribute to the richness of the data collection. Through this method, specific information can be documented that would not be otherwise recorded by the voice recording device, such as signs of non-verbal communication of the interviewees and the personal thoughts of the researcher. However, the extravagant use of note-taking can disrupt the flow of interviews that may break the fragile relationship between the participants. Hence, it can be concluded that note-taking is important during the process of interviews, but it should not be allowed to distract the flow of the dialogue.

3.3.3. Empirical Observations on Conducting Interviews in Hungary

The interviews took place at the Hungarian FA and in four cities (Budapest, Debrecen, Sopron, Siofok) at three professional male football clubs. The sample included the key officials of the Hungarian FA, and managers, coaches and players of the selected football clubs. In addition to this, at a later date, a football agent was interviewed. At the Hungarian FA, interviews took place with the President, General

Secretary and two media personnel who represented the official side of Hungarian football and migration related issues. At club level, three managers, three head-coaches, eighteen footballers and one agent were interviewed (see Appendix 20).

The managers provided another aspect for exploration, the executive side of Hungarian football and migration. The perspective of the head-coaches appeared to be a rather unique one since they are the linkage between the management and the players, and, thus, they have insight into both football circles, those of the players as well as of the executive board. Furthermore, by virtue of their age, the coaches who were interviewed were brought up in the heyday of communism and some of them still symbolise that way of thinking. The sample of footballers included four foreign and fourteen Hungarian players with migratory experience. These footballers were intended to reveal two other aspects of the migration figurations of Hungarian football. The interviewed agent had fulfilled various functions in Hungarian football life. He had been not only a football agent, but also the chief administrator of a first division club. Thus he could provide valuable insights not only into the life of a Hungarian football agent, but also into the structure of another Hungarian first division football club.

At a later stage of the study, it was attempted to arrange further interviews with Hungarian footballers who had moved to the UK after Hungary's EU accession. More particularly, five Hungarian players were contacted via letter sent to Crystal Palace FC, Livingston FC, Tottenham Hotspur FC and West Bromwich Albion FC, but no replies were received. A few weeks after the first attempt, a follow-up letter was sent to the same footballers achieving identical results. Additionally, several Hungarian football agents were contacted via e-mail, inquiring as to whether they would complete a brief e-mail questionnaire concerning migratory issues. One reply

containing a promise to respond was received from an agent, but this was never fulfilled. This experience further highlights the problematic nature of obtaining access to qualitative data with regard to the migration and agent networks of elite footballers.

Another general problem with conducting interviews was to arrange appointments with the subjects. It was a common occurrence that interviews had to be rescheduled both at the FA and club levels. In Budapest, it happened on several occasions that pre-arranged interviews were cancelled because of the unforeseen obligations of the players. At one time, the team had to fulfil a sponsor commitment (a photo shoot) and all the players left after the afternoon training session. Another time, six of the team members were about to receive new cars from one of the sponsors and the head-coach cancelled a training session. This was a controversial phenomenon as the training session was cancelled two days before an important game where two 'old rivals' (Ferencvaros vs. Debrecen) met and the Budapest team suffered a severe humiliation (0-5). It must be noted that this kind of administrative difficulty revealed a type of disorganisation and a highly finance-driven environment where the 'words of sponsors' maybe more powerful than football achievements.

Another common problem was the initial suspicion of the subjects towards the nature of the interviews. The purpose of the interviews and interviewer had to be precisely and carefully explained in order to gain cooperation and confidence. Some of the subjects at club level indicated a visible degree of anxiety when it was mentioned that the conversation would be recorded. It was asked on several occasions whether it was necessary to have a voice-recording device present. In these particular situations the interviewees were assured that the discussion materials would be handled with full confidentiality and would only be used for academic purposes. Nevertheless, some of the interviewees still showed some signs of nervousness during

the first 5-10 minutes of discourse. This phenomenon had been foreseen and, thus, in order to release this sort of tension, all the subjects first were asked to introduce themselves and their career in brief (a grand-tour type question). Whilst doing so, the subjects regained their confidence and, in most cases, appeared to forget about the presence of the voice-recording device, and spoke relatively freely (in regard to opening interviews see McCracken, 1988).

The most difficult task was to gain the confidence of the head-coaches. Two of them demonstrated a high level of distrust and unwillingness to discuss certain aspects of Hungarian football and football migration. For instance, one of the head-coaches, after a politically-laden question was posed (Do you think that football still has certain political functions?), did not even want to open his mouth to answer the question, and only used body language (hand signals) to indicate that he was not discussing politically related issues. The same coach, a few minutes after finishing the interview, asked to change some of the things he had said about the present conditions of youth-development, which were, in a sense, politically less provocative. Another head-coach, during the interview, displayed uneasiness and stated that he had seen through the questions and had realised the hidden purposes of them. Interestingly enough, he never expressed what he thought those hidden meanings were. Despite reassuring him that there was not any hidden purpose, and that all the aims had been revealed, he did not seem to be convinced and remained distant. He was reluctant to give robust answers and, after transcribing his interview, it is apparent that during the course of the interview his answers became shorter and shorter. The last few interview questions were only answered by a few words.

Another recurring problem of the interviews was the language issue. This could be divided into two sub-sections: translating the interviews from English into

Hungarian and conducting interviews with foreign, non-Hungarian, footballers. Both of these issues were acknowledged prior to actually conducting the interviews. However, the real difficulties were fully manifested when theory was put into practice.

Bearing in mind the fact that the Magyar language is not a universal one, neither is it considered to be an easy one, and only a certain number of people speak it, it was presupposed that it might be challenging to conduct interviews with migrant footballers. The uniqueness of the Magyar language, which was a major source of difficulties in terms of locating proper subjects, has been described by Vardy as follows:

> The most distinctive features of these languages [such as Hungarian] is their agglutinative character, that is, their reliance upon prefixes and suffixes, instead of prepositions. This agglutinative characteristic gives birth to such construction as *szent* = saint, *szent-ség* = sanctity, *szent-ség-ed* = your sanctity, *szent-ség-e-id-del* = with your sanctity, and even *megSZENTségtelenithetetlenségeddel* = with your ability to withstand desanctification. All the syllables are connected to form a single word (1989a, p. 258, italics in original).

This distinct feature of the Hungarian language considerably reduced the number of interviewable subjects available.

Also, taking into consideration the composition of the group of foreign players in Hungarian football at the time of this study, the following things must be noted: most of the foreign footballers came to Hungary from Eastern-European post-communist countries (see Chapter 5) and the official languages of those countries are not universal ones either. It was hoped that the players would speak either Magyar or English, but it became a fundamental problem to find foreign players who met the above criteria. Most of the foreign players possessed only a minimal level of English or Magyar. This is hardly enough to get by in social circumstances, but sufficient to play football (They speak what could be termed 'Football Hungarian'). This

phenomenon limited and influenced the selection of subjects. For example, there were two foreign players in the football team of Sopron, but neither of them had acquired a sufficient level of Magyar or English and, thus, interviews could not be conducted with them. In total, four foreign footballers were interviewed. Two of the interviews were conducted in English, one in Hungarian and the fourth one in Croatian through an interpreter.

Even for players who demonstrated a good knowledge of English or Magyar, some of the questions had to be rephrased since they were not familiar with certain words or expressions, or simply just did not understand the meaning of the questions. Moreover, it must be highlighted that most of the interview questions were not what could be called 'usual journalistic-type' questions. Some of the players had problems understanding and answering them, regardless of their nationality and level of Magyar or English. This was due to the fact that they had never thought about the questions that were raised in such a systematic way. It was not unusual for the players to answer that they did not understand the core of some of the questions and in these particular situations, the questions had to be expressed differently.

Basically, two concepts were recurrent in terms of demands for further and more indepth explanation. These were the notions of 'national identity' and 'culture'. In order to provide a realistic picture of the nature of this problem in terms of the difficulty of translating certain thoughts from one language to another, the explanation by Elias of the '*Sociogenesis of the Antithesis Between* Kultur *and* Zivilisation *in German Usage*' (1939/2000, p. 5, italics in original) can be used. The reason for applying the above concept is that the usage of the German word '*Kultur*' similar to how its Magyar equivalent '*kultúra*' is used in the Hungarian context. Hence, the

reasoning developed by Elias can shed light on certain aspects of translating a concept from one cultural context to another.

Elias (1939/2000) argued that the German use of the word 'culture/Kultur' differs from the manner of its English and French usage. He states that 'the word through which Germans interpret themselves... and their own being, is *Kultur*...The German concept of *Kultur* refers essentially to intellectual, artistic and religious facts..., on the one side, and political, economic, and social facts, on the other side' (1939/2000, p. 6, italics in original). By virtue of this, for example, the concept materialised in '*kulturell*', '*kulturált*' (highbrow), cannot exactly be translated into English or French (Elias, 1939/2000). Since the Magyar language and context use the notion of 'culture' similarly to what has been observed by Elias with the Germans, the subjects had the tendency to misunderstand the above concept. Therefore, the notion of 'cultural difference' had to be unfolded and explained through other expressions such as 'difference in behaviour', 'difference in habits' and 'difference in mentality'.

The difficulty of the notion of 'national identity' derives from the fact that the word 'identity' is not commonly used in Hungary. In the Magyar language the word 'identitás' does exist and possesses the same meaning as its English equivalent. However, this does not belong amongst those words and concepts that would be used in everyday dialogue. Thus, the interviewer was often asked to explain the meaning of this concept. The notion of 'national identity' was translated in three different ways - 'nemzeti identitás', 'nemzeti azonosság' and 'nemzeti érzés'('nemzeti' means 'national', 'identitás' and 'azonosság' means 'identity' and 'érzés' stands for 'feeling) - in order to clarify the original meaning of the English concept when necessary. In this regard, a particularly interesting situation occurred with one of the players. In the middle of the interview a question was raised about the concept of national identity

(How has your sense of national and cultural identity been affected?). The player suddenly fell into silence as if he was having deep thoughts, but, in reality, he did not understand the question, and was too proud to admit that. Thus, after a few seconds he came up with an inappropriate response. Following upon this, the 'nemzeti identitás' part of the question was replaced with 'nemzeti érzés' and a more relevant answer was soon expressed. This example also indicates that the researcher must be a highly sensitive and constant observer of even the slightest changes in the subjects' verbal and nonverbal communication patterns in order to extract as much information as possible.

3.4. Using Questionnaires in the Hungarian Football Context

As a part of the data collection, two forms of questionnaire were developed, one for Hungarians and another for foreigners (see Appendix 9 and 11). This were to be given to the footballers prior to the interviews. The questionnaires were intended to provide a general overview of the circumstances of Hungarian and foreign male footballers in Hungary with regard to migration related issues, and to generate a quantitative data set in order to facilitate a more complete survey of the migration figurations. The questionnaire was developed in English and then translated into Magyar (see Appendix 10 and 12). According to the data collection plan, after receiving the completed questionnaires the semi-structured interviews would take place. However, unfortunately, real life circumstances in the Hungarian pro football sphere, obscured the pre-organised research preparations and the purpose of the questionnaires. The obstacles encountered are briefly introduced below.

The failure to gain data through questionnaires stemmed mainly from the reluctance and suspicion of management at the football clubs visited. First, officials of Ferencvaros Football Club were asked to distribute the questionnaires among the

players. A promise was received from a club representative to this effect. However, even after a long and detailed explanation, he did not seem to understand why it was necessary to collect data both via questionnaires and interviews. Finally, it came to light that none of the Ferencvaros players received any of the questionnaires since the club management did not think that they would complete and return any of them. Unfortunately, the researcher was not allowed to distribute the questionnaires personally and was only notified about this decision weeks after the first visit.

The next team to be visited was the Matav-Sopron Football Club. Prior to the actual meeting with the team manager, there had been numerous phone conversations and several assurances had been made by him in terms of interviews and meetings. These usually remained unfulfilled. Nevertheless, after two weeks of continuous negotiations, the club manager finally set time aside for an interview. After meeting the club manager of Matav-Sopron, he appeared to be a helpful person and tried to contribute to the research a great deal. He even put himself into a conflict situation with the head-coach who prohibited the use of questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews with the club players. Therefore, the questionnaires could not be distributed in this club and the interviews had to be conducted without the approval of the head-coach.

The management and the players of the third football club (Debreceni Vasutas Sport Club - DVSC) were fully co-operative. However, by that time, it was realised that a survey type of data collection could not work in the Hungarian football environment and, thus, it was decided that attention should only be paid to interviews. Therefore, the majority of the interviews were conducted with the players of the DVSC.

3.5. QUANTITATIVE DATA: THE MIGRATION OF HUNGARIAN FOOTBALLERS

In mapping the migration patterns of professional male footballers in and out of Hungary, a set of quantitative data was collected covering the 12-year period between 1991 and 2003. The data were collected from The European Football Yearbook (1991-2003) and illustrate the number and nationality of foreign professional footballers playing in Hungary together with the number of Hungarian players in the top divisions of other UEFA countries (see Chapter 5). Numerous attempts were alsomade to extend the length of the time period under examination and it was intended to gather information covering the last ten years of communist Hungary (1980-1990) in terms of the migration of footballers in and out of the country. This data set was, then, to be contrasted and compared with the data set stemming from the post-communist/pre-EU era of Hungary.

As part of the data collection procedure, the Hungarian FA, FIFA and UEFA were contacted by mail (see Appendix 6, 7 and 8). The Hungarian FA granted permission to search its archives and the organisation was visited during the autumn of 2003. The archives of the Hungarian FA demonstrated some level of disorganisation. Even staff members responsible for the archives did not know whether they had the required information. Nonetheless, the archives were searched and it was established that there was insufficient information available. After visiting the Hungarian FA, letters were sent both to FIFA and UEFA regarding information covering the same time period (1980-1990). Both of these organisations responded and stated that they did not possess the required data in their archives. It was observed that both of the organisations appeared to be helpful and FIFA granted permission for searching its archives. Nevertheless, the data collection procedure was, unfortunately,

unsuccessful and the desired information regarding the migration of Hungarian footballers in the communist era could not be obtained.

It must be noted that the communist and post-communist/pre-EU eras cover significant phases in the political, cultural and economic development of Hungary. Hence, it can be sociologically interesting to observe the metamorphosis of the Hungarian sport system, in general, and football, in particular, during the years of communism and of the following transition period, which falls between the collapse of the Soviet Union (1989) and Hungary's EU accession (2004). It would accordingly have been relevant and interesting to generate data sets from both epochs so as to shed light on the fundamental changes in sport, in general, and in football, in particular, have gone through since 1989. Unfortunately, this sort of information regarding the migrations of Hungarian footballers in the 1980s appeared unobtainable (for further details see Chapter 4).

3.6. SUMMARY

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to outline and discuss a range of methodological issues which underpin the specific research procedures used in this project. Based on previous discussions, this thesis is anchored in a process-sociological approach. Thus, in taking this theoretical perspective into account, the research methods employed here provide the prospect of obtaining a high degree of reality-congruent knowledge in the field of globalisation and labour migration.

This research is grounded in a process-sociological approach that emphasises the interdependence between theorising and empirical research. It also highlights the self-reflexivity of the researcher through the concepts of 'social figurations', 'knowledge development', 'involvement and detachment', and 'theory and evidence'. In this way, it emphasises the importance of understanding social actors as parts of

interdependent social figurations and reinforces the necessity of a more detached observer who is more aware of his/her own role in the research process, both, as a social actor and researcher. It also reinforces the relevant and fine balance between theory and evidence that must be borne in mind when formulating and carrying out sociological research.

Since this study investigates the network of migration figurations in Hungarian professional football and understands these, through global and local circumstances, as interdependent, flexible social structures undergoing constant changes, the way process-sociology perceives the nature of social reality is considered to be one of the most adequate approaches in unfolding the focal points of this study. Moreover, those changes are best mapped out via a historical understanding in order to shed light on (i) the state of flux of the migration figurations and (ii) on those factors that (have) contributed to this constant state of transformation. Therefore, bearing in mind the theory-evidence interconnection, this study rests fundamentally on the cornerstones of process-sociology and being both theory and evidence driven.

In addition, the data collection procedures and methods used in this study have been discussed. In order to shed light on the issue of the migration of Hungarian footballers, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Hungarian and foreign professional footballers, together with the officials who are involved in the migration processes. The collected data were rigorously analysed with the main goal of mapping the in- and out-migration patterns in Hungarian male professional football.

Some observations have also been made in this chapter regarding the problem of carrying out interviews and using questionnaires in the Hungarian football context, and collecting archive data on the migration of footballers in general. It has been revealed that questionnaires were non-functional in terms of being tools for collecting

data in the Hungarian football environment. It has also been noted that both expected and unexpected language difficulties came to light during the empirical phase which required to be managed in a responsive way. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that information concerning the migrations of Hungarian footballers in the 1980s could not be retrieved because of the lack of official databases.

Notes

[1] Williams and May (2000) argue that value freedom is unobtainable, and only a few would disagree that all research is based on certain sets of values, but this should not prevent scientific investigations from being objective.

[2] This might have been the influence of Marx on Elias when he observed the following regarding philosophers: 'Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it' (Marx, 1924/1998, p. 571).

[3] The concept of homo clausus investigates the question of the existence of an external reality and ponders upon whether it exists or can be known at all. Elias explains this notion as 'people [who] see themselves broadly as fundamentally independent individual beings, as windowless monads, as isolated 'subjects', to whom the whole world, including all the people, stands in the relationship of an 'external world'' (1985, p. 52, see also Elias, 1978, p. 15). In modern societies, such as Western Europe, people feel that 'their own self', their 'true identity', is something locked away 'inside them', severed from all other people and things 'outside' (Elias, 1939/2000, p. 475). This pre-given shell of thinking cannot be broken through by the being inside of it (Elias, 1939/2000). Hence, one can never be sure of the existence of others since others are also distorted and bounded by this pre-set structure of one's own reason (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998).

[4] For Elias, sociology emerging from philosophy was an example of this process of historical development of human knowledge.

[5] In regard to conducting interviews through the concept of involvement and detachment, see McCracken (1988).

[6] Triangulation entails using more than one method or data source in order to achieve greater confidence in the findings (see Bryman, 2001, p. 274). The employment of a number of methods ensures the best chance for achieving validity (Jary and Jary, 2000, p. 646).

CHAPTER FOUR

HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL, MIGRATION AND SOCIETY

This chapter has three main purposes. First, it provides a brief historical overview of the development of Hungarian football. Its importance lies in the fact that work of this kind has not yet been conducted in English. There have only been a few books published in English which discuss certain phases of the development of Hungarian football. In particular, the post-World War II period has enjoyed elevated attention due to the international success of the Hungarian national football team in the 1950s. Second, this section is designed to be a prelude to and an aid for understanding current migrations in Hungarian football. Third and finally, as one of the fields of Hungarian area studies, a brief overview of migration patterns in Hungary will be provided that will shed light on general Hungarian related migration patterns over the last century.

I. A HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL

In this section, the development of Hungarian football will be discussed in terms of how it has been entangled with the politics, economy and culture of Hungary. It will also be illustrated to what degree these factors impacted on the development of football and shaped its progress. In order to represent the development of modern Hungarian football, its history is discussed below in eight interlinking sub-sections.

4.1. The Beginnings (1870s - 1901)

Aspects of the germinal phase of Hungarian football appear to be rather blurred due to the lack of historical evidence and to varying historical interpretations. For instance, it is still not clear who 'smuggled' the first football into Hungary or when this act occurred. Handler (1985) and Hoffer and Thaly (2000) state that it took place in 1896 and was carried out by Karoly Lowenrosen who was a globetrotter and who

'emigrated to England a few years earlier, returned to his native land and placed a ball on display at the Millennial Exhibition' (Handler, 1985, p. 52). Komaromi (2003) asserts that Laszlo Kosztovics, a Hungarian student, after visiting several schools in England, brought the first football to Hungary in 1879, and made an attempt to establish football in Szentendre (a town in Hungary). The Hungarian Sport Museum (1997) argues that the first football was brought to Hungary in 1875 by Miksa Esterhazy, an attaché of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Regardless of the varying opinions and lack of evidence concerning the date of arrival of the first football in Hungary, it can still be observed that football was present and played, often without any structures and rules in Hungary before 1897 (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000).

The year 1897, especially, appears to be crucial in the history of Hungarian football. In fact, this year could be named the year of birth of Hungarian football (see Hoffer and Thaly, 2000, p. 16). This was the year when the first football team was created. It was called the Budapest Gymnastics Club (BGC). This was also the year in which the first public football match took place, when the first international match was organised between Austria and Hungary and the year in which people started paying entrance fees for attending football matches. Furthermore, later that year, football began to filter into the public sphere and diffused from the capital to some of the rural areas. This process was combined with the phenomenon of newly emerging football teams as part of already existing sport clubs (e.g. Polytechnic University Athletics and Football Club (MAFC) and 3rd District Gymnastics and Fencing Association). In 1898, the number of football clubs further increased and rudimentary football matches began to take place all around the country in towns such as Eperjes, Szabadka, Baja, Halas and Zenta, and Hungary played against Austria in Vienna for the first time (Komaromi, 2003). One year later, the Ferencvaros Gymnastics Club

(FTC) was founded. It still exists, and is one of the most influential football clubs of recent times.

Football events at the turn of the century did not aid the development of football in Hungary because of an unfortunate game between the Hungarian Athletics Club (MAC) and the Berliners that resulted in serious injuries to several of the players on both sides. As a reaction to this, it was proposed by Ágoston Del Medico (a Budapest city council member) that football should be banned from all the schools (Komaromi, 2003). Most of the schools supported this proposal and football became a 'public-enemy'. Handler notes that football was perceived as '"a sport for wild men"... [by] some members of the Parliament' (1985, p. 40). This led to a fierce debate at the Budapest General Assembly held in June 1900 that ended in favour of the existence of football. The question of football was even brought to the MPs' attention and 'only the customary snail's pace of the parliamentary proceedings prevented them from adopting a proposal to ban it' (Handler, 1985, pp. 40-41).

However, it would be inaccurate to state that one violent football game could incite such hostile feelings toward the presence of football in Hungary. On the contrary, Handler (1985) argues that this aversion to football in the turn of the 19th century derived chiefly from two apprehensions, a real and an imagined one. The real problem was created by the tension between the nature of football and the level of tolerance for violence of the Hungarian upper stratum. This was the result of an increasing monopolisation of violence in social relations by the upper stratum (see Elias on the monopoly mechanism, 1939/2000). Handler illustrates this peculiar situation as follows:

> In its simplest and purest form the ingredients of soccer consist of a pitch of land, four piles of clothes to create the illusion of goalposts and two teams of equal size, kicking a mostly round object made of small pieces of cloth twisted around or sewn together. Small wonder that discriminating gentleman, for

> whom certain sports were pastimes of questionable taste and limited to the socially unprivileged, objected to the sounds and sights of soccer. Their sensibilities, accustomed to the refined, graceful, quiet elegance that tennis and riding imparted, were offended by a bunch of sweaty and noisy men running up and down on an ill-defined field, chasing an oddly shaped ball and often colliding with reckless abandon, causing pain and injury (1985, p. 40).

That is, football is a contact sport and, by nature, permits and facilitates physical interactions of players that, on occasions, can lead to injuries and violence (Dunning, 2000). Therefore, an unrealistic image of football was created and distributed to the public, fuelled by the antipathy of the upper stratum and exaggerated by dubious facts and gossip from Western countries. For example:

> In 1894 Hungarian newspapers printed articles written by the opponents of soccer, who cited alarming albeit undocumented statistics. It was noted that in England in the previous three years 74 people lost their lives and 437 were injured and crippled playing soccer. The game must not be allowed to take root in Hungary, they concluded (Handler, 1985, p. 53).

In short, some members of the Hungarian upper stratum, based on their conservative value-system and control over the monopoly of violence, declared football repugnant because of its uncivilised characteristics since they had been used to less violent and more graceful, and noble, types of spare time activities. They also believed that 'affluence, leisure and play constituted a natural sequence and were the inalienable possessions of the privileged segments of society' (Handler, 1985, p. 53) and, thus, made a forceful attempt to eliminate football from Hungary. By virtue of this, football was seen to be a menace to society, a physical activity that should not be practised and had to be banned. The attempt to ban football did not succeed and, as Handler writes, 'the ball rolled over the objections of apprehensive elitists' (1985, p. 53).

The conclusion of this debate around football was possibly the result of the level of popularity football had already achieved in certain spheres in Hungarian society, and thus the upper stratum's monopoly of violence[1] became fragmented and was overruled by the large number of people from various social circles who believed

that football was no threat to society. Elias explains this part of the monopoly mechanism as follows:

> The more people are made dependent by the monopoly mechanism, the greater becomes the power of the dependent, not only individually but also collectively, in relation to the one or more monopolists. This happens not only because the power of the small number of those approaching the monopoly position, but because of their own dependence on ever more dependents in preserving and exploiting the power potential they have monopolized (1939/2000, p. 270).

This process can be termed as 'reclaiming monopoly' and was likely responsible for facilitating the initial development of football in Hungary.

In 1901, football rapidly gained wide acceptance in Hungarian society and national and international football matches became frequent. For example, there was only one international and one national football match held in Hungary in 1897. By the next year, two international and twelve national matches were reported. One year later, thirteen international and eighteen national games took place, twelve of those in Budapest and six in other cities. In 1900, the number of both the international (forty) and national (Budapest: thirty-eight, other cities: fourteen) football games increased significantly (see Hoffer and Thaly, 2000).

The increased number of football events, however, created a high degree of contradiction and chaos among the existing football clubs, which evidently called for a ruling organisation to supervise and bring structure to Hungarian football. Accordingly, the Hungarian Football Association (Hungarian FA) was established in 1901 and one of its first actions was to launch an official national championship, which was basically governed by English league regulations. In the beginning, it was characteristic of Hungarian football to fully adopt and follow English football traditions.[2] Even the football related expressions and technical terms were adopted, together with the word 'football' itself. Though this has changed during the course of football development in Hungary. For example, the word 'football' was replaced with

'labdarúgás' [ball-kicking] and 'futball', which is the Hungarian spelling of 'football'. Furthermore, some of the original English football regulations were gradually transformed to suit the Hungarian football circumstances (e.g. the introduction of the autumn-spring season).

4.2. Hungarian Football on the European Stage (1902 - 1925)

After the initial tumult, the years of robust football development began. The most significant achievements of this phase concerned the stabilisation of the national football league, the Hungarian FA, international football relations and the impact of football in the wider society. The national football league, by and large, still followed English regulations and demonstrated the dominance of Budapest based clubs. For instance, during the first 24 years of the football league, Budapest and rural clubs participated in different leagues (see Komaromi, 2003). It was only in the1925/26 season when a rural team, Erzsebetfalvi TC, appeared in the national league table.[3] From this season on, rural teams regularly took part in league competitions. However, only after the 1930s, did rural sides begin to achieve noticeably higher positions in the league table. Regardless of the development of rural football teams, to the present day Budapest based clubs dominate the first division football league.

The development of Hungarian football was also significantly influenced by the Youth Football Association (YFA) that was formed in 1903. In 1905, the YFA introduced the 'autumn-spring season' national league system that better suited the Central-European weather conditions. In 1906, the Hungarian FA adopted this system and annexed the YFA (Sport Museum, 1997). The Hungarian FA also made several attempts to gain international recognition, for example, through organising international matches. The first officially organised Austria-Hungary football contest took place in 1902, which was the first step towards an international match series.

As a result of these endeavours, the organisation received an invitation to participate at the upcoming football congress in 1905 at which FIFA was to be created. Since the invitation did not go directly to the Hungarian FA, but via the Austrian FA, Hungary refused to participate in this event in London (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000). It must be noted that during this period behaviour of this kind was a 'natural reaction' for Hungarians due to the earlier anti-Magyar campaign from the Austrian side of the Empire, which, as Lendvai (2003) explains, had long-term effects on the Hungarian self-image.[4] Nevertheless, for the Hungarian FA, this reaction proved to be a hindrance in gaining international recognition since it missed the first opportunity to be a part of the international football fraternity.

The Hungarian FA recognised its mistake, and, shortly after the foundation of FIFA, signalled its intention to become a member, which was realised in 1907. Hungary then became a highly active member of FIFA, evidenced by the fact that the sixth annual FIFA congress was held in Budapest, together with an international game of Hungary versus England (Sport Museum, 1997). Hence, it can be argued that, whilst Hungary was still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and in a subservient position, football and the international recognition of the Hungarian FA, as an independent Hungarian institution, was a means for the nation to gain a greater degree of freedom.

After 1910, football demonstrates a smooth and relatively unproblematic development through constructing new football grounds (e.g. the FTC ground was built in 1911), increasing mass involvement, and more frequent international matches (Hungary played 41 international games between 1907 and 1914, see Komaromi, 2003). As Handler observes:

> Soccer in Hungary matured and a new generation of players, fully trained in technique and skills, took the field. The teams were at full strength, since the

> luring away of outstanding players tempted by lucrative foreign contracts still had not begun, so the fans were treated to exciting matches (1985, p. 56).

This development was interrupted by World War I when the level of football was set back to a less advanced stage. Despite the decline in football and the ongoing war, the game itself continued to be played. Komaromi (2003) mentions that, in Hungary, a military championship was organised which was, on occasions, played with 'rug-balls'. The footballing possibilities were highly limited during the war and organised internationals (mostly with Austria) and domestic football matches were not of pre-war quality.

World War I led to the destruction of the Empire, and, partially due to the Peace Treaty of Trianon, Hungary suffered severe economic, political and moral losses that impacted on football development. The clubs found themselves on the edge of bankruptcy and lacked equipment. One of the 'money-saving' provisions of the clubs was the so-called 'ball-attrition fee', which was to be paid by the visiting team to the home team for simply using the ball (Komaromi, 2003). The poor financial conditions of Hungary in general and football in particular generated an out-migration of football players beginning in 1919. This out-migration rose further in the next few years. As a result of this, Komaromi (2003) notes that there existed a purely Hungarian football team in Germany in 1920. This out-flow of footballers could be viewed as the first football related migration involving Hungarians which was mostly driven by the post-war depression and economic decline. The out-migration of Hungarian footballers peaked between 1925 (n=100) and 1926 (n=102), and began to decline significantly in 1928 (n=35), then stagnated throughout the following four years (range=18-23) (see Szegedi, 2003, p. 14 and Denes et al., 1999). This reduction in the number of migrant footballers was due to the introduction of a Professional Football League, which was Hungary's reaction to the forming of professional leagues in Austria in 1924 and in

Czechoslovakia in 1925. This league came into being in the 1926/27 season (Szegedi, 2003) and revitalised football.

Despite the financial difficulties, migration-related problems and the boycott of the defeated countries that was called for by England (see Szegedi, 2003), football acted as a mediator among those countries which had fought against one another in World War I. This boycott was first broken by Italy at the end of 1920 when granting a game permit to an Austrian team (Szegedi, 2003). Moreover, a Hungarian sport diplomat, Mor Fischer, facilitated several internationals that helped in rebuilding pre-war sport relations between opposing nation-states. Hungary played numerous international matches between 1920 and 1926 with, for instance, Finland, Belgium, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and Italy in the hope of improving sport diplomatic connections and re-establishing damaged international relations (Sport Museum, 1997).

4.3. Launching a Professional League (1926 - 1940)

In the 1920s, the problem of amateurism, sham-amateurism, and professionalism became an urgent issue (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000). Since the Hungarian FA only acknowledged players with amateur status, footballers became pseudo-amateurs,[5] or simply left the country for paid football positions. This directly led to a series of poor performances by the national team that motivated the Hungarian FA to put a halt to this process of decline (Sport Museum, 1997). An emergency meeting was held in 1926 at which a Professional Sub-Association was created[6] to manage the new league. The advantages of professionalisation manifested themselves in sophisticated youth-development programmes, modernisation of coach and referee education, and a widening of international relations (Sport Museum, 1997).

Hungarian football began to regain international acceptance despite the lack of success of the national team. Hungarian football clubs such as FTC, Ujpest and Hungaria started to make highly productive tours all over the globe. For instance, the Sport Museum (1997) notes that FTC defeated Uruguay away from home in 1929, Ujpest succeeded in Geneva in 1930, and Hungaria (previously called MTK[7]) introduced the skills of Hungarian footballers to Egypt, Mexico and the USA in 1934. In addition to this, Mor Fischer was elected to be the President of FIFA in 1927. This increased the international significance of Hungarian football even further.

Regardless of these international achievements, Hungarian football had to face domestic problems concerning the professional league. The Hungarian FA noticed that as football clubs went on foreign tours too often, this influenced the quality of national games and the national team. It was then observed that the professional players appeared tired and this reduced the quality and reputation of Hungarian football (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000). As a result of this, in 1935, the Hungarian FA merged the amateur and professional leagues and created the so-called 'National Championship' where both professional and amateur teams competed (Komaromi, 2003). This provision significantly improved the international standing of the Hungarian national team, which managed to win the silver medal in the 1939 World Cup. Although it was an outstanding performance, this result left both the players and Hungary with bitterness.[8] Hoffer and Thaly illustrate this as follows: 'while the Italian team lined up happily before the VIP boxes, the defeated Hungarian gang marched off the pitch sadly, with long faces' (2000, p. 27).

Towards the end of 1939, the growth of anti-Jewish sentiments not only changed public life, but affected the performance of football clubs as well (see Handler, 1985). Hadas (2000) observed that the emerging waves of Aryanisation[9]

throughout the whole of Hungarian society drastically affected the sphere of sport. As a part of this process of Aryanisation, Jews were replaced by 'pure' Hungarians, and, thus, the manager of Hungaria, one of the most significant Jewish football clubs (see Hadas and Karady, 1995), was replaced with an extreme right-wing commissioner in 1939 who managed to disband the team one year later. Shortly after this, the leaders of Hungaria requested the fans to support another football team (Vasas). Hadas (2000) interprets this phenomenon as the revival of a symbolic union between bourgeois Jews and labour social democrats, based on the common ideological features of the two interest groups.

The Hungarian football situation was further destabilized when the Ministry of Internal Affairs suspended the Hungarian FA executive board in 1939, on the basis of weak international performances, and appointed a government commissioner to oversee international football matters (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000). These actions of the Hungarian right-wing government, led by Miklos Horthy (see Taylor and Jamrich, 1998, p. 15), were largely the result of strong anti-Semitism that was present throughout Hungary.[10] Finally, the outbreak of World War II, in which Hungary took up arms against the Allies, opened a new chapter in the development of football.

4.4. From Nazism to Communism (1941 - 1947)

Not much has been written about Hungarian football during the World War II period. However, games were still played during the war. Komaromi (2003) lists 19 internationals between 1940 and 1944. Hoffer and Thaly (2000) observe that the Hungarian national team performed poorly during World War II, which was the direct result of the scarce resources and unprofessional management of the Hungarian FA.

The FA management, selected by the Nazi government, depleted the budget and reduced Hungary's football relations with other countries. By virtue of this, in 1944,

Hungarian football was at its lowest point (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000). The war had destroyed most of the sport facilities, the government and the FA were running out of resources, the FA could not organise a single international game in 1944 and the Axis Powers were about to be defeated. In 1945, the Soviet Red Army 'liberated' Hungary and plans began to be forged for a new and, perhaps, more developed Hungary and Hungarian football. Handler writes that, 'despite the extensive damage the war had caused to sport facilities and the loss of some of the most outstanding athletes and sport leaders, sport in Hungary experienced a quick-paced reconstruction and produced enviable results' (1985, p. 105).

The immediate post-war period reflected a rapid national development under the aegis of reconstructing and restructuring Hungary's social and sporting life. For instance, the management of the Hungarian FA was reorganised, the Professional League was abolished and the National Championship was revitalised (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000). Although only a few internationals took place, mostly against Austria (see Komaromi, 2003), due to post-war conditions such as the small number of able-bodied players and the suspension of international sport diplomatic relations, the Hungarian FA made an attempt to improve the quality of domestic football. In doing so, the FA ratified strict regulations against the emigration of footballers and, at the same time, called upon the emigrants to return to the Hungarian leagues (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000). Additionally, the first official sport related gambling institution was established in 1947 under the name of 'TOTO'. This institution served three fundamental purposes. It created the excitement of a 'flutter', offered a chance for people to win a reasonable sum of money, and provided the state with a budget that could be devoted to the development of sports. Hence, 'within three years after the end of the fighting Hungary was well on its way to becoming a true superpower in the

world of sport, a showcase of proletarian achievement' (Handler, 1985, p. 105). Even though, Handler overstates Hungary's role in the world of sports, this development was the direct result of the high value the political system attributed to sport.

As one of the repercussions of World War II, new political views began to emerge and impact upon not only the development of Hungarian football, but the entire Hungarian society as well. In 1947, the post-war cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Western powers became highly unstable and a new type of war, the Cold War, began. As a corollary, the Hungarian Communist Party (Party), under the leadership of Matyas Rakosi, took command of the country[11] and opened a new chapter in the life of Hungary in general and football in particular. 'Hungary became a carbon copy of the Sov iet Union' (Handler, 1985, p. 104). Lendvai explains this shift in political regimes as follows:

> The uncertain fate of more than half a million prisoners of war, the abduction of tens of thousands of civilians to forced labour, the Soviet supported Communist offensive to undermine and finally destroy the young Hungarian democracy, contributed in the ensuing months and years to a feeling [of despair] among of the large and later overwhelming majority of Hungarians that with the new era under the red star a new bondage had begun (2003, p. 429).

The next section will disclose the ways in which the Rakosi regime exploited and restructured football.

4.5. Sovietised Football (1948 - 1956)

Football was a state affair during the communist regime in Hungary (Hadas and Karady, 1995, Molnar, 2002). This occurred extensively in those communist nation-states which felt marginalised and/or subordinate to both the West and the Soviet Union. But communist countries used football to symbolise their cultural and societal equality or superiority to Western cultures. Football was also supposed to represent a symbolic fight between communist and capitalist ideologies (Taylor and Jamrich, 1998). Communist countries could not match the Western economic conditions.

Therefore, they used international sport events to try to prove their ideological superiority. Communist countries put significant energy into developing their sport performance (see Beck, 2004) and sport, similar to other spheres of the society, was increasingly centrally driven (Taylor and Jamrich, 1998) by a 'win-at-all-cost' ideology. Athletes were under strict governmental control as they were supposed to represent their country abroad, and the Soviet-sympathizer government did not want any of its athletes to misbehave or defect.

To represent the countries of the communist bloc was a sensitive issue because athletes did not only represent their own countries but communism as well. The communist bloc continuously wanted to demonstrate the superiority of disciplined, obedient, and machine-like athletes, the very products of communist ideologies, over 'frivolous' capitalist societies through grandiose sport achievements. Perhaps this was the reason why the Hungarian FA, under strong governmental supervision, took extremely seriously the fact that Ferenc Puskas knocked out two Bulgarian players in 1948 during an international match. Puskas had to apologise in public for what he had done and was banned from international matches for 1 year (Hamori, 2001). It has also been observed (see Taylor and Jamrich, 1998 and Kowalski and Porter, 2004) that before the famous 1953 England-Hungary football match, the President of the Hungarian FA was put under considerable pressure since he literally had to promise to the government that the national team would beat the English. This 'betrayed a degree of paranoia but also reflected the anxieties of a regime that had come to appreciate the propaganda value of its national sporting heroes' (Kowalski and Porter, 2004, p. 35).

Prior to communism, each football team had its unique social connotation and groups of fans. Football teams, similarly to what was the case in other spheres of the society, were not religion or class neutral (see Hadas, 2000). Whether representing a

religious group, a political view, a social class or a geographical region, football teams had always been endowed with special meanings in Hungary (Hadas and Karady, 1995). So, to put it simply, e.g. Jewish citizens rooted for MTK and Catholics for FTC.

Hungarian club football was able to preserve its neutrality from the Party until 1948 (Sport Museum, 1997), but under the Rakosi system, after 1950, all the football teams were brutally Sovietised. Communism visibly left its 'red fingerprint' all over the development of Hungarian football (see Hadas, 2000). Clubs' social meanings, connotations, financial and fan bases were taken away and they became the teams of certain ministries or industries (Hadas and Karady, 1995). For example, the communist party viewed FTC, due to its right-wing nationalistic sentiments, as the biggest problem, but they did not officially and publicly want to disband this team and create martyrs. Instead, they changed its name and replaced its players.

The communist regime stripped all the Hungarian football teams from their original identities and clothed them with new, Soviet-friendly ones, which was a refined way of establishing a new regime. It can be argued that a football team has its own identity, which is carried by its name, colours, players, and supporters (Hadas, 2000). When a team is forced to abandon certain parts of its identity, it has the tendency to lose or alter some of its local social significance, which was the intention of the Rakosi regime, in pursuit of the complete sovietisation of Hungary. Thus, in the case of FTC, the name first changed to Elelmezesi Dolgozok Szakszervezete [Catering Workers' Trade Union]. Later, in 1951, the name was modified to Kinizsi[12] (see Appendix 1) and the green and white team colours were changed to red - the colour of the communist party - and white (according to Riordan (1980) Soviet football went through the same process in the mid-1920s).

The Party not only restructured football teams but created new ones by taking away the best players of other teams. This was how Honved (defender of the homeland) came into existence in 1950 and became the favourite team of the communist system (Hadas and Karady, 1995). The name of this team indicates that it was under the control of the Ministry of War, which, according to Hadas and Karady (1995), had high political significance. The calculations of the Party seemed to progress with Honved because it was capable of representing the superiority of communism against capitalist societies and, in this way, could function as an aid stabilising the Party's power (for statistics see Komaromi, 2003). At the same time, this team, and sport in general, was supposed to show the social mobility of communism. Hence, it could be argued that the political leaders were trying to create and maintain a pseudo-meritocratic society where, seemingly, everyone had the chance to achieve higher goals and positions if they worked hard and possessed the right abilities regardless of his/her family background.[13]

Under the governance of this regime, a way of obtaining social mobility was to become an outstanding athlete. That is, everyone could change their social positions through sport without having to have a certain level of education as long as sport performances honoured Hungary and the Party.[14] For instance, it was accepted that excellent athletes, sometimes illiterate ones, could be appointed to highly privileged military or political positions:

> Privileged status and the fringe benefits – well-paying jobs that provided generous amounts of time off for training and competition, guaranteed admission to universities, comfortable housing, favoured treatment at customs upon return from foreign trips and the like – as well as the adulation of the sport loving nation were inducements that few could or wanted to resist (Handler, 1985, p. 106).

Puskas was the living example of this system whereby the humble son of the proletariat could become a national celebrity and high-ranking military officer based

solely on his outstanding sport performances (see Hamori, 2001). Perhaps, this was one of the reasons why 147,000[15] football players were officially registered in Hungary between 1953 and 1956 (Antal, Sass and Laszlo, 1972).

In addition to this, each football team went through a fundamental alteration in its management (Hadas and Karady, 1995). All football teams were subordinated to various communist leaders who were in high-ranking political positions. Thus, the communist regime could effectively supervise at first hand the proper ideological functioning of all the important football teams and sport organisations. This phenomenon first occurred in Budapest and then slowly started filtering into rural areas. Most of the country teams had to adopt communist sympathizer names and colours. Thus, their old, non-communist identities were changed to those that could be easily associated with the dominant Party ideologies (Hadas and Karady, 1995, Hadas, 1999).

The very same changes could be observed in the Soviet Union (USSR) regarding the restructuration of football teams (see Sugden and Tomlinson, 2000). Thus, as a proof of Hungary's Sovietisation, there could be seen a similar pattern emerging between the way the USSR and Hungary organised sport life and what sport meant (or was supposed to mean) to people in these countries. Similar to the description of Hungarian football by Hadas and Karady (1995), Sugden and Tomlinson depict the Soviet football system as follows:

> The most important vehicle for the Soviet sport creed, football was to be the main sporting agent of social change. At the time of rapid population growth, industrialisation and urban expansion football continued to be viewed by the Soviet authorities as an important stabilising and transforming influence in a society in a state of flux. Equal importance was attached to the sport's perceived capacity to reinforce the sense of cohesion in the far flung multinational state that the USSR had become. Also, football was viewed as a painless replacement for traditional games and folk festivals which were heavily redolent of the cultural distinctiveness of the old country (2000, pp. 186-187).

Furthermore, almost all the big clubs were affiliated with and controlled by one or other state institution (political, military, and/or industrial). For instance, Dinamo was the team of the Ministry of the Interior including the KGB, and Torpedo was the team of the ZIS motor factory (Sugden and Tomlinson, 1998). Each team had its Party sponsors who would often go to great lengths to ensure that their favoured teams were successful, augmenting a tendency for corruption, and alienating sections of supporters who, in the wake of the Stalinist years, became increasingly disaffected with anything associated with the Communist Party and its leaders (Sugden and Tomlinson, 2000).

This sort of system was present in Hungary as well. The communist system was fundamentally centralised and preferred the centre to the rural areas, which reflected the rank order of the football teams in the first division. In the communist epoch there were fourteen teams in the first division (eight rural and six capital teams) but it was rare that a non-Budapest team achieved a high position in the league table (see Komaromi, 2003 and Appendix 1). The statistical data provided by Komaromi (2003) also depict how the control of the Party over the outcome of the football championship decreased as communism began to weaken and football was losing its political importance in Hungary. For instance, between World War II and the Kadar system (for details see next section) the best position a rural team could achieve was fifth place (e.g. Dorog in 1950 and 1955, see Appendix 1). Later, after the second half of the 1970s, Videoton (1975/76) were able to achieve second place in the Championship. In the 1980s, when communism began to lose its power in Hungary and the Party became less able to manipulate matches (see Hadas, 2000), the number of rural teams in high positions dramatically increased. For example, Raba ETO won the championship in the 1981/82 and 1982/83 seasons (see Appendix 1). This

supports the argument according to which the communist regime was following a centralised order (see, for example, Hoffer and Thaly, 2000) and football performed a relevant function in maintaining the ideological views of the Party during most of the years of communism.

This analysis illustrates the significance of sport in politics and the degree to which sport and politics were interconnected in Hungary under the communist regime. The government also invested a huge amount of money in building new and renovating old stadia. This development occurred in the first half of the 1950s when the government renovated most of the stadia used by the football teams participating in the First Division. For instance, during this period Hungary possessed one of the most modern, well equipped stadiums in Europe, the Nepstadion [People's Stadium] (now called Ferenc Puskas Stadium). However, it can be argued that the major reason for the Party for reconstructing these sport buildings was to be able to incorporate more and more people into football through which it could increase its capability of influencing a larger part of the Hungarian society with communist propaganda (Molnar, 2002).

The government put a significant effort into maintaining a good national team that could represent Hungary abroad and achieve outstanding results on the international level. Taylor and Jamrich are correct when they state that 'under the communist regime...the national team carried a high priority with the Party and its officials' (1998, p. 41). This was the direct consequence of the centralising endeavours of the state, and, in fact, 'in 1951, the state extended its grip on virtually all aspects of social and cultural life' (Taylor and Jamrich, 1998, p. 39).

Interestingly, in 1954 the cultivation of football and the nurturing of the national football team backfired on the Party (Taylor and Jamrich, 1998) and almost led to a

formal rebellion. The turmoil was fuelled by the fact that the Hungarian national football team had been quite successful. In 1952, the national team, the 'Magic Magyars', had won the Olympic Games. One year later they had defeated the English national team on its home turf, which had never been accomplished by any European team before (see Fox, 2003a). This chain of success unexpectedly broke in the final of the 1954 Football World Cup when the Hungarian national team lost against West-Germany.[16] This event created an odd situation which is called "the boomerang-effect" by Hadas and Karady (1995). The disappointed and furious football fans, driven by their bitterness over the loss by the national team provoked the first rebellion against the communist regime. The Party decided to cover up the rebellion instead of taking reprisals against it. This was the first time that football had slipped out of the control of the communist government and, for a while, stopped serving the political goals of the regime[17]. This event was probably one of the harbingers of the revolution that broke out in 1956 (Taylor and Jamrich, 1998).

Even after the 1954 World Cup, the Hungarian national team maintained a high level of performance (Sport Museum, 1997) which was only broken in 1956 by the break-up of the national team when some of its players defected. All in all, after 1956[18], Hungary had only a residual team of 'Magic Magyars' left that had to be re-organised to prolong Hungary's football prominence.

4.6. Struggle for International 'Ideological' Success (1957 - 1989)

After the 1956 revolution, the 'Kadar[19] system' replaced the 'Rakosi era', but still kept some of the peculiarities of the previous regime in terms of using football for propaganda purposes. Regardless of the similarities between these two political systems such as a strong sense of centralisation, Sovietisation and distribution of communist dogmas, Kadar took a highly idiosyncratic approach to governing the

country and organising football. Whilst Rakosi governed Hungary, he openly endeavoured to create (and created) a totalitarian system (see for example Lendvai, 2003). By contrast, Kadar realised that this sort of leadership had not been successful in Hungary and, therefore, adopted a different approach that could be described as pseudo social-pluralism (cf. Hadas, 2000). Thus, 'the relative autonomy of individuals and institutions increased in return for political indifference and obedience' (Hadas, 2000, p. 58). In the case of sport in general and football in particular, Hadas observes,[20] the Kadar era 'gave way to a more sophisticated sport policy manipulating with subtler and more indirect manoeuvres' (2000, p. 58).

Kadar realised what had led to the fall of the Rakosi regime and to the 1956 revolution (see Kadar, 1974) and came to understand that an openly autocratic system could not function in Hungarian society without sporadic rebellions and recurring underground resistance. Therefore, he decided to get virtually rid of the Soviet yoke around Hungarian necks so as to establish consolidation (see Lendvai, 2003). One of the immediate actions of the regime was to reinstate the original names and colours of football clubs that had been dramatically Sovietised (see Appendix 1). Also, rural clubs began to gain more opportunities to restore, preserve and express their local/regional flavour and to achieve higher positions in the league table (see Appendix 1). It was due to the peculiarity of the Kadar era that rural teams achieved higher momentum in the first division (Hadas, 2000).

Taken into consideration the footballing provisions of the Kadar era, it can be assumed that Kadar paid significant attention to the FTC fans as they represented the largest cohesive football fan group in the country. Hadas argues that:

> It can be taken as a subtle indicator of the process of consolidation that Fradi [FTC] won the championship in 1963, the very year that many of the political prisoners jailed after 1956 were released. It is not accidental that the fans of the

> winners chanted: The champion is Ferencvaros, the top man is Kadar Janos! (2000, p. 59).

In addition to this politically advantageous situation, as another way of neutralising FTC fans, the FTC stadium was renovated in 1974, the largest football investment in the 1960s and 1970s. Regardless of the above mentioned footballing provisions and football related reconstructions, football itself began to gradually lose political significance (see Hadas, 2000). In order to understand this political decline of football, it is necessary to consider the unique constellation of three major factors that facilitated this change in Kadarian Hungary.

One of these factors was the consolidating political and social system that decreasingly required the presence of football as a means of disguising political affairs. People lived in safe and stable, but still somewhat restricted, conditions that began to reflect attributes of 'consumer socialism' (see Hadas, 2000). Differently put, 'football's function as a legitimating factor for the regime lost much of its weight with the rise of living standards' (Hadas, 2000, p. 60). Another aspect of this change was the fading of the Cold War, which further reduced the international importance of sport in general and football in particular for communist countries as an indicator of ideological superiority. Hadas observes that 'in a more peaceful international climate there was less justification for investments effected to express symbolic superiority' (2000, p. 60), and, thus, the regime withdrew its attention from football. Finally, at an early stage, Kadar recognised the double-edged nature of football and treated it with care. He bore in mind that, for the Rakosi regime, football had backfired as a weapon for social consolidation, and, therefore, as soon as Kadar could not politically take advantage of it, he simply let football go (see Hadas, 2000). In the first instance, this action of the state may seem as something football could have benefitted from.

However, a closer look at the fiscal structure of communist Hungary in this period sheds light on why this was the beginning of the degradation of Hungarian football.

As the political function of football declined and football as an institution became less centrally driven, the state gradually withdrew funds. Football was sentenced to a slow decline. According to Hadas:

> If football did not seem so important to government then it could not expect to receive high priority investments. In other words, the functional weight of football was in inverse proportion with its growing autonomy, and its inner layout became more and more determined by the power relations of local and even personal interests (2000, p. 60).

Since the private sector was virtually non-existent in state-socialism (see Zwass, 1984), the stratum that could have provided alternate funding for football was simply not present. Hence, football became neglected and began to experience difficulties that were present in the Kadar era, but not as visible as they later grew to be (for examples see Hammond, 1999).

The political and economic consolidation that led to the degradation of Hungarian football was only virtual as the roots of communism in the Eastern Bloc had begun to disintegrate. The USSR found itself in an odd situation because it was simultaneously under internal and external political and financial pressure. The USSR did not (want to) foresee the significance of the impact of these problems on communism, and, thus, could not reduce any of the sources of tension. Moreover, the way the USSR handled its foreign affairs by, for example, annexing independent nation-states such as Afghanistan, did not help maintain unity within the communist bloc. This aggressive integration policy provoked nationalist sentiments and prompted annexed nations to rebel. Finally, in the late 1980s, these tensions and economic defects led to the demise of the 'strong bastion' of communism (see Hosking, 1992).

4.7. Playing from the East to the West (1990 - Present)

In 1989, the communist regime collapsed in Hungary, leaving the country with obsolete economic and social conditions, due to which financial instability was present in all areas of Hungary in the 1990s (see Meusburger, 2001). Sport clubs lost a significant part of their state support and had to find sponsor organisations in order to maintain their existence. Even today, 'organised sport in [Central] Eastern Europe faces the same geopolitical and economic challenges as these societies as a whole' (Crampton, 2004, p. 679). Hungarian sport life and Hungary itself have had to be recreated to survive post-communist conditions and to preserve long established national traditions (cf. Crampton, 2004). This created new and unpredicted footballing circumstances that, partially because of the lack of proactive behaviour on the part of Hungarian football clubs, came as a surprise to all involved. Thus, it should be noted that this period (1990-2004) represents a highly important transition for Hungary: shifting from communism to capitalism and from the USSR to the EU.

In the post-communist transition period, despite the effort of the Hungarian FA, football could not be revitalised. Neither could it regain its international significance. The Hungarian FA, often with politicians involved, attempted to improve the performance of the national team (see Hoffer and Thaly, 2000), which included appointing 17 new managers (see Bocsak, 2001) and 10 new FA Presidents between 1986 and 2004. Hammond has observed of the Hungarian national team that: 'For years it had resembled a merry-go-round. Different players and managers stepped on and off, but still it kept going around in circles, never getting anywhere' (1991, p. 410).

A professional football league was also launched in the 1999/2000 season, initially including eighteen clubs, but 'the financial plight of the country's first

division clubs intensified to the extent that by the end of the campaign as many as four of the 18 teams...had either been forced out of business or driven underground to lower leagues' (Hammond, 2001, p. 517). Additionally, in order to revitalise grass-roots football, a centrally financed youth development programme was organised and named after one of the Magic Magyars (Peter Bozsik). These provisions did not improve the state and international reputation of Hungarian football. Neither did the intrusion of the Minister of Youth and Sport (Tamas Deutsch) into the running of the Hungarian FA, who suspended the FA president (Attila Kovacs) in 1999.[21] By virtue of this, a considerable degree of tension accumulated between the government and the FA, which grew so intense that FIFA had to intervene (Hoffer and Thaly, 2000). As a result of this, a new FA administration was elected in August 1999. Since then, the number of legal issues has decreased and the Hungarian FA has been in a state of consolidation. Nevertheless, the problems of Hungarian football still await solution.

The presence of post-communist issues could simply be interpreted as the materialisation and maturation of those problems and neglect that first appeared in the Kadar era (see previous section). That is, 'Hungarian football did not die when the change in the political system appeared; it had died before' (Bartus, 2000, p. 25). In fact, the records of the Hungarian national team indicate that this decline began in the 1970s and, although there were better years to come, it has not yet been surmounted. For example, the Hungarian national team did not qualify for the World Cup for the first time in 1970. This was repeated in 1974, and, although Hungary managed to qualify for the next three World Cups, the national team dropped out after the first round. The decline of Hungarian football becomes more visible when one realises that the national team has not qualified for the World Cup since 1986 and for the European Championship since 1972 (see Sport Museum, 1997).

Nevertheless, while not diminishing the impact of communism on Hungarian sport in general and football in particular, this argument is only partially correct and in order to completely reveal the path that has led Hungarian football into its present condition, the growing global popularity of football has also to be taken into consideration. Communism is not solely responsible for the decline of Hungarian football. That is, aside from an underdeveloped football infrastructure and the low social status of sports and athletes (see Foldesi, 2004) with which communism left Hungary, one must also bear in mind that football is now much more popular and there are more nations involved in international football competitions than in the 1950s and 1960s (see FIFA.com). To put it succinctly, the rest of the world caught up with and overtook Hungarian football in the 1970s and 1980s. Part of the possible revitalisation is connected to the migration processes with reference to foreign players moving to Hungary and Hungarian footballers playing abroad. This will be given further consideration in this thesis.

In conclusion, these transformative conditions have influenced the development of Hungary in general and Hungarian football in particular. Some aspects of the new ways in which Hungarian social, political and cultural circumstances began to influence and transform first division (later professional) Hungarian football have been briefly discussed here. But the main issue triggered by the transformative conditions will be discussed in Chapter 5 by way of an analysis of the in and out-migration of male footballers. As a prelude to that chapter, the next section will examine the general migration patterns which are of relevance to understanding current football migrations and Hungary's situation in the wider migration figurations. This will further emphasise the significance of communism in the development of both football and the general migrations.

II. General Migration Patterns in Hungary

Some scholars perceive the migratory function of Hungary and the migration patterns of Hungarians as similar to those of other Central European countries (see Toth and Sik, 2003), due to its geographical location, history, and culture. That is, one should expect a certain level of similarity between Central European countries when researching migration, which is, perhaps, partially due to forty years of Sovietisation and geographical proximity. Nonetheless, Hungary also played an idiosyncratic role in shaping and being a part of (Central) European migrations. Wallace and Stola observe that:

> The recent history of these countries, with the imposition of communist regimes and incorporation into the Soviet Bloc for more than four decades...means that in many ways their development and experiences during a large part of the twentieth century have been similar. However, there is much diversity in conditions and deep historical roots in this relatively small region which means that migratory development and responses to migration differ among the countries (2001, pp. 5-6).

Hence, it can be suggested that, in terms of migration, each Central European countrymust be studied separately with respect to possible commonalities within the Central European region (see Wallace and Stola, 2001). For example, Fassmann and Munz (1995) explore general migration patterns in Central Europe and identify three major migration eras between 1850 and 1992. They provide a general overview of those phases and many of their observations are akin to Hungary's migration history. But, it must be highlighted that specific migration waves appeared in Hungary later, or earlier, than they did in other Central European countries (cf. Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994). Consequently, when reading the following introduction to the general migration patterns of Hungary, these observations should be borne in mind.

In the following section, one and a half centuries of migrations in and related to Hungary will be briefly discussed, beginning from the 1850s. The mid and late 1800s

might still be relevant in understanding contemporary migration processes and patterns, which are often rooted in preceding ones. In illustrating Hungary's idiosyncratic role in regional and global migrations, the historical eras under discussion will be tied into the process of globalisation and global/regional migrations.

4.8. Austro-Hungarian Migrations (1850s - 1918)

The beginning of this era of migration in Hungary overlaps with the commencement of the third wave of globalisation (see Therborn, 2000 and Appendix 3) and mass migrations from Europe (see Appendix 3). This wave resulted mostly from intra-European power struggles (Therborn, 2000), voluntary migration trends and industrialisation (Stalker, 1994). In Hungary during this period, two major migratory patterns can be observed. First, there was a continuous bidirectional flow of people between Austria and Hungary due to the existence of Austro-Hungarian Empire[22] (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994). The other flow of people began in the 1880s. These were the years when Hungary joined in the previously existing mass migrations from Europe mostly to the USA and Canada (see Stalker, 1994). The migrants from Hungary were mostly peasants by origin, although they tended to settle in industrial and mining communities (see Fermi, 1968 and Patrias, 1994).

At first sight, it might seem that mostly financial push and pull factors drove this migration wave. On the contrary, however, there were other forces at play (see Patrias, 1994). Dovenyi and Vukovich (1994) observe that economic factors were the dominant reasons for migration from Hungary, but that other social, political and cultural factors were also important. Support for this assertion can be found in an examination of the ethnic background of migrants leaving Hungary during this time. It has been observed (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994) that the politically dominant

ethnic groups of the empire[23] (Austrians and Hungarians) were less likely to migrate. That is, ethnic minorities were more apt to migrate as they were politically underrepresented. Therefore, in this migration wave 'Germans and Hungarians were underrepresented compared to their share in the total population: 19% of the migrants were Poles, 16% Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, 15% Slovaks, but only 15% Hungarians and 12% German-speaking migrants' (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994, pp. 188-198).

This observation must be kept in mind when interpreting this wave of migration in Hungary, since most of the migrants, although they officially lived within the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were, by ethnicity, neither Austrians, nor Hungarians. Moreover, a significant part of the Hungarian migrants planned to stay abroad only for a limited period, and intended to return to Hungary (Patrias, 1994). Migration patterns in Hungary remained unaffected until 1914. World War I, however, restructured general European migration flows and 'barred emigration and return migration for a number of years, thus keeping large numbers of originally temporary migrants permanently in the USA' (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994, p. 190) and Canada (Patrias, 1994).

The end of World War I led to various peace negotiations amongst the opposing parties and basically redrew nation-state borders on the Continent. Those peace treaties triggered mass migrations by dividing up the Central Power countries and assigning detached territories mostly to Allied countries. The next section will discuss some relevant migrations induced by post-war repercussions.

4.9. From Trianon to Rakosi

This period of migration in Hungary occurred along with the fourth wave of globalisation that was characterised by the emergence of new and faster ways of

communication and transportation, and the establishment of a world capital market (Therborn, 2000). Nonetheless, in Europe, due mainly to the aftermath of World War I, globalisation manifested itself in the shrinking of world trade and the reinforcement of states versus markets conflict. Nationalistic sentiments appeared to decline, but never completely faded, and international diplomatic and market relationships were partially re-established in the interwar period. However, in the 1930s, with the emergence of Nazism and Fascism, nationalist and racist sentiments were to be regenerated and revitalised in Europe (see, for example, Lendvai, 2003). The politically, socially and racially tense atmosphere which contributed to the outbreak of World War II, which caused a severe decline in the development of globalisation and ended its fourth wave (see Therborn, 2000).

In terms of general migrations, a significant part of this wave of migration in Hungary still happened under the aegis of the 'mass emigrations from Europe' that ended in 1940 (see Stalker, 1994), but began to decline shortly after World War I in line with stricter migratory provisions in the receiving countries (as an example, see the development of American immigration rules, Fermi, 1968). However, since this wave in Hungary stretches up to the formulation of the Rakosi regime, it overlaps with the fourth wave of global migrations (see Appendix 3) that was chiefly driven by the repercussions of the post-World War II peace treaties (see Stalker, 1994).

After World War I, migration from Hungary to the USA was reduced as restrictions on immigration to the USA had been implemented, and Hungarian migrants began to select different host countries such as Canada, South America (mainly Brazil), and Australia. Dovenyi and Vukovich write that 'between 1924 and 1930 some 30.000 Hungarians settled in Canada, the majority of whom were peasants' (1994, p. 191, see also Patrias, 1994). Additionally, the Trianon Peace

Treaty, that had detached two-thirds of the original territory of Hungary, fuelled another migration movement which is relevant to this thesis.

Post-Trianon movement had two main dimensions. First, ethnic Hungarians began to move back to Hungary after World War I. Dovenyi and Vukovich (1994) observe that, between 1920 and 1924, some 350,000 ethnic Hungarians moved to the smaller territory of Hungary from areas that had been attached to neighbouring countries. Second, the migration of ethnic Hungarians from these detached territories was not purely directed towards Hungary. A significant number of them fled to other continents. For instance, approximately 70.000 ethnic Hungarians migrated to the USA between 1922 and 1927 (Puskas, 1981, cited in Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994), 30.000 of whom fled from Hungary's neighbouring countries.

In the 1930s, the revitalisation of anti-Semitic sentiments and the introduction of 'Jew-Laws' (for an explanation see Lendvai, 2003) slowly began to trigger the out-migration of members of the Hungarian intelligentsia and Jewry, most of whom managed to find refuge on the new continent (for details see Fermi, 1968). After 1940, World War II put a halt to most global migration processes (see Stalker, 1994) and drastically distorted European cultures. The aftermath of World War II manifested itself in massive forced migrations. Therefore, on the one hand, a large ethnic German population (approximately 200,000) was forced to leave Hungary and, on the other hand, ethnic Hungarians were driven to Hungary from Romania (120,000), Yugoslavia (45,500), Czechoslovakia (120,500) and the Soviet Union (25,000) (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994). In addition, under the population exchange agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, some 73,000 ethnic Slovaks left Hungary (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994). Consequently, when the Communist Party gained power, the population of Hungary had already become quite homogenous, and

only a small group of political opposition members went abroad into exile due to this shift in regime.

4.10. Communist Border Policy

The emergence of this political era coincides with and is connected to the start of the fifth wave of globalisation defined by Therborn (2000) during which there was an enormous decline in the cost of mass transportation and mass communication. The technological inventions responsible for this could have facilitated global migrations, but with the emergence of the Cold War, a worldwide rivalry began and split most of the world into capitalist and communist blocs. Thus, because of strict communist border restrictions, Hungary did not show any of the features of the global migration patterns of this era. Towards the end of the 1940s, Hungary became a member of the Eastern Communist Bloc and, aside from the year 1956, there was not significant migration out of or into Hungary.

On the other hand, the 1956 revolution re-opened the Hungarian borders for a short time during the Soviet military intervention, and made mass emigration possible. In 1957, a report entitled, 'Main Characteristics of Persons Who Have Left the Country Illegally' was produced by the Central Statistical Office (CSO), but was strictly confidential, and remained in the archives of the CSO until 1991. According to this report, Austrian and Yugoslav sources reported that 193.900 Hungarian citizens emigrated between October 23, 1956 and April 30, 1957, representing 1.5% of the total population of Hungary (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994).

The post-1956 era in terms of migration appeared virtually irrelevant. This was due to the Sovietised government and the Communist Party. Dovenyi and Vukovich describe this regime as follows:

> The Communist regime regarded the desire to live outside the country as a manifestation of anti-Communist views. On the other hand, those who were

> authorised to cross the border were not trusted to be willing to return; consequently individuals or families who were granted passports and exit visas normally had to leave "hostages" behind to ensure their return. Those who did manage to cross the border illegally, or who crossed legally but did not return, were tried as criminals, sentenced to prison terms..., and their property confiscated (1994, p. 194).

Hungary, as a member state of the Communist Bloc, wanted to maintain the image and integrity of communist ideology to show its superiority to Western capitalist powers. This was a difficult task because some of its citizens were continuously leaving in favour of Western ways of living. As a reaction to this, the Party simply barricaded Hungary's Western borders in order to protect communism from contagious Western ideologies.

The above provisions fundamentally reshaped migration patterns in Hungary. Moreover, since the Party did not want to acknowledge that some Hungarian citizens were still defecting to the West, and since these events reminded the Party that perhaps communism was not without weaknesses, both legal and illegal migrations were under recorded and mis-documented. Dovenyi and Vukovich (1994) attempted to piece together existing migration patterns and to determine the value of net migration per year in Hungary during communism. They obtained data from three different sources that were supposed to administer migrations in communist Hungary. These three sources consisted of the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Office of the National Population Register, and Passport and Alien Administration. Dovenyi and Vukovich (1994) compared and contrasted the three data sets and came to the conclusion that they were contradictory and inaccurate. For instance, between 1979 and 1988 according to the Passport and Alien Administration the average annual number of immigrants was 22,300, which is 10-15 times higher than the border statistics. Also, Dovenyi and Vukovich (1994) observed that it was suspicious that the highest number of illegal emigrants had been reported towards the end of communism

when almost all the travel restrictions had been removed. Hence, 'it would be difficult to draw conclusions of how many emigrants or immigrants may have actually left or entered the country, but on the whole it seems that migration was insignificant during the period [of] 1948-88' (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994, p. 197, cf. Toth and Sik, 2003, p. 231). To paraphrase, it is difficult to determine accurately and realistically the number of people leaving and arriving in Hungary between 1948 and 1988[24] using data sources generated under communism.

4.11. Free Flow of Europeans

By virtue of the isolation of most of the countries of the Eastern Communist Bloc from Western ideas and influences, Hungary became part of wider global migration processes only after the collapse of the communist regime. That is, when the Iron Curtain was dissolved and the Berlin Wall collapsed, Hungary, similarly to other post-communist nation-states, found itself in an already highly multicultural, globalised world (Therborn, 2000). Further, 'post-oil-shock' migration generated the most complex and unpredictable patterns ever (see Castles and Miller, 2003). Although global migration patterns have always been multifaceted, the migration processes of today are beyond other eras of migration in terms of complexity (see Castles and Miller, 2003).

At the end of the 1980s, cultural and political changes brought along new and multifaceted patterns of migration in Central Europe (see Wallace and Stola, 2001). In this new era of migration, Hungary functioned as a host country rather than a donor one, which is a unique phenomenon in the case of post-communist countries because they mostly function as donor states (Dovenyi, 1995). The recent role of Hungary in the formulation of migration patterns derives mainly from its geographical location,

economic situation, post-World War peace treaty relocations,[25] and the splitting of artificially created nation-states during the early 1990s.

On the topic of location, Dovenyi observes: 'Hungary lies in an exposed geographical situation in Europe. Some of the most important pan-European routes cross the country. These routes support cargo and 'normal' passenger transport, and waves of refugees...as well' (1995, p. 17). Regarding the economy, Hungary is one of the most developed nation-states in Central Europe (for a comparison, see Wallace and Stola, 2001) and, thus, it may appear as an attractive country to the citizens of financially, culturally and politically less advanced countries of the region. This explains Hungary's dominant migratory function as a host country. Additionally, Wallace and Stola (2001) argue that the potential of Hungarian citizens to migrate is low and the time frame of migration they would consider is short. Wallace and Stola (2001), based on a 1998 survey, compared four Central European countries (Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia) regarding their citizens' migration potential. According to this survey, although all four countries demonstrated similar features, Hungarian citizens possess the lowest level of intention to leave for other countries, which further reinforces Hungary's dominant migratory role as a host country in this period.

After communism, the first wave of immigrants arrived in Hungary between 1988 and 1991, and chiefly came from Romania consisting of ethnic Hungarians intending to settle in Hungary and Romanians planning to move farther West.[26] This marks the first time in contemporary Eastern and Central Europe that refugees from one Warsaw Pact country have sought refuge in another (for details see the Helsinki Watch Report, 1989). The flow of migrants from Romania to Hungary had three phases that were triggered by political upheavals within Romania (Dovenyi and

Vukovich, 1994). (The Helsinki Watch Report (1989) provides a realistic and illustrative picture with regard to the nature of those ethnic disturbances Hungarian minorities had to endure, and which eventually triggered emigrations in Romania in the 1980s.) Dovenyi explains the fluctuation of migration flows from Romania as follows:

> It was not accidental that the highest refugee inflow from Romania occurred during the last few months of the Ceausescu Regime...Another peak flow of refugees was in the spring of 1990, which clearly coincided with the ethnic disturbances at Marosvasarhely...Similarly, the disturbances that took place in Bucharest in the summer of 1990 were also reflected in an increasing number of refugees to Hungary (1995, p. 18).

After the third peak of migration from Romania, the number of immigrants began to steeply decline and by the end of 1991, this process came to an end.

Another wave of migration during the early 1990s was induced by the splitting up of artificially crafted nation-states surrounding Hungary, such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. In 1991, a civil war broke out in Yugoslavia and triggered a constant flow of people into Hungary throughout the duration of the conflict. Dovenyi and Vukovich (1994) observed that, in the first year of the war, mostly Croatian citizens arrived in Hungary and gained refugee status. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the Croatian refugee population was not properly registered and therefore statistical data are very likely to have under-represented the number of Croatian migrants. Dovenyi writes that:

> More than 50,000 people escaped from Croatia during the last five months of 1991, and were registered by the Hungarian authorities. In addition, there are reports [stating] that tens of thousands of people failed to register with the authorities and were staying with relatives and friends waiting for the end of the war (1995, p. 18).

When the epicentre of the civil war moved from Croatia to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the influx and ethnic composition of the migrants changed. In the first half of 1992, the number of refugees arriving from Croatia dropped significantly, but in the second half

of that year, due to forced evacuations by the Serbs, another stream of immigrants fled to Hungary. That is, more than 4.000 asylum seekers arrived, the majority of whom were Muslims (Dovenyi, 1995), though this sub-wave peaked by the end of 1992 and there was a steep decline in the following years.

Since the end of the first half of the 1990s, immigration into Hungary has been slowly decreasing and becoming more balanced. 'After the initial increase in the late 1980s and early 1990s legal immigration slowed down in the last years' (Hars et al., 2001, pp. 253-254). The consolidation of migration flows is due to numerous factors in Central Europe in general and in Hungary in particular. These factors such as the stabilisation of political systems, growing respect for human rights, and gradually developing national economies, have provided citizens of Central Europe with new and deeper feelings of security. Hars et al. (2001) suggest that in the development of migration patterns in Hungary, the overall strengthening of Central Europe plays an important role that manifests itself in a growth in the number of 'returnees'. In the case of Hungary, returnees chiefly moved back to Romania and Serbia-Montenegro (formerly Yugoslavia).

Migration conditions and patterns in Central Europe in general, and in Hungary in particular, arguably remained unaffected until 2004 when the EU was enlarged by ten new member states and new migration policies were implemented. Hence, it is possible to speculate that this may lead to the emergence of new migratory movements within the EU. However, this academic speculation will require further investigation and lies outside of the scope of this thesis.

4.12. Summary

In this chapter, I briefly introduced the development of Hungarian football and emphasised that there was always a connection between football and Hungarian

culture, politics and society. It was also observed that football related migrations are not novel phenomena in Hungary. The first migratory movement of Hungarian footballers was detected after World War I and was induced by deficient financial conditions and post-war depression. The migration of footballers occured and was a significant part of Hungarian football between World Wars, but, apart from the year 1956, was stopped after communist ideologies became dominant in the country. Then, the migration of footballers became insignificant and forbidden only to reappear in the late 1980s. In the 1990s, football migration again became a significant part of Hungarian football, and still is, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5.

In addition, the most significant general migration patterns in Hungary in the last one and a half centuries have been outlined. It can be observed that Hungary, aside from the communist era, was always part of regional and global migratory movements both as a host and donor country. After the collapse of the USSR and the Communist Bloc, Hungary was reintegrated into the wider regional and global processes and has been chiefly functioning as a host country since then. The first half of the post-communist period was eventful in terms of migrations, but the second half showed a consolidation of migratory circumstances. In 2004, a new era and area of potential migration was created through the EU enlargement. The migratory relevance of this novel political and economic integration will require multi-disciplinary and multi-cultural scientific research to be carried out in the years ahead.

This chapter also explored the impact of communism on the development of both migration patterns and football in Hungary. It has been observed that, during this era, migrations were restricted due to constraining border policies, and football clubs and football itself were restructured. As a consequence, during communism, Hungary was not an active agent in general global and football migration flows that probably

generated the high number and intensity of migration waves after the collapse of the USSR in the early 1990s, and triggered unique social processes that are worthy of research. Hence, this observation reinforces the importance of this historical review and processual thinking without which one would not be able to fully understand post-communist migration processes.

Notes

[1] Mennell (1992) suggests that the monopoly mechanism is a part of the process of state formation and perpetuation, and it refers to two intimately related processes: gradual concentration of means of violence and taxation. In this case the former is relevant that has two aspects: the progressive reduction of the number of competing territorial units and internal pacification, which is 'the gathering of the control of means of violence into fewer and fewer hands' (Mennell, 1992, p. 69).

[2] Riordan (1980) makes a similar observation with reference to the development of Russian football.

[3] Hadas and Karady (1995) conducted a similar analysis when they argued that the first rural team appeared in the football league around 1910/11, which was the Kassai SC. Later on, they named other rural teams such as Tatabanya and Szegedi AK that were supposedly participating in the Hungarian amateur football league before the 1925/26 season. Thus, it must be noted that the observation of Hadas and Karady (1995) differs from that of Komaromi (2003) whose account is accepted here as it is more accurate.

[4] As a part of this anti-Hungarian campaign Francz von Loher wrote that:

> There is no a single cultural idea – whether in the laws, the military, and the state, in religion and customs, in art and in science, or any other field – which would have found its way from Hungary to the educated world...It is really true that Magyar people are still about on the same commercial level as they were 1,000 years ago, when their tents were still shining over the Asiatic steppes (Loher, 1874 cited in Lendvai, 2003, p. 348).

[5] These players officially held amateur status, but received monetary compensation that was against the Hungarian football regulations at that time.

[6] Also, at this meeting it was decided that capital and rural teams would play in the same league (Komaromi, 2003).

[7] The short form of the name of one of the Hungarian football teams, MTK, stands for Magyar Testgyakorlok Kore [Sphere of Hungarian Exercisers].

[8] It is highly characteristic of the Hungarian society that in case of failure it becomes entirely bitter (see Lendvai, 2003) and introverted. For example, the Hungarian national team did not meet the expectation of the Hungarian public at the 1924 Paris Olympics Games and blamed the Hungarian FA for not winning the Games. Therefore, the entire executive board of the Hungarian FA had to resign. This kind of behaviour pattern can clearly be observed after the 5th World Cup in Bern, in 1954 where the Hungarian national team, lead by Gusztav Sebes, was expected to win and failed to do so in the final. Even today, this result is viewed as one of the greatest failures of Hungarians not as one of the greatest achievements. In addition to this, one of the interview subjects mentioned that: 'When we lost here [in Hungary], it was almost customary for players to hide out for three days...And when I went to play abroad in 1987, the English coach always smoked his cigar in the same way, regardless of winning or losing. Now we lost. We will win next week!'.

[9] Interestingly, Lendvai (2003) points out that Hungary was not only perceived as 'the country of Gypsies' but also as 'the country of Jews'. For instance, Lendvai mentions that Karl Luger, former Mayor of Vienna, invented terms such as 'Judaeo-Magyars' or 'Judapest' (for the full discussion see Lendvai, 2003, pp. 329-347).

[10] Lendvai (2003) argues that the Hungarians blamed the Hungarian Jewry for the great loss of Trianon and the nation's interwar deprivation. He observes that:

> The Jewish Bolshevists, led by Bela Kun, figured as the main offenders, "the Jewish agents of world bolshevism", the Jewish intellectuals who subverted all national and Christian values, and the Jewish black market millionaires profiting from the nation's misery and from the soldiers serving in the field – it was they who had consigned Hungary to its fate. In short, the Jews and they alone were responsible for Trianon and the Hungarian tragedy (2003, p. 377).

This was an unrealistic view of the Hungarian Jewry's role in the Trianon peace negotiations since they perceived themselves as Hungarians and nothing else (see Handler, 1985, see also Elias' observation in regard to his father's national identity, 1994, p. 6). Nevertheless, the country needed a scapegoat and the Hungarian Jewry was put into this position.

[11] In October 1947, the non-communist political representatives were asked to cooperate with the new coalition government or leave the country. In 1949, the government held a single-list election and, then, ratified a Soviet-style constitution.

[12] Pál Kinizsi lived in the 15th century. He was a legendary soldier and troop leader and served by the side of Hungary's greatest king, King Matthias.

[13] As it is known, a communist society is a virtual-one-class society, therefore social mobility, which means an individual's chance to move from one class to another within a given society, may not be associated with any communist societal manifestation. That is, the idea of social mobility presupposes the fact that a society consists of more than one social stratum that seemingly did not exist in communist countries. Thus, social mobility, in this context, rather refers to the changes of social status within the same social class.

[14] The same observation can be made in reference to Soviet football with the exception that, in Russia, this process began in the mid-1930s (see Riordan, 1980).

[15] According to the media representative of the Hungarian FA, this number has drastically decreased during the last 30 years, which is unique to Hungary in Europe. UEFA (2003/2004) data show that the number of officially registered Hungarian footballers is 109,761 including women, amateurs, semi-professionals and professionals.

[16] In 1951, two years after Gusztav Sebes had been appointed as the head coach of the Hungarian national team he draw up a so-called 'three-year plan' that contained certain endeavours such as winning the upcoming Olympic Games, European Cup and World Cup. Two out of three of those goals were fulfilled but Hungary could not win the 1954 World Cup.

[17] It appears that after the World Cup in 1954, the Party made an oblique attempt to restore its 'footballing reputation' among Hungarians and, perhaps, facilitated the publication of a book on the life of Ferenc Puskas (1955). Interestingly, this book was also translated and published in English in the very same year, probably, to provide an international explanation to Hungary's World Cup performance. This volume introduces the life of Puskas as 'The Captain of Hungary' and, in the end, mediates, through the words of Puskas, that philosophically losing the World Cup was not as extremely devastating as some might have thought. As Puskas writes:

> The bitter irony was, though, that in the last four years we had only lost one international, and the price of that defeat was very dear. It cost us the World Championship...But I tried to be philosophical and look on the credit side. Brazil, Turkey, and Yugoslavia – they would have given their eye-teeth to have finished in the final, and here were we who had done so, weeping miserably...Soon, by looking at our defeat philosophically, I was able to recover my normal balanced outlook. Football was a sport and meant defeat as well as victories. To take defeats with the same dignity as we accepted triumphs must be our aim. That was the basis of good sportsmanship (1955, pp. 167-170).

A few remarks must be made regarding this quotation. First, one should question the person of Puskas as the original author of this book. Taken into account the attitude of Puskas toward politics and his level of education, he might not have personally written the book. It was always made obvious that he loved his mother country and never intended to take part in any political regimes, but only wanted to play football. Thus, it is noteworthy to mention that his book (Puskas, 1955) is loaded with a communist overtone. Second, Puskas loved football and also winning. He often got quite emotional about match outcomes and yelled at his team-mates if they did not meet his footballing standards (see, for example, Hamori, 2001, p. 35). Therefore, it might be difficult to imagine him as a 'philosophical observer' of 1954 World Cup happenings who could placidly explain what had been going on in his mind after the defeat.

[18] As a reaction to the malpractices of the communist government, a revolution rose against Stalinism on the 23 October 1956. Mainly the younger generation took part in this freedom fight angered by the humiliating Stalinist rules and ritual disciplines. On 23 October, student demonstrations began in downtown Budapest and unauthorised shootings of demonstrators led to chaos. On the same night, Imre Nagy was appointed to be the Prime Minister, a position he held for little more than 10 days. One of the main goals of this freedom fight was to rid of the yoke of the USSR that was the common desire of the Hungarian citizens. Thus, Nagy decided to leave the Warsaw Pact and declared neutrality. Seemingly, the Soviets were ready and willing to negotiate about withdrawing their troops from Hungary and arranged a meeting with Hungarian government representatives. On 3 November, a Hungarian delegation was supposed to meet the Soviet army general, but they were betrayed and arrested in the Soviet military headquarters. One day later, the Soviet army attacked Budapest and within a few days destroyed the rebel resistance. In the meantime, the revolution's leadership was decoupled and Janos Kadar went to the Russian Embassy and agreed to create a counter-government. The Kadar government took over the leadership with the support of the Soviet Red Army. Kadar promised democratic socialism and consolidation, but, instead, he engaged in retaliation and executions. By virtue of this, overall, 20,000 people were killed and an estimated 200,000 fled to the west (see Lendvai, 2003).

[19] Janos Kadar (1912-1989) was a member of the Hungarian underground movement during World War II. After the war, he was first party secretary and one of the leading members of the regime. In 1950, while serving as Secretary of Internal Affairs he was arrested for being a 'Titoist' and was rehabilitated in 1954. When the Hungarian revolution broke out he was one of the leading anti-Stalinists. However, when Soviet troops marched in, he set up a puppet regime. He remained in his position as the leader of Hungary until 1988.

[20] Hadas (2000) terms this sport system as 'a sort of meritocratic pluralism'. In this regard one may observe that this terminology does not realistically reflect the peculiarities of the Kadar era. First of all, this regime perpetuated a strong sense of centralisation and only gave virtual autonomy to citizens and institutions, and thus, pluralism, as sharing of power among multiplicity of groups and organisations, existed only in theory. Furthermore, meritocracy manifested itself in a reinterpreted Sovietised shape. That is, the social success of individuals was not the sheer outcome of abilities and efforts. To this equation one must add other factors as well as political belongingness and activity in order to realistically measure ones chances for social mobility in the given era.

[21] For details and electronic forms of the original documents see:
http://www.xhvg.hu/archivum/ujsagcikkek9902/990200_mlsz_index.htm

[22] The Austro-Hungarian Empire resulted from an agreement, generally referred to as the Settlement (Ausgleich), conducted in 1867, but Austria and Hungary had forged political and military connections previously (see Lendvai, 2003, pp. 145-154).

[23] The monarchy as a whole had an area of about 680,887 km², and a population of about 48,592,000. The monarchy held sway over: the provinces represented in the Austrian Parliament, which together had an area of 300,008 km² and a population of 26,969,812; the provinces of the Hungarian Crown which had a total area of 329,851 km² and a population of 19,985,465; Bosnia and Herzegovina, with an area of 51,028 km² and a population of 1,737,000. These areas included various nationalities. In the Austrian territory there were: Germans, 9,171,000; Czechs, 5,955,000; Poles, 4,259,000; Ruthenians, 3,376,000; Slovenes, 1,193,000; Italians and Ladinians, 727,000. In Hungary the population was composed of: Magyars, 9,180,000; Rumanians, 2,867,000; Germans, 2,138,000; Slovaks, 2,055,000; Croats, 1,734,000; Serbs, 1,079,000; Ruthenians, 443,000. (Data derived from: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02121b.htm)

[24] There are variant opinions regarding the migration patterns of Hungary in the 1980s. One perspective argues that between 1981 and 1990 the influx of people to Hungary from the neighbouring regions were significant (see Toth and Sik, 2003), while others assert that refugee issues have only been present in Hungary since the end of 1980s and was irrelevant previously (see Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994 and Dovenyi, 1995).

[25] The post-World War peace treaties generated the largest and most drastic migration related issues. According to an anecdotal example, there is a village in Ukraine in which the ethnic Hungarian population changed citizenship five times in the 20th century without ever leaving their village (Hars et al., 2001, p. 252).

[26] Hars et al. (2001) argue that there are two reasons why waves of foreigners are relatively easily absorbed in Hungary regardless of the large number of them. They state that, first, a huge number of migrants leave Hungary as soon as they can and move to the West, that is, in most of the cases Hungary only functions as a transit country. Second, a vast majority of immigrants staying in Hungary are ethnic Hungarians and, thus, find it less complicated to assimilate. However, it must be noted that this observation is only partially correct as it does not explore the whole complexity of changing national identities of ethnic Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries. Hars et al. simply assume that ethnic Hungarians, by their origin, can merge into the recent Hungarian culture easier and perceive Hungary as the 'country of redemption'. On the contrary, a study, conducted by Fox (2003b), highlights that ethnic Hungarians living in Romania do have ambivalent views regarding Hungary, Hungarians and Hungarian culture. They often feel to be declared as second-class citizens in both Romania and Hungary, and perceived as Hungarians in Romania and Romanians in Hungary. Furthermore, they often think that the contemporary Hungarian culture has been bastardised (overly Westernised) and they are last resort of true Hungarians. By virtue of this, it is more correct to state that, perhaps, ethnic Hungarians usually have the advantage of knowing the Hungarian language when wanting to settle down in Hungary, but simply being an ethnic Hungarian does not necessarily presuppose easier assimilation to the recent Hungarian culture of Hungary.

CHAPTER FIVE

HUNGARY-RELATED POST-COMMUNIST FOOTBALL MIGRATIONS

The focal point of this thesis is to explore and understand football related contemporary migration patterns in Hungary, and to locate these local migratory sequences into a global/regional process that is, in turn, induced and facilitated by global migratory movements. The aim of Chapter 5 is to explain these patterns in relation to intermingled economic, political, social, and cultural factors. This is necessary as migrations of elite footballers are argued to have a significant impact not only on national league football, but also on European club football (cf. Maguire and Pearton, 2000). This, in turn, may lead back to issues of indigenous player development and national team performance.

In examining migration patterns, a quantitative data set will be presented and analysed covering 12 years of Hungary's post-communist transition period. The data were derived from The European Football Yearbook (1991-2003). This is a reliable and accessible source of information (for an explanation see Chapter 3). However, it must be noted that the data set does not represent the entire complexity of Hungary related football migrations. It is only representative of the elite level and, thus, in order to explore other layers of football migrations, more data would need to be gathered and that might be a challenging endeavour due to difficulties in collecting reliable statistical material (see Chapter 3).

Initially, it was planned that the optimal way to illustrate the changes this transition period has brought would be to contrast and compare football migratory data from both the years of communism and transition. Unfortunately, this was not possible due to the lack of reliable sources representing the years of communism in terms of football migrations. As part of the data collection procedure, the archives of

the Hungarian FA were searched during the autumn of 2003, and it was established that there was insufficient information available. After visiting the Hungarian FA, both FIFA and UEFA were approached regarding the same set of information. Both of these organisations responded and stated that they did not possess the required archival data. Therefore, the data collection procedure was unsuccessful and the desired information regarding the migration of Hungarian footballers in the communist era could not be obtained.

In retrospect, one should expect such difficulties when searching for migration related data in post-communist countries in general (see Chapter 4). However, without stating that a similar search would perhaps produce the same result in all post-communist countries, it should be mentioned that in communist Hungary bureaucracy, record keeping, and documentation, were highly politically driven and, thus, documents produced in that era have to be interpreted with caution.

In the previous chapter, in mapping general migration patterns in Hungary between 1948 and 1989, it was highlighted that the migratory information produced by the communist regime, though stemming from three diverse sources, does not provide a coherent and representative picture of migration conditions and flows in the given era (Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994). The mis-documentation of the number of people leaving from and coming into Hungary served ideological and political purposes. Thus, one should not expect to recover reliable football specific migration related information recorded under communism in Hungary as general migratory data in that era tended to be politically biased and therefore, invalid.

In sum, the data collecting procedure for this study was limited to the years of post-communist Hungary and covers 12 years (1991-2003). This data set is representative of the migration of professional male footballers in Hungary in the era

in question. It does not cover the entire length of the transition period because the first two years after the collapse of the Communist regime were extremely chaotic and, relevant data remained unavailable. Therefore, in Chapter 5, since Hungary has been characterised as a predominantly host country, the immigration of foreign professional male footballers to Hungary will be initially considered. Thereafter, the out-migration of Hungarian male footballers to UEFA countries will be discussed.

I. Immigration of Foreign Footballers to Hungary

In this section, an attempt will be made to answer questions such as: What are the most relevant donor football confederations in the case of Hungary and why? Where do football migrants mainly come from? What are the factors facilitating or hindering football immigration to Hungary? In this section I will thus attempt to debunk some of the myths that surround Hungarian football with regard to the presence and number of foreign players in the Hungarian professional football league. This is of importance as the data collection procedure revealed that the number and significance of foreign players in Hungary can easily be misrepresented (see Chapter 7).

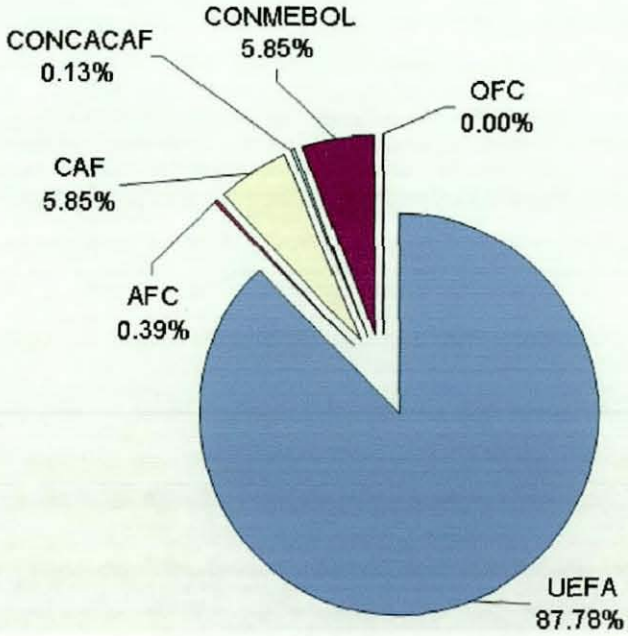
5.1. General Migration Patterns

5.1.1. Donor Confederations

Confederations such as OFC, AFC and CONCACAF[1] have not proved to be significant donor confederations of professional male footballers to Hungary. Figure 1 shows that the percentage of footballers arriving in Hungary from these confederations was under 1% and thus can be considered insignificant. That is, the sum of players coming from these confederations was only four[2] in the entire 12-year period.

That these football confederations provided only 1% of footballers migrating to Hungary is perhaps due to several factors. Geographical distance still exists regardless of the advanced technological development that has fundamentally changed the way we perceive of time and space (e.g. well developed and cheap air travel). Large cultural gaps make it even more difficult for foreign players to accustom themselves to the unique Hungarian language and culture. Lower playing standards in potential donor countries reduce the attractiveness of their players to the Hungarian market, and lack of agent networks between Hungary and the countries of these confederations has prevented the formulation of migratory pipelines. Additionally, some of the footballers of these confederations may not consider Hungary as an attractive country with regard to football at all, and, thus, they do not try to launch or prolong their foreign footballing careers there. Nevertheless, even though these factors undeniably exist and shape the migration of footballers of these confederations to Hungary, it should be noted that due to the very small number of players it was not possible to reveal sufficient and reliable information on this matter.

Figure 1 Percentage of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from Donor Confederations between 1991 and 2003 (Σ=769)



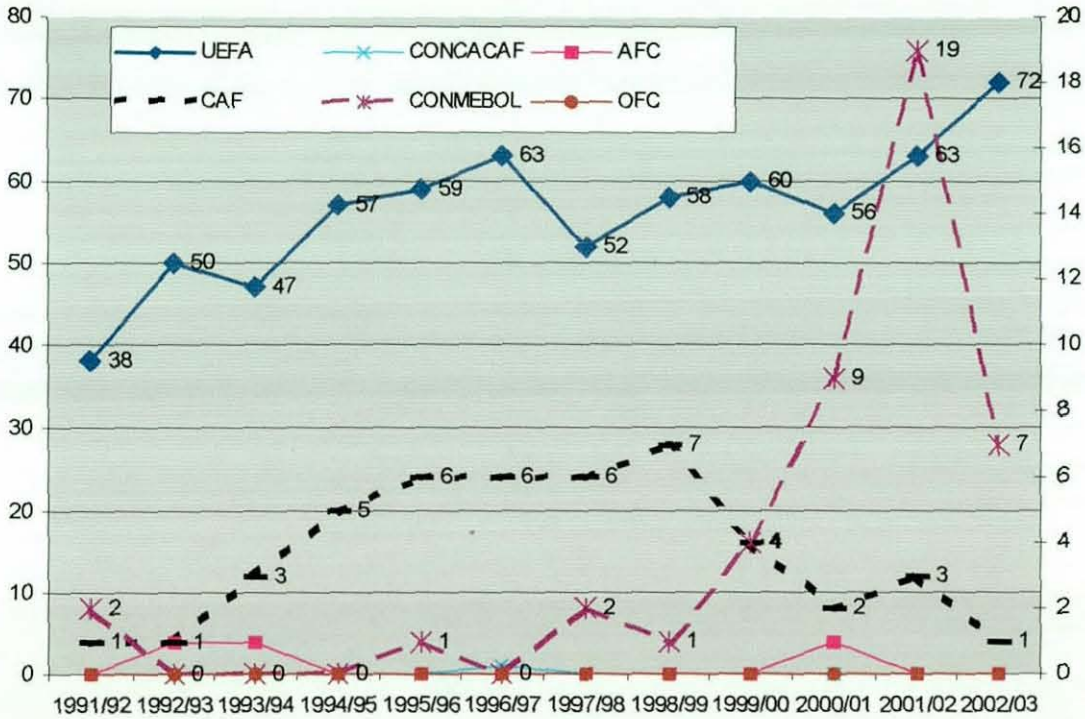
CAF and CONMEBOL[3] appear to be equal providers of footballers to Hungary, and it must be noted that footballers of these confederations arrived in two separate, but not entirely independent, waves (see Figure 2). Figure 2 illustrates that in the first two seasons there was only one player from CAF, but this number increased from three to seven in the following five seasons and peaked in 1998/99. After this season, the number of footballers from CAF began to decline and, by the 2002/03 season, it was reduced to only one player again. On the other hand, there was an average of two players per year from CONMEBOL (mainly from Brazil) between the 1991/92 and 1998/99 seasons. The number of Brazilian players began to grow in the 1999/00 season, which was the same season in which the number of CAF players started to decline. In the following two seasons the number of Brazilian footballers increased from four to nineteen, and dropped down again to seven in the 2002/03 season (see Figure 2). It appears that the data demonstrate a change in migration flows starting with the 1999/00 season, which could be conceived as the fading of an old, existing pipeline and the formation of a new one.

Regardless of these reciprocally changing migration sequences, the number of footballers coming from CAF and CONMEBOL countries represents only approximately 12 % of the entire sum of migrant players in the Hungarian professional football league (see Figure 1). The relatively small percentage of footballers from CAF and CONMEBOL can be explained with reference to the same factors that have been shaping the migrations from AFC, OFC and CONCACAF to Hungary - including: large cultural gaps, geographical distances, and lack of footballing relations. However, other aspects must also be highlighted.

Hungary has had various relationships with some of the countries of both CAF and CONMEBOL. For example, Hungarian higher education has been attracting

students from some of the CAF countries (e.g. Liberia and Nigeria) for quite some time. They spend several years in the country and engage in sports.[4] So, it is possible that students who obtain their degrees in Hungary build up football connections, return to their home countries, and thus facilitate the development of migratory pipelines. This perhaps explains the sporadic arrival of players from 11 different CAF countries, most of which also send students to Hungary.[5]

Figure 2 Number of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from Donor Confederations between 1991 and 2003 (Σ=769)



The case of CONMEBOL is different as there is only one significant donor countryfrom this confederation, Brazil. The reason why there is a flow of players from Brazil to Hungary is three-fold.[6] First, there is a migration link from Hungary to Brazil that started in approximately 1871 (Ferenczi, 1929) and began to fade before World War II. Ferenczi (1929) observes that European statistics indicate that some 848 Hungarians left Hungary to move to Brazil between 1871 and 1913. Furthermore, Brazilian port statistics state that some 1723 Hungarians arrived in Brazil between 1908 and 1915 (Ferenczi, 1929). Then, Hungarian immigration to Brazil declined

almost completely during World War I and accelerated again after 1919. Brazilian port statistics indicate that some 2174 Hungarians moved to Brazil between 1919 and 1924 (see Ferenczi, 1929, pp. 551, 552 and 717). This shows a growing tendency of Hungarians to migrate to Brazil that was mainly a consequence of new migration policy arrangements in the US after 1921 (see Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994). Subsequently, there was a significant phase of migration from Hungary to Brazil prior to World War II, and thus it is possible that Brazilian-Hungarians still maintain family, social or business connections with Hungarians through which Brazilian footballers can be channelled into Hungarian football.[7]

Another factor influencing the number of Brazilian players in Hungary is the presence of a small number of Hungarian migrant footballers in the Portuguese leagues (see Figure 10) who return to Hungary after some time and seek employment as coaches or managers. They, by and large, have learnt the Portuguese language and have had opportunities to develop friendships and other football related connections whilst in Portugal. These connections, along with a certain level of knowledge of the Portuguese language, might also have facilitated the flow of some Brazilian players to Hungary. One particular case illustrates these processes at work. One of the ex-head coaches (Lazar Szentes) of DVSC (a pro football club) tends to recruit at least one or two Brazilian footballers pers season (in the 2003/04 season he had two Brazilian players on his team) since he speaks their language very well and perhaps developed football related connections when he was a professional player in Portugal in Vitória Setúbal (1987-88), FC Louletano (1988-89) and Quarteriense (1989-90).

There is another factor concerning the inflow of Brazilian footballers to Hungary, which is the global popularity of skilful Brazilian players. For example, Maguire at al. (2002) observed that South American nations have done well in the

World Cups and developed great players, and represent desirable assets for European football clubs. Besides, Alex Bellos (2003) has revealed the extent to which agents are hard at work arranging the migration of Brazilian players to almost every part of the world. Hence, to understand the presence of Brazilian players in Hungary, it is important to consider the role of migratory networks.

Having discussed the migration patterns related to four of the football confederations, UEFA will be given consideration as the major donor confederation throughout the years of transition (see Figure 1). Between 1991 and 2003, an average of 56 players drawn from various UEFA countries played in the Hungarian professional football league. The number of footballers from UEFA countries has been increasing since the 1991/92 season (see Figure 2). In that season, the number of foreign footballers from UEFA was 38 and that further increased to 72 by the 2002/03 season. The high number of players from UEFA countries (see Figure 2) is perhaps due to geographical proximity, fewer cultural differences, analogous football development and well-functioning agent networks in Europe. Furthermore, the migration of footballers within Europe is not a novel phenomenon. It has been detected that football related migrations (pioneers) existed prior to World War I in Europe. Thus, football migration routes have a much longer history in Europe than on any other continent.

5.1.2. Regions of UEFA

Since UEFA is the most significant supplier of foreign footballers in the Hungarian professional football league, a deeper analysis is necessary in researching as to which countries of UEFA or regions of Europe send the largest number of foreign players to Hungary. In doing so, the countries of UEFA are divided into three categories (cf. Wallerstein, 1974) by economic standings: core, semi-periphery and

periphery (see Figure 3). The first category consists of established EU member states plus Norway and Switzerland. The second contains new EU member states. The third includes the rest of the UEFA countries.

Figure 3 Percentage of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from UEFA Donor Countries by Economic Standings (1991-2003, Σ=675)

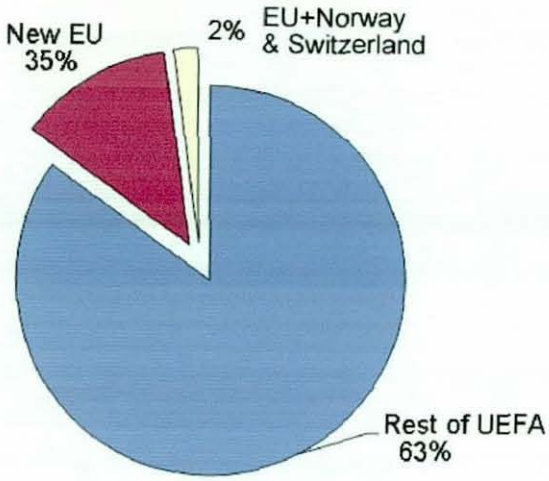


Figure 3 illustrates that only 2% of the foreign players arrive in Hungary from the countries of the first category. The second group (New EU) is represented by 35% and the largest number of footballers arriving to Hungary is from the countries in the third category (Rest of UEFA). Since Hungary itself belongs to the second group in terms of its economic standards (and political status); Figure 3 shows that footballers from highly developed Western European countries are less likely to migrate to Hungary than are players from countries which belong to the second or third category. That is, footballers are more likely to migrate to Hungary from countries that have similar or lower economic standards than from countries of higher economic standings.[8] Nonetheless, this explanation, while helpful and similar to other neo-classical migration theories (for examples see Wallace and Stola, 2001), oversimplifies other factors that are at work. These factors and their categories will be further discussed below.

5.1.3. Western Europe

Hungary has gone through fundamental changes in its economic, political, legal and social systems (see Meusburger and Jons, 2001) that were unstable throughout the 1990s. This slowed foreign investment to a certain degree and, perhaps, the immigration of people in general and footballers in particular from Western European countries. For example, it was a common occurrence in Hungarian football that clubs were on the edge of bankruptcy and could not pay their players (see Hammond, 1999), and since the rights of foreign players were not laid down appropriately, such players were the ones who suffered the most from legal discrepancies. Thus, Hungarian football did not attract footballers from countries with higher economic standing and with better organised and implemented employment rights and footballing regulations.

In addition to this, the Hungarian national football team has not achieved anything significant on the international stage since 1986 (this was the last time when Hungary qualified for the World Cup). This further hinders the flow of footballers from Western European nation-sates to Hungary as Hungarian football does not represent an outstanding quality any longer. That is, poor economic conditions and unstable footballing regulations, along with weak national and international performances, have prevented the flow of Western European players to Hungary[9] and vice versa. By virtue of this, the analysis must be further pursued in determining the chief donor countries and other push and pull factors driving Hungarian professional football migration patterns.

Cultural and language differences are also factors in this process. But the major question to consider is: Why would anyone move to Hungary from Western Europe and face cultural and language challenges for less money and a lower standard of

football? One possible answer is personal reasons. For example, Lothar Matthäus - the head coach of the Hungarian national team at present - claimed that he had accepted this opportunity in Hungary because he had wanted to be close to his wife who has business connections in Budapest (Bocsak and Imre, 2004). Matthäus was evidently not overly concerned about finances because he had made a significant sum of money whilst an active footballer, and his previous occupation as coach of Partizan Beograd had paid three times more than the Hungarian FA (Bocsak and Imre, 2004). By virtue of this, it can be argued that the migration of Western European footballers and coaches to Hungary should be viewed as individual cases, driven chiefly by personal reasons. This analysis can be pursued further, however, by examining the principal donor countries and other push and pull factors shaping Hungarian professional football migration patterns.

5.1.4. New EU Member Sates

The second category contains six of the new EU member states as only these countries provided players to the Hungarian professional football league in the given period (see Figure 4). These nation-states are Malta (1%), Poland (3%), Slovenia (5%), Latvia (6%), Lithuania (8%) and Slovakia (77%). Figure 4 clearly shows that the first five countries do not tend to send a high number of footballers to Hungary since they only represent 23% of the total. According to the data, the only significant donor country is Slovakia that provided 77% (Σ= 60) of the players from group two. The data also show that there has been a continuous and significant inflow of Slovakian players to the Hungarian professional football league, and the factors shaping this stream of footballers need attention.

The existence of this talent pipeline stems from three main factors. First, there is an obvious geographical proximity that can facilitate the migration of Slovakian

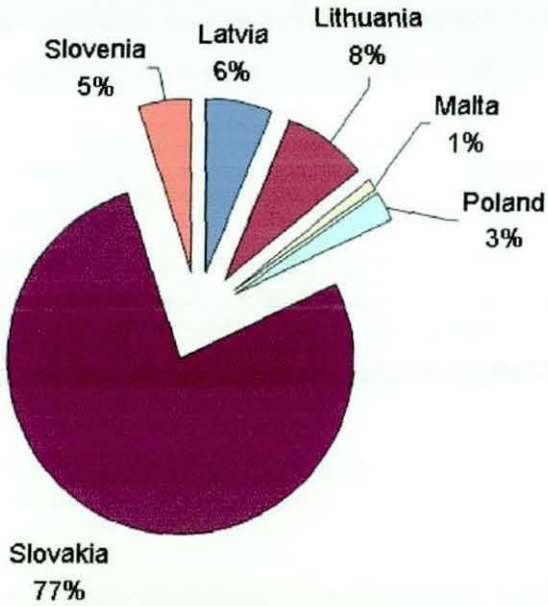
footballers to Hungary. There is also an economic push factor driving Slovakian footballers toward Hungary as the latter enjoys higher economic standards (for a comparison see Wallace and Stola, 2001). Finally, these two countries have mutual historical roots. Slovakia used to be a part of Hungary, but after the Trianon Peace Treaty (1920) it was detached, along with the large number of Hungarians living there. A significant number of those Hungarians migrated back to the 'remains' of Hungary or fled to the US, Canada or South America, after the World Wars.

Nevertheless, not all the Hungarians left Slovakia. A significant number[10] of Hungarians still live along the border and have managed to maintain their Hungarian identity. Thus, it is not surprising that some Slovakian football migrants have Hungarian names, speak the Magyar language, and sometimes perceive themselves as Hungarians and the bearers of Hungarian culture in Slovakia. That is, Slovakians and Hungarians have been living together for centuries and have impacted upon the cultural development of each other. Hence, for a Slovakian footballer who belongs to the Hungarian minority, to move to Hungary is usually not as demanding as it might be for a non-Central European. On the other hand, it must be noted that simply being a Slovak-Hungarian does not necessarily dissolve all the problems a football migrant has to face while in Hungary. Slovakian footballers have a higher potential to accommodate to a Hungarian way of living and can visit their country of origin more easily and more often than, for example, a non-Central European player.

Bearing in mind the above observations, one can understand why it is only Slovakia from group two that sends a significant number of players to Hungary. The other new EU member countries that provided Hungary with professional footballers neither share borders with Hungary (except Slovenia), have less-developed economic conditions, nor possess Hungarian ethnic minorities living within their territories.[11]

Thus, it seems that Slovakia possesses a certain constellation of features that facilitates the migration of professional footballers to Hungary, which are: geographical proximity, a less developed economy, bridgeable cultural differences and a significant number of Hungarian minorities. After highlighting a significant football pipeline between Slovakia and Hungary and the facilitating factors of that, attention will be turned to the countries of the third category.

Figure 4 Percentage of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from New EU Member States (after 2004) between 1991 and 2003 (Σ=86)

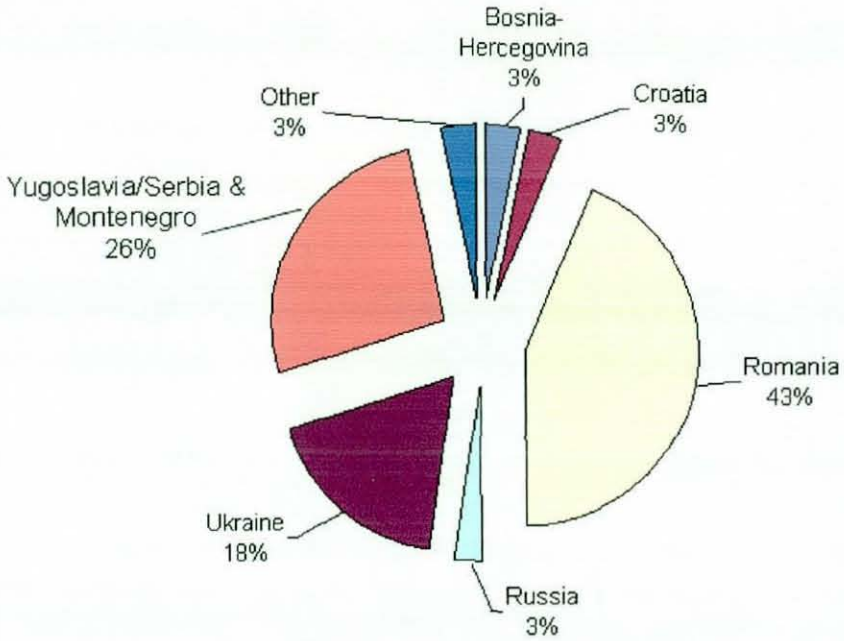


5.1.5. Non-EU UEFA Countries

The third group of UEFA countries consists of non-EU nation-states and the inflow of players from those to Hungary is represented by Figure 5 in percentage and Figure 6 in numbers. Figure 5 shows that there are only three countries that provide more than 3% of the players of group three total (Σ= 574). These are the Ukraine (18%, Σ= 99), Yugoslavia/Serbia-Montenegro (26%, Σ= 148) and Romania (43%, Σ= 241). The other countries (see Figure 5) are not represented by significant numbers of players and do not seem to have existing and well-functioning footballer pipelines

with Hungary in the given period. Therefore, attention will be focused on those countries that provided more than 3% of the players of group three.

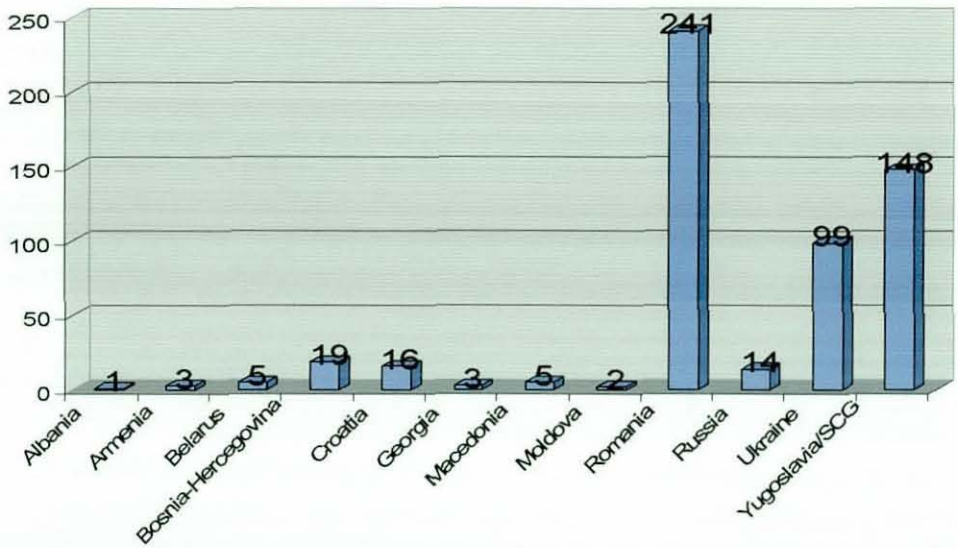
Figure 5 Percentage of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from UEFA Non-EU States (1991-2003, Σ =574)



Romania, the Ukraine and Serbia-Montenegro possess similar characteristics to Slovakia. These include: less-developed economies, geographical proximity and a large number of ethnic Hungarians within their borders. Thus, it can be argued that the existence of migratory pipelines between these countries and Hungary is triggered and perpetuated by the same factors. For instance, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE, 2004) statistics show that, among these countries, Hungary has the highest purchasing power and that reinforces the existence of an economic pull factor towards Hungary. Additionally, all of the three countries share borders with Hungary and that explains the importance of proximity as a (secondary) facilitator of migration in general. Furthermore, all of these nation-states have a large number of Hungarians living within their territories. According to the statistics of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,[12] Ukraine had some 156.000 Hungarians living inside its borders in 1989; Romania had approximately 1.6 million in 1992; and

Serbia (-Montenegro) had some 341.000 in 1991. The high number of Hungarians has been an essential factor in initiating and maintaining football migratory pipelines similar to what has already been described in the case of Slovakia.

Figure 6 Total Number of Foreign Male Pro Footballers in Hungary from UEFA Non-EU States (1991-2003, Σ=574)



Like Slovakia, these countries represent a set of characteristics that facilitate the migration of footballers to Hungary. Each factor is, on its own, important but, in this case, a combination of them is responsible for the existence of football migratory pipelines. The ratio of different factors in this combination is only representative of the given period and circumstances, and it is suggested that novel socio-eco-political conditions, such as EU membership, will reshape the present blend's dynamics.

In addition, the role of agent networks must be mentioned. Romania, Ukraine, and Slovakia were all member countries of the Eastern Bloc.[13] Beyond sharing an ideological belief system, this was designed to develop a comradely network among those countries. It can be argued that this network did not vanish with the collapse of the USSR and that it continues to exist in a residual form that has created a sort of 'post-communist football camaraderie' amongst the countries in question through which footballers could be channelled to Hungary. For instance, Hammond observes

that the excellent business connections of Jozsef Stadler, owner of Stradler FC, with Romania and Ukraine 'have brought many players from these countries' (1995, p. 525).

Serbia-Montenegro, a successor state of Yugoslavia, constitutes a different scenario since the country distanced itself from the Soviet Union and built its own way to socialism under the strong political leadership of Josip Broz Tito. The country criticized both the Eastern and Western blocs and, along with other countries, began the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, which remained the official policy of the country until it dissolved. Nonetheless, there were extensive football connections between Hungary and Yugoslavia. Indeed, an informal discussion with a Hungarian ex-football agent revealed the existence of one of these post-communist comrade' networks between Croatia/Serbia-Montenegro and Hungary. This network was created during communism, facilitated by geographical proximity and existed until the Hungarian FA ratified a football agent licence policy in 2001.

The significance of this 'post-communist camarades' network' is reinforced by the fact that hardly any players moved to Hungary from the West as communist countries in general had underdeveloped diplomatic and business relations with Western countries, a situation that began to change only after the collapse of the communist bloc. It can also be argued that even in the transition period, the post-communist countries relied heavily on this informal agent network that began to decline and be reformulated by way of Hungarian FA implemented regulations. This is only an initial observation with regard to post-communist comrades' networks and further analysis should be carried out to gain a deeper insight to this system.

In sum, many foreign football players tend to arrive in Hungary from UEFA countries whereas other football confederations do not supply Hungary with

significant numbers of professional football players. UEFA is the most significant donor confederation because of geographical proximity, less cultural difference, analogous football developments, and pre-existing migration routes within Europe. Within UEFA, four chief donor countries have been identified: Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania and Serbia-Montenegro. The existence of migratory pipelines between these countries and Hungary is the result of four key factors: economic standards, geographical proximity, football camaraderie and a large number of Hungarians living as minorities within the territories of the donor countries. These factors can separately be relevant motivating and facilitating forces for migration, and, hence, the sporadic migration of footballers from other UEFA countries to Hungary can be observed (see Figure 4 and 6), but only these four nation-states simultaneously possess all the key factors. The constellation of those is highly likely to have created and perpetuated the migratory pipelines that characterise Hungarian football in the post-communist period.

After discussing the migration patterns of foreign footballers with regard to the Hungarian professional league, attention will now be turned to the post-communist migration patterns of Hungarian players regarding the countries of UEFA.

II. EMIGRATION OF HUNGARIAN FOOTBALLERS

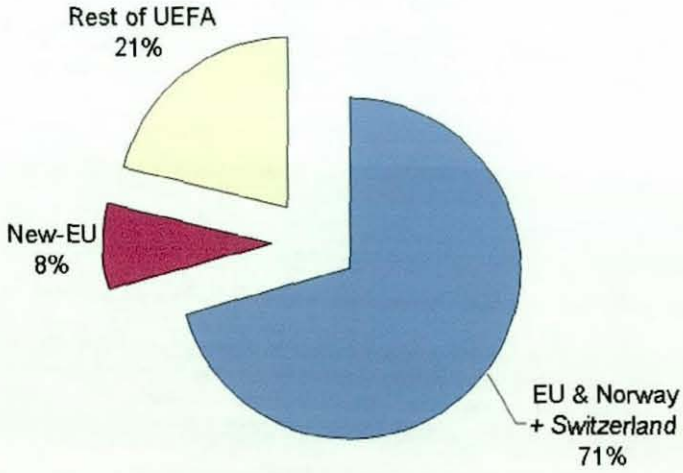
This section will illustrate the general migration patterns of Hungarian male professional footballers within the region of UEFA, the world's most powerful football confederation (see Sugden and Tomlinson, 1998), between 1991 and 2003. As has already been observed by Maguire and Pearton (2000), UEFA attracts the most players from other confederations and also has the most movement within the confederation itself. By virtue of this, it can be assumed that UEFA players in general and Hungarian players in particular, tend to stay within their confederation as that is

the most economically powerful and professionally challenging union. It may also be perceived by players of other confederations as the 'finishing school of football' (Maguire and Stead (1996) made a similar observation concerning the global significance of English cricket). In the next section, the major migration routes of Hungarian male professional footballers within UEFA will be outlined.

5.2. Regions of UEFA

In mapping out the chief migratory patterns of Hungarian footballers within UEFA, its member countries are divided into the same three sub-categories that were used when analysing Hungary's function as a host country. Figure 7 illustrates this compartmentalisation and the percentage of Hungarian players participating in the top divisions of UEFA countries.

Figure 7 Percentage of Hungarian Male Pro Footballers in the First Divisions of UEFA Countries between 1991 and 2003 (Σ=432)



The data in Figure 7 show that the lowest number of Hungarian footballers (only 8%) moved to the New EU member states (second category) to pursue their footballing careers. 21 % of them moved to the rest of the UEFA countries (third category), while the largest number (71%) transferred to the countries of the first category. Most Hungarian footballers thus gravitate towards Western European countries, while a significantly smaller percentage of them transfer to the countries of

the two other categories. The countries of the second category appear to be relatively insignificant in hosting Hungarian football players, while, interestingly, the countries of the third category receive more players. In order to shed light on the push and pull factors shaping these migration patterns, a deeper analysis needs to be carried out.

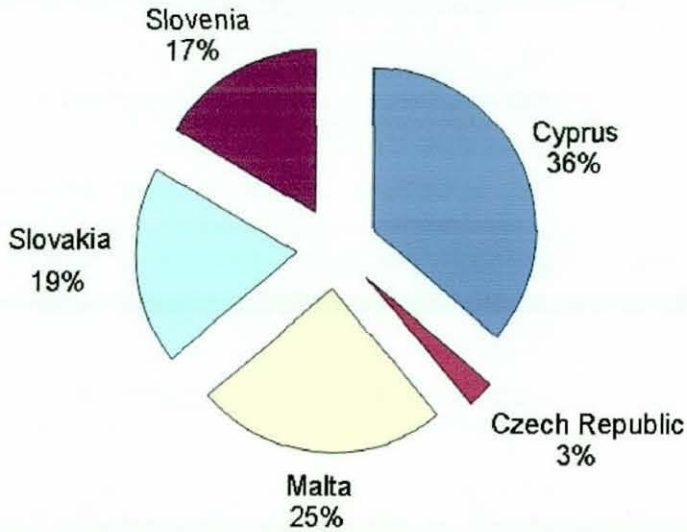
5.3. Networks of Hungarian Football Emigrants

Hungarian male footballers tend to move towards economically more advanced nation-states, along with some sporadic distribution of them in the countries of the two other categories. This implies that the importance of economic motivation must be considered as part of the migratory movements of Hungarian footballers. Figure 8 reinforces this argument as the countries of the second category to which Hungarian footballers tend to migrate, aside from Slovakia, have higher economic standards than Hungary. According to the EU web site (http://europa.eu.int), Cyprus is the most financially advanced country among the new member states with Malta, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia following. Figure 8 demonstrates that Cyprus (36%) and Malta (25%) host the most Hungarian footballers. Interestingly, despite its lower economic standards, Slovakia (19%) hosts more Hungarian footballers than the Czech Republic (3%) and Slovenia (17%). In order to explain this phenomenon, other factors must be considered.

When the FIFA ranking of group two countries are aligned with the percentages of Hungarian footballers they host, several observations can be made. The Czech Republic (4), Slovenia (43) and Slovakia (54) have higher FIFA rankings than Hungary (65), and yet they host fewer Hungarian players than Malta (136) or Cyprus (108) which have lower rankings. This observation suggests the following: First, Hungarian players are not primarily concerned about the level of football in the host country and they go wherever they have a chance of gaining higher monetary benefits.

That is, some of the Hungarian footballers are more likely to move to a richer country with less developed football conditions. Second, Hungarian players are not a durable commodity in countries with higher quality of football such as the Czech Republic and thus they have limited opportunities to migrate to such countries (for further details see Chapter 6). Finally, in the case of neighbouring countries such as Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia, geographical proximity also needs to be taken into account when interpreting migration routes.

Figure 8 Percentage of Hungarian Male Pro Footballers in the First Divisions of New EU Member States (from 2004) between 1991 and 2003 (Σ=36)



By virtue of this, it is possible to speculate that Hungarian footballers tend to move to Cyprus and Malta for financial benefits and, perhaps, because lower professional demands are made in those countries. Moreover, they may be a desirable commodity there as they can strengthen the quality of the national leagues. On the other hand, in the case of the Czech Republic, it would still be financially beneficial for Hungarian footballers to move, and they could cope with the difference in the level of football, but they would not be able to increase the quality of the domestic league that is generally expected of migrant players. Slovakia and Slovenia are both neighbouring countries of Hungary; both have ethnic Hungarian populations within

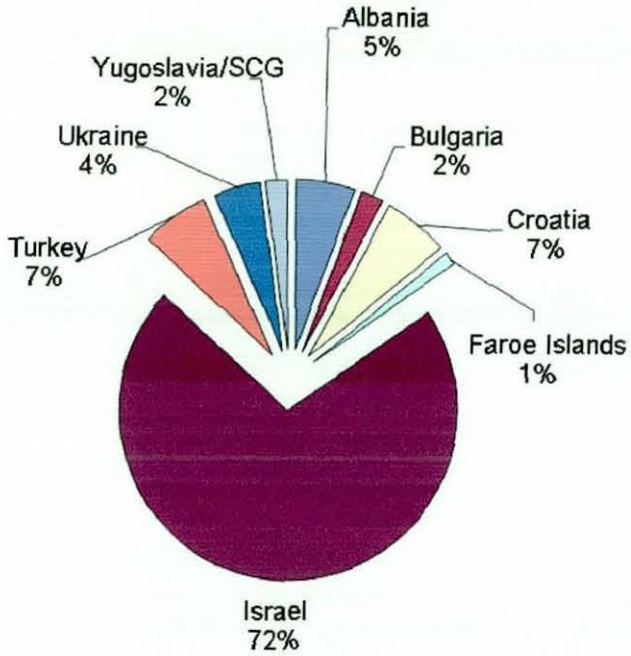
their borders and a roughly similar footballing quality to Hungary, all of which help explain the existing migration patterns.

These factors can explain the migration of Hungarian footballers to some of the new EU member states as well. In addition, and without contradicting the argument put forward so far, the role of agents and other sport personnel also has to be mentioned. They represent a significant force in channelling footballers between countries and are thus probably responsible for facilitating the majority, if not all, of the transfer transactions between clubs. For example, the small number of Hungarian players in Slovenia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic is indicative of the blend of contact between football clubs, managers and coaches (see previous section regarding football comrades' networks). For instance, it is a recurring phenomenon in football that foreign coaches, using their connections, tend to sign players from their country of origin (for an example see Amoruso, 2002).

In teasing out the pull factors driving the migration patterns of Hungarian footballers, the countries of the third category will be considered below. Figure 9 represents these countries (Rest of UEFA), and there is only one significant host country in this category, Israel. The other countries receive no more than 7% of the group two total, and, thus, it can be suggested that there has been no significant existing pipeline between Hungary and the countries of group three during the years of post-communist transition. On the other hand, Israel appears to be a major receiver of Hungarian male footballers which again indicates that some Hungarian footballers prefer monetary benefits to the level of football of the host country as Israel does not represent a country where the football quality is outstanding. Given this, it is possible to deduce that the prime reason for Hungarian footballers working in Israel is to gain higher monetary rewards. However, some of the interview subjects who had played in

Israel revealed that there was another factor at work. This was the 'love of football' and 'respect for footballers' in that country (see Chapter 6).

Figure 9 Percentage of Hungarian Male Pro Footballers in the First Divisions of UEFA Non-EU States between 1991 and 2003 (Σ=91)



Politics was also a relevant factor that contributed to the formation of a Hungary-Israel football pipeline in the 1990s. In the second part of the last century Israel experienced numerous brutal wars with neighbouring countries that undermined its economic development, social structure and public safety (see BBC NEWS, 9/March/2004). This regional warfare included terrorist attacks on the civil populations that attempted to destroy the morale of the country (see BBC NEWS, 4/Oct/2003). This sort of atmosphere would make it difficult for a football pipeline to evolve. However, under extremely strong UN pressure, peace negotiations began in the 1970s between the warring parties and reached an advanced stage by the beginning of the 1990s, which became the years of relative consolidation in Israel.

The flow of Hungarian footballers to Israel began in the 1994/1995 season with only one player, the number growing to eleven by the next season, and an average of ten Hungarian footballers were present in the Israeli first division in the following five

seasons. The number of Hungarian footballers in Israel started to drop only in the 2000/01 season and by the 2002/03 season this number had decreased to three. The decline in the number of Hungarian footballers in the Israeli football league is likely to be due to the period of consolidation ending in 2000, when social circumstances became more violent and the public atmosphere became once again hostile (see BBC NEWS, 4/Oct/2003). This probably stopped the movement of Hungarian footballers to, and drove the ones already there, out of Israel. For instance, it was reported of Hapoel, a football club in Israel:

> Like every part of Israeli society, Hapoel have been directly and brutally affected by the rapid escalation in the conflict with the Palestinians... Just a week ago, two of the club's players, Yossi Abuksis and Assi Domb, were enjoying supper in a Tel Aviv restaurant when a gunman opened fire with an automatic rifle. Three people were killed and 31 injured. The players survived, but with similar scenes being repeated across the country, the home leg of the Milan game was switched to Cyprus... Already there is talk of big-money offers for their Slovenian striker Milan Osterc, scorer of the first goal in Parma. Osterc has admitted that the daily violence on the streets of Israel is another factor driving him away from Tel Aviv. Other players may be temped to join him in safer, better-paid climes if the situation worsens. (BBC NEWS, 14/March/2002).

Two of my interview subjects revealed that they had felt uneasy whilst in Israel and one of them had even sent his family back to Hungary where, he had thought, they would be safer. Accordingly, it can be hypothesised that the Hungary-Israel pipeline, although significant in the second part of the 1990s, will not be revived as long as the Israeli peace negotiations fail to progress.

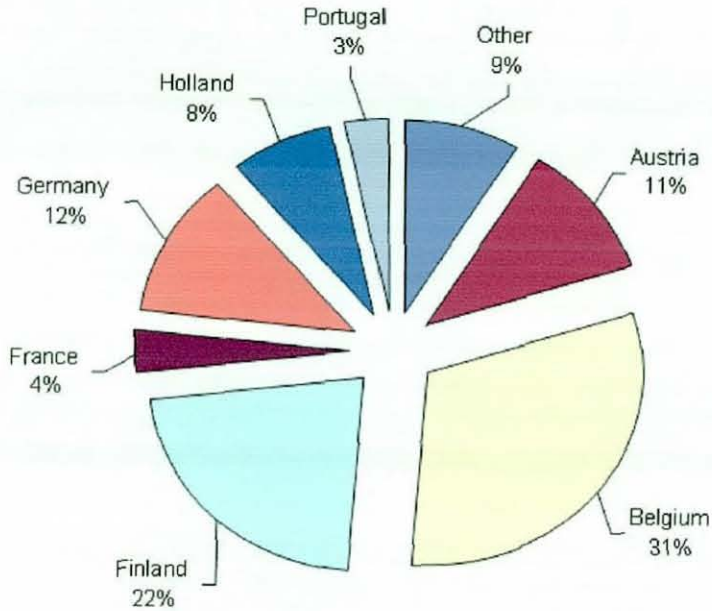
In further tracing pull factors that have triggered football related migrations, the countries of the first category can now be discussed. Most Hungarian footballers migrate to Western Europe (see Figure 7), because those countries possess attractive conditions including successful and stable economies, well-implemented employment rights and higher levels of football.

Most Western European countries can simply seem attractive as they represent a higher quality of football and have more prestigious and challenging leagues. Moreover, the financial benefits of playing in Western European countries are undeniable. First, footballers have higher financial security in Western European countries and that was not always the case in Hungary during the post-communist period. For instance, in the 1991/92 season, Siofok, one of the first division football clubs, experienced financial collapse as its sponsor, a German businessman (Andre Ritter), withdrew his funds (see Hammond, 1992). Players' wages were delayed and some players even had to be sold as a consequence of this financial hardship. Moreover, in the 1998/99 season, as Hammond observes, 'virtually all the clubs were operating in debt, and many players had to make do with reduced salaries or, in some cases, no money at all' (1999, p. 509). Second, players can earn significantly more in Western European countries than in Hungary. In expressing the differences in earning potential, Bocsak and Imre (2003) publicized the wages of some of the top Hungarian footballers in Hungary and abroad. According to their figures, Hungarian footballers working in Western European leagues have the potential to earn at least 7 times more than domestic Hungarian footballers, supposedly of the same skill-levels. To be more precise, Hungarian footballers playing abroad can earn an average of HUF 250 million (£674.000) per annum in Western European football leagues, while Hungarian footballers in Hungary have an average earning potential of HUF 34 million (£91.600). Hence, it is not an exaggeration to say that the difference between earning potential in Hungary and abroad is significant, and can be perceived as a strong pull factor.

Nevertheless, not all the countries of Western Europe have significant talent pipelines with Hungary. Figure 10 illustrates the most significant host countries of the

first category and indicates that only four nation-states received over 10% of the players of the category one total. Austria hosted 11%, Germany 12%, Finland 22% and Belgium 31%. The relatively high number of Hungarian footballers in these countries can be mostly attributed to the role of agent and sport personnel networks on which some light will be cast below.

Figure 10 Percentage of Hungarian Male Pro Footballers in the First Divisions of EU Countries and Norway and Switzerland between 1991 and 2003 (Σ=305)



The Austria-Hungary pipeline is partly the result of geographical proximity (see Duke, 1994) and partly of well developed football connections between these countries. In fact, Austria represents a unique case in the sequence of migrations to category one countries as it shares a border with Hungary, which facilitates the migration of Hungarian footballers. Regardless of geographical proximity, Austria's first division football teams receive only 11% of the players while Germany, Finland and Belgium host more Hungarian footballers, despite being geographically farther away[14] from Hungary. Nonetheless, it must be mentioned that the Austrian football leagues host many more footballers from Hungary than is shown by Figure 10. However, those players sign for the lower divisions and thus, are excluded from the

sample. Interviews and other research (see Duke, 1994) have shed light on this migratory movement from Hungary to Austria which is mostly based on geographical proximity and economic differentials. For example, during the early 1990s it was common practice for first division Hungarian footballers to sign for lower division Austrian leagues (often called 'weekend contracts') where they could earn significantly more. Therefore, similarly to Hungarians of other professions, footballers worked in Austria and lived in Hungary. As a result, they earned more than an average Hungarian footballer did, but had similar expenses as they remained resident in Hungary.

The Austria-Hungary pipeline is also perpetuated by football networks, the building blocks of which are often difficult to trace, but one of the licensed Hungarian football agents, Jozsef Vorosbaranyi, overtly states his partnership with an Austrian agent, Richard Lochar, on the web site of their company (www.ifm.hu). Although it seems that this company was legally founded in 2002 and was not shaping football migrations during the first decade of the transition period, it can be argued that an informal partnership had existed between the parties and that they decided to legalise their partnership after the Hungarian FA implemented its football agent policy in 2001. Hence, it can be further argued that connections of this kind, some of which may or may not have become legitimised, and geographical proximity facilitated and shaped the Austria-Hungary football pipeline in the post-communist period.

Another significant pipeline is the German-Hungarian one. It has been shaped by three major factors. First, the German Bundesliga is one of the richest leagues in Europe, making it an attractive destination. Second, some of the Hungarian football clubs have German business interests, which are often difficult to trace as German businesses tend to be silent partners. Nevertheless, Hammond (1992) pointed out that

in the 1991/92 season, Siofok was sponsored (if not owned) by Andre Ritter, a German businessman. Furthermore, one of the sponsors of Bekescsaba (a pro football club) is *uhlsport*, which is a German company that provides a range of football equipment. Ferencvaros is supported by *T-mobile*, a German mobile phone company, and Zalaegerszeg is sponsored by *e·on*, a German electricity supplier. It would be an overstatement to say that these business connections are solely responsible for the Germany-Hungary talent pipeline, but they are obviously part of it.

Finally, the agent networks of these countries must be taken into consideration. The presence of Hungarian football agents in Germany can be traced back to around the 1970s. They were (and probably still are) involved in many European football transfers. For example, in his autobiography, Tony Woodcock (1985) acknowledges an agent network that organised his transfer to Cologne, the head of which was a Hungarian, Gyula Pasztor, who had also facilitated Kevin Keegan's move from England to Hamburg SV. The contract of the infamously defected Hungarian footballer, Zoltan Varga, with Hertha BSC was also facilitated by a Hungarian agent, this time by a man named Miklos Berger in 1968 (Bartus, 2000). Varga had previously played for Hertha BSC, Olympique Marseille, Ajax and FC Aberdeen and lived in Germany when he was offered an opportunity to coach Ferencvaros in the 1996/97 season (see Hammond, 1997). He certainly had the opportunity to develop football connections throughout Europe and become a part of football migratory networks. Hence, it can be suggested that Hungarians were involved, mostly as agents, in the European migratory movements of footballers as early the 1970s. These networks probably continued to exist in the 1980s, were revitalised in Hungary after the collapse of the communist regime and can be held responsible for the transfer of Hungarian players not only to Germany, but to other

Western European countries as well. For instance, MED-SPORT Ltd. (a Spanish-Hungarian players' agency), which was officially launched in Hungary in 1994, claim that they have extensive connections throughout Europe by way of their widespread network of associates. Therefore, the agency has contracts with players from all over the world, although they primarily focus on players from Hungary and the neighbouring countries.[15]

The Finland-Hungary and Belgium-Hungary channels are mostly built on football connections similar to the ones described above. For example, the team of Kispest-Honved had a Belgian owner, Louis De Vries, in the 1992/93 and 1993/94 season (see Hammond, 1993) who hired a Finnish coach, Martti Kuuslea, to strengthen the team in the 1992/1993 season. Belgium is often perceived as the main depot for migrant footballers (see Poli, 2005). Poli (2005) argues that this function is attributed to Belgium as there is no limit on the numbers of non-EU players who can play in the leagues and an uninterrupted stay of three years is sufficient to apply for Belgian citizenship. One of the Hungarian interview subjects reinforced this argument in stating that players were coming and going on a weekly basis in Belgium. Thus, it is no exaggeration to say that Belgium is a major reservoir of migrant footballers for Europe (for examples see Poli, 2005), which, in turn, explains the relatively high number of Hungarian players in the Belgian leagues. On the basis of this observation, the high number of Hungarian players in some of the Western European countries in the post-communist period can be attributed to well-developed football migratory networks that are usually created and perpetuated by migratory meso-structures, i.e. migrant or ex-migrant football personnel.

Interviewed Hungarian players also reinforced the argument explicated here and the existence of agent and football personnel networks. All the interview subjects had

their contracts with foreign teams facilitated and organised by agents (mostly Hungarians who live in foreign countries), foreign coaches (who worked in Hungary), Hungarian players or coaches (who had worked abroad), and businessmen (who own(ed) or sponsor(ed) Hungarian football clubs). By virtue of this observation, the high number of Hungarian players in some of the Western European countries in the transition period can be attributed to well-developed football migratory networks that are usually created and perpetuated by migrant or ex-migrant (football) personnel.

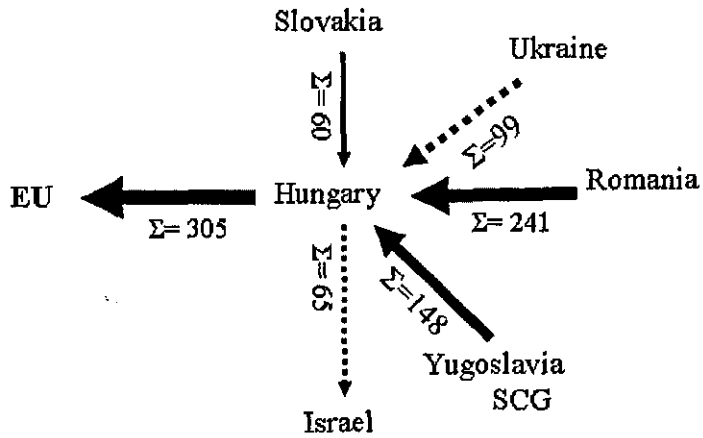
These migration networks[16] of Hungarian footballers are only representative of the years of transition and will almost certainly undergo alterations in the form of the diminishing of old and the emergence of new migratory routes in a few years time as a by-product of Hungary's EU accession. It can be predicted that, on the one hand, the number of Hungarian footballers will slowly increase in the leagues of Western Europe. On the other hand, the number of foreign players in Hungary from non-EU nation-sates will gradually decrease. In fact, a change in migration patterns can already be detected as there are some Hungarian footballers in the English leagues in the 2004/05 season, which was unprecedented prior to Hungary's EU accession.

5.4. SUMMARY

In concluding this chapter, the following observations can be made: in terms of football migrations, Hungary is a host as well as donor country a with positive net migration of male pro footballers. It has been shown that, in the period examined, there were four significant donor countries providing a large number of foreign footballers to the Hungarian professional league: Slovakia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia / Serbia-Montenegro and Romania (see Figure 11). The chief reason for these countries to have such an important role in supplying footballers to the Hungarian professional league is a unique constellation of certain factors. This constellation includes lower

economic standards; large numbers of Hungarian minorities within state territories; geographical proximity and, a football-camaraderie network. These factors are argued to be responsible for the development of the major immigration waves of foreign footballers to Hungary in the given era.

Figure 11 Major Migration Patterns of Male Pro Footballers in and out of Hungary between 1991 and 2003 (Dotted arrows represent fading migration routes)



The emigration of Hungarian male professional footballers tends to involve the countries of Western Europe, and some of those, Austria, Germany, Finland and Belgium, have assumed significant roles in hosting Hungarian footballers in their top leagues. The main pull factors for Hungarian footballers to migrate are higher economic standards, well-implemented employment rights, the level of football in the host countries and football migratory networks.

Interestingly, there was an offshoot of the migration patterns of Hungarian players to Israel that only partly fits into this analysis. It appears that Hungarian footballers migrated to Israel mainly to gain financial benefits and, perhaps, later on, for the social status they achieved as footballers in the host country, such as they could never have enjoyed in their country of origin. Nevertheless, this is only a preliminary observation and matters of this kind will be further investigated in Chapter 6 as a migratory aspect of Hungary's post-communist period.

Additionally, in this chapter I have pointed out the relative importance of geographical proximity in interpreting the migration patterns of professional footballers in (post)modern times. It is also necessary to consider to what degree geographical proximity shapes the migration patterns of professionals. Based on previous observations, it appears that geographical proximity is a factor in the formation of general migration figurations. For example, it was a relevant factor when the migration waves of Croatians and Serbians hit Hungary during the civil war in former Yugoslavia (see Chapter 4), but those refugees were not solely professionals. Neither did they move to Hungary for financial or other benefits (forced migrants). Rather, they were people from all walks of life who had the intention of moving back to their country of origin after the civil war. Also, based solely on the quantitative data set, the same factor, along with others, seems to be responsible for the existence of football talent pipelines between Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia-Montenegro and Hungary.

On the other hand, when exploring the migration patterns of male professional Hungarian footballers, geographical proximity is not the most important factor. Otherwise most Hungarian players would be in the neighbouring countries. Thus, it must be mentioned that the host countries and agent networks also play an important role in this picture. There might be various scenarios depending on individual cases, e.g. the player-agent-team (host country) triangle. For instance, nowadays, due to the low quality of Hungarian football, players are in no position to freely choose the country or team they want to play for. Therefore, they often have to take whatever is offered to them. By virtue of this, it can be argued that, when interpreting the migration patterns of professionals, geographical proximity is only to be seen as a secondary factor (for further details see Chapter 6).

Generally speaking, in this chapter I have mapped the major migration patterns of Hungarian male professional footballers largely based on a quantitative data set that indicates the existence of certain migratory pipelines through which footballers have been channelled from and to Hungary. Moreover, important push and pull factors have been identified that, perhaps, have triggered various migration processes. However, these observations have revealed some key issues and conditions that cannot be fully addressed based purely on the quantitative data. Chapter 6 and 7 will thus shed further light on some of these issues and other aspects of Hungarian football migrations using qualitative data from the interviews I carried out.

Notes

[1] OFC - Oceania Football Confederation; AFC - Asian Football Confederation; CONCACAF - Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbal.

[2] These players arrived from the USA, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan.

[3] CAF - African Confederation of Football; CONCACAF - Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football.

[4] According to the statistics of the Hungarian Ministry of Education in the 2001/2002 academic year there were 167 African students officially enrolled in higher education institutions in Hungary. The number of African students was 191 one academic year later (Information was retrieved from: www.om.hu).

[5] See the database of Hungarian Ministry of Education at www.om.hu

[6] There might be another possible pull factor concerning the inflow of Brazilian footballers to Hungary, which is the popularity of skilful football. Brazilian football and players are thought to be very spectacular and skilful in Hungary. For example, Maguire at al. (2002) observe that South American nations have done well in the World Cup and developed great players, and represent desirable assets for European football clubs. Therefore, Brazilian footballers have always been well received in Hungary. Hungarian football fans tend to draw a parallel between Hungarian and Brazilian football styles and like to believe that these are highly similar as both of them prefer skill and technique. As a concomitant of this stereotype, Hungarian football fans expected all the arriving Brazilian players to possess these pre-supposed skills. Most of the Brazilian players did not meet the expectations of the crowd in Hungary and diminished the myth of Brazilian football, footballers and, perhaps, the competence of some of the Hungarian football clubs' managements. One of the interview subjects noted that it is not always the most competent people that run the football clubs. Another subject added that the owners often make decisions for coaches in terms of buying players. This probably explains why some of the Hungarian professional football clubs purchase second-class players.

[7] The interviews revealed a unique case in this regard. That is, one of the Brazilian players in Hungary had mixed (Hungarian and Brazilian) parents which was very likely an advantage for him to get into Hungarian pro football and to obtain Hungarian citizenship.

[8] Higher economic standards also presuppose a more developed footballing life, better organised sport policies and protections of the rights of migrants. Hence, when interpreting Figure 3 one has to take into account, aside from financial conditions, other agents as well.

[9] This argument could be carried on and stated that cultural and languages differences are also factors in this process. But then the major question to ponder upon is: Why would anyone move to Hungary from Western Europe and face cultural and language problems for less money and lower quality of football? One possible answer is personal reasons. For example, Lothar Matthäus (the head coach of the Hungarian national team at the present) claimed that he had accepted this opportunity in Hungary because he had wanted to be close his wife who is tied to Budapest by business relations (Bocsak and Imre, 2004). Matthäus was not overly concerned about the money because his previous occupation (coach of Partizan Beograd) had paid three times more than the Hungarian FA (Bocsak and Imre, 2004). By virtue of this, it can be argued that the migration of Western European footballers and coaches to Hungary should be viewed as individual cases driven by personal reasons.

[10] According to the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the number of Hungarians living in Slovakia was 521,000 in 2001 (see www.kulugyminiszterium.hu).

[11] However Slovenia shares borders with Hungary and has a small population of Hungarian minority living there, the number of Hungarians in Slovenia is shrinking and is only around 8000 (see

www.kulugyminiszterium.hu), which is approximately 65 times smaller than the number of Hungarians living in Slovakia.

[12] Data was retrieved from: www.kulugyminiszterium.hu.

[13] Slovakia was a part of Czechoslovakia, Ukraine was annexed by the USSR, and Serbia-Montenegro was a part of Yugoslavia.

[14] Geographical location can be an important agent of migration. In the case of Hungary this factor might be a crucial one as it is often presupposed that Hungary is frequently used by migrants in general and footballers in particular as a transit country, the gate to Western Europe. Unfortunately, the quantitative data set does not permit this sort of speculation as it does not represent the number or the percentage of foreign footballers leaving the Hungarian pro league for Western Europe. Nevertheless, interview subjects provided some relevant information in this regard that shall be discussed in Chapter 7.

[15] See http://www.medsport.hu/english/index.htm

[16] The migration of Hungarian footballers was not entirely triggered by agent networks and the glamour of the West, but by post-Communist legal conditions. Sport and sport policies did not enjoy high priority as there were other more urgent societal and political issues to be tackled. Nevertheless, in the early years of the 1990s attempts were made to modernise and democratise Hungarian sport in general and sport policies in particular, but 'these new laws proved not to be efficient enough to solve the huge problems arising from the collapse of socialistic sport model' (Hedi and Foldesi, 2004, p. 170). The first sport related act in the transition period was implemented in 1996 and has been modified and recreated numerous times as political parties in power changed (for further details see Hedi and Foldesi, 2004). As a result of this, it can be argued that the Hungarian sport sphere of the transition period can be perceived as a series of forced attempts to restructure/modernise/Europeanise Hungarian sport life, which, on occasions, did not bring the expected outcomes.

CHAPTER SIX

HUNGARIAN FOOTBALLERS IN THE 'TRANSITION': A MIGRATORY PERSPECTIVE

Building upon the previous parts, in Chapter 6 I shall approach football migration related issues from a different angle and examine another layer of migratory issues, the lived experiences of Hungarian migrant footballers. That is, in this chapter I shall shed light on the numerous personal and occupational struggles, difficulties and uncertainties Hungarian professional footballers have encountered in various host countries and which will be sociologically interpreted using the findings of the previous chapters. For example, in Chapter 4, I provided a brief overview of the history of Hungarian football from its beginnings to the years of post-communist transition. In relying on both sport and general history related Hungarian and English language sources, it has been possible to reveal essential political, cultural and social conditions that have impacted upon the development of Hungarian football throughout its history. This is a vital part of this thesis as the social problems of 'our time... cannot be stated adequately without consistent practice of the view [of] that history' (Mills, 1959, p. 143). Hence, one of the aims of that chapter has been to draw wider attention to those historical periods and aspects of Hungarian football, among them patterns of football migrations, which have not been extensively researched and are related to the foci of this thesis.

In so doing, Chapter 4 was a prelude to Chapter 5, which discussed the Hungarian football related migration patterns which occurred in the transition period and tied them into football networks and broader social processes. The ways those processes and networks have shaped the migration patterns of professional Hungarian footballers have been explicated in Chapter 5, based on a quantitative data set.

Additionally, that chapter revealed the most significant host countries to where Hungarian players tend to move and that migration was an organic part of Hungarian football in the transition period. In this way, Chapters 4 and 5 have reinforced the notion that migrations have been driven by complex social, economic, political and cultural processes.

Taking into consideration historical and quantitative evidence, in Chapter 6 I will concentrate on the migration of Hungarian professional footballers in the post-communist transition. Thus, this chapter is centred on the following questions: What motivates Hungarian professional footballers to migrate? Why did they choose their destinations? What are the general issues they have to consider when transferring to another country? What are the major professional and personal adjustments they have to face? To what degree and in what ways do migratory experiences alter national identities?

In this thesis responses to these questions were obtained through semi-structured interviews. Initially, it was attempted to extend the scope of the project by using questionnaires prior to conducting semi-structured interviews, which proved to be impossible in the Hungarian football context (for details see Chapter 3). Since some of the raised migratory themes are sensitive (for example, transfer details), players were promised that all the interviews would be treated confidentially. In addition, pseudonyms will be used when the interview data are presented. The analysis begins with a migration-informed brief description of the sample of Hungarian professional players and then follows and explores the structure of categories that provided the spine of the semi-structured interview schedule.

6.1. HUNGARIAN FOOTBALLERS

The sample of interview subjects (n= 14) consisted exclusively of white male Hungarian professional footballers with extensive migratory experience. All of the subjects have spent at least one season in a foreign first division, but most of them have played abroad for several years and in more than one foreign country. In terms of marital status, all the interview subjects, except two, were married or engaged prior to moving abroad, which resulted in stable and direct family support for most. All of them had fulfilled the basic Hungarian educational requirements and completed secondary education or learnt a trade after primary school (only one of the subjects had earned a degree, a bachelor's in history and Hungarian language). All of the interviewees began playing football at an early age and considered it as the most important part of their lives. These personal details and the impressions gained from the interviews indicate that the interviewees are mature (average age=30), formally educated, both football and family orientated, and had sufficient knowledge and self-awareness to understand and make sense of their migratory experiences.

All of the interviewees belong in the category of 'migrant' since they moved from one country to another with the intention of residing in the country of destination for a specific period of time, over one year (see Jary and Jary, 2000). In terms of the classification of Charles Tilly (1990), the subjects constitute an overlap between 'circular' and 'career' migrants as they retained their contacts with the home base (Hungary) and routinely returned to that base, while they moved in response to occupational opportunities within or among larger structures (football networks). In other words, the migration of Hungarian footballers is industry led (see Iredale, 2002), and the employers (football clubs) and the myriad of small recruitment agencies (agents' networks) perpetuate its existence. Seen in terms of Maguire's typology of

sport migrants (Maguire, 1996, 1999), Hungarian footballers can be placed in the mercenary-nomad-returnee intersection as they are often driven by financial gain, move around and spend short periods in host countries, but rarely settle in them. Nevertheless, it must be noted that this typology of Hungarian footballers is only initial, representative of the post-communist transition period, and will have to be reconsidered after the qualitative data analysis, which follows.

6.2. Migration Specific Themes

In this section I will focus on the lived experiences of Hungarian footballers whilst playing abroad. Motivational forces, choices of destinations, transfer issues, degrees of preparedness and personal and professional adjustments of Hungarian footballers will be illuminated. Consideration will be given to why interview subjects believe they have difficulty in attracting agents and employers, and in selecting host countries. Moreover, it is often claimed that the migrations of professional footballers are purely or mostly finance driven; an argument that has already been rebutted (see, for example, Stead and Maguire, 2000), but Hungarian players have never been the focus of academic investigation of this kind. Hence, in the following discussion I will consider why they decided to become international journeymen, embarking upon foreign residency and giving up established social and football status in their country of origin.

6.2.1. The Dynamics of Motivational Forces

The interview subjects demonstrated that they were influenced by several sets of motivational forces when beginning their journeys. These included: a quest for challenge, personal development, better conditions, a higher level of foreign football, financial benefits, a different mentality, a desire to fulfil a dream and to rid themselves of the problems of Hungarian football. For example, Tamas expressed this

the following way: 'Firstly, I wanted to go abroad because I wanted to try myself out in a different environment. Secondly, the difference in financial rewarding was relevant. Thirdly, the challenge.' Zoltan said that: 'I took into consideration both professional and financial aspects.' While Janos explained that: 'It is different to play before 40 thousand spectators, the finances, and that I could play against players you would see on TV.'

Interestingly, none of them directly expressed that their exclusive reason for moving was money, whereas they all admitted that it was a significant aspect. Also, they often referred to other players they knew who were solely motivated by financial gains, but the interviewed players did not admit that they had been only and initially motivated by it. The way Attila reacted to questions about financial motivation was quite common: 'To be honest...every player if you asked them, the first reason would be the money, but it was not the prime motivator to me. I wanted to improve my skills and wanted to show my talents abroad.' This attitude is the result of the perception of footballers in certain spheres of the Hungarian society, which often consider them lazy and money driven. For example, headlines such as 'Wallet: Money-Driven Football Should be Stopped!' (Mai Nap, 15/Oct/2003) or 'Laziness Should be Weeded Out of Them [Footballers]!' (Mai Nap, 13/Oct/2003) are common in the Hungarian tabloids. Zoltan expressed his opinion in this regard as follows:

> Unfortunately, I must say that footballers are becoming public enemies in the public eye because of the media, that is the electronic and printed press. Well...they kind of generate emotions. They state that footballers earn way too much taking into consideration their performance. We take this really hard because those journalists and those people who work with us earn a living off us. And still they try to make us look bad.

Therefore, the interviewees may have been careful in replying to motivation related questions and thus tried to highlight the importance of skill development, the professional level of football or fulfilling a dream rather than simply acknowledging

money as the main motivator. Geza expressed his problem with this skewed view of Hungarian footballers in the following way:

> And the money again! This drives me nuts that everything is about money! Why do I earn this much? Someone earns a lot and what's up with that? I am not getting this from the state budget! I am not getting this from tax money! But there is this silly man [club owner] who comes here and is loaded and he gives it to you. From then on, no one should do anything with this! Why don't people say that we envy lawyers because they earn a lot or something like this? I am not going to be a lawyer because I am stupid, but they will not be footballers because they do not know how to play.

This hostile social and media environment was perhaps the reason why interviewees felt the need and attempted to justify the sums of money they had earned abroad. It often appeared through the interviews that money was not a perk, but something they simply could not avoid getting. For instance, Andras said that he had gone abroad:

> Because of professional circumstances and higher level of football...You go to play better football and then you obviously get more money. In reality, the most important thing for me when going to Frankfurt was to play somewhere what you usually watch on TV or only dream about it.

Lajos explained that a footballer usually does not have a long lasting career and that he needs to establish a certain degree of financial security and this is partially the reason why he moved and considered money relevant:

> The other thing was the money. I can say that one can earn 7 times more than in Hungary. But the length of a footballer's career is about 15 years if he is lucky. After that he gets by in any way possible. It is unusual, but some players study and try to get ready for life after football. I am not saying that every second footballer does this. They have to establish some financial security for the future and opportunities can't be missed!

Laszlo expressed a similar set of reasons for moving abroad, focusing on chances of faster development due to better conditions, which, consequently, mean higher monetary reward: 'I think this is the dream of every footballer, or at least one of his goals...The conditions. You can develop faster because of the conditions. Financial things as well...you can earn more and you can't play football forever.' Attila

introduced another motivational force when he stated that: 'I left Hungary because I felt that, after a while, I was held back.' He was also motivated by the various other factors that have been mentioned here, but he felt that he was forced to move abroad by contemporary Hungarian footballing conditions. Lajos reinforced the importance of local footballing conditions when he stated that: 'In '99, there were serious problems at Ferencvaros and I wanted change by any means.'

All the above quotations and interviewed players have indicated that Hungarian footballers are motivated by a combination of push and pull factors that creates a motivational blend and partially drives the migrations of Hungarian footballers. This mixture of motivational factors and the power balance between the components is not constant. In fact, it changes from individual to individual and even within the individual during the course of migration. Push and pull factors are continually in flux. It can accordingly be observed that, initially, most of the Hungarian migrant footballers were/are motivated by multiple factors and set out to achieve various goals in foreign leagues, but the process of migration and/or migratory experiences alter their goals in suppressing some while enhancing other factors. For instance, Attila claimed that he initially moved abroad:

> In order to try myself out in a different championship, and to be able to see the difference between European circumstances and myself. Later, when my big hopes did not come through, I was solely motivated by the money. But it turned around again because in Israel I felt so good and I forgot all about the money.

This overall analysis fits into the concept of social figurations (see Elias, 1978), which are created by people and networks of people, characterised by power balances and have dynamics of their own (see Gouldsblom and Mennell, 1998). Migration figurations are created by football networks and characterised by power balances amongst the layers of the networks, which have the dynamics of their own. In this particular case, the migration of Hungarian footballers is driven by the blend of

migratory incentives, the inner dynamics of which are generated both at the local and the global/regional level.

Local push factors are problems Hungarian players have to face in the donor country. These involve: the low quality of the Hungarian professional football league, the unstable domestic financial conditions and an outdated footballing infrastructure (see Chapter 5). Local pull factors are the things and people Hungarian players will have to learn to live with and without while abroad. These include a lack of friends, family and the lure of home soil (see Maguire, 1999). On the other hand, global pull factors are the advantages awaiting Hungarian players abroad: the higher quality of foreign leagues, the better developed general and footballing infrastructures, the higher social status and significantly more money. Global push factors relate to the difficulties players have to face while abroad. These include: communication difficulties, loneliness and professional and personal challenges.

Each and every player begins his journey influenced by a unique blend of local-global push and pull factors. This blend alters continuously based on the individual and the local/global private and occupational circumstances during the course of his migration. For example, language seems to be a general concern for many Hungarian players at the beginning, but the more time they spend in the host country the lesser a problem it is as they learn the necessary words and phrases after the first few months. Alternatively, after overcoming initial anxieties and language difficulties, migrant players often develop severe homesickness, which, at that stage, can be the major component of the motivational blend. Laszlo's confession illustrates the constant flux of push and pull factors during the course of his migration:

> At both clubs, it was superb when I got there. I played at once and everyone was satisfied. Then this started to decline and I found my career on a slope. I wanted to come home more and more and, thus, my performance got worse. In the end, I did not play well at all.

The role of the family can also be controversial in relation to moving abroad. For example, at a relatively young age, and at the beginning of a player's international career, the support of a stable partner can be advantageous and can provide the migrant with a sense of home and security while abroad. Gabor indicated that his fiancé had greatly contributed to his foreign career: 'She helps and helped a great deal. I think that in order for you to be a pro at a relatively young age, or at my age, you need to have a serious partner. It does not work without a serious partner.' In contrast, at a later stage of a footballer's international career the presence of family and children can be a hindrance as it is much more difficult for the whole family to move than it is for an independent individual.[1] Lajos explained this problem the following way:

> I had 4 or 5 opportunities to go abroad, for example, to Cyprus and Sweden, this summer. They might have been good in terms of professional development, but there was no financially attractive offer for what I would have given up everything here. You can't jump around easily with two kids. I have already created a certain level of existence for my family so it is not primary anymore.

These examples further demonstrate the constant flux of the power balance between push and pull factors, the blend of which depends on the individual migrant, his local circumstances and global/regional conditions during the course of his migration and career.

In this section, the motivational and de-motivational forces shaping the migratory intentions and experiences of Hungarian professional footballers have been discussed. It has been observed that all the migrations were initiated by sets of push and pull factors, the composition ratio of which varies from individual to individual, but show some common traits as well. In this sense, Hungarian players admitted to be motivated by professional development, the attractiveness of foreign leagues, prospects of financial gains and wanting to leave underdeveloped Hungarian

footballing circumstances behind. Although none of them explicitly stated that they had moved to foreign leagues exclusively for financial reasons, which is probably due to the intense anti-football climate in Hungary, they all admitted the importance of that factor. In fact, looking at this issue from a different perspective, they were all motivated - directly and indirectly - by more advanced financial conditions. They may not have entirely and primarily focused on earning more money, which was an aspect beyond doubt, but they were motivated by playing in better leagues, in better conditions and with or against internationally well-known players. Nowadays, this means to play in richer leagues, which can afford to have better facilities, players and, in turn, have more challenging championships.

This outlook on the migration of Hungarian professional footballers reflects a simplistic classical economic theory[2] (see, for example, Stalker, 2000) that states that, at the macro level, migrations are induced by the differences in wages between sending and receiving countries with the assumption that when these wages are equalised migration will cease. And, at a micro level, that individuals calculate the costs and benefits of migrating and will embark upon it in order to enhance personal wealth (see Wallace, 2001). While this perspective is helpful, it does not take into account the personal aspects that make some people mobile and others not (Wallace, 2001). Besides, most of the grand migration theories (for examples see Brettell and Hollifield, 2000) do not acknowledge that the migration incentives of people tend to alter during the course of migrations and, thus, fail to embrace the whole complexity of general migration processes (see Castles and Miller, 2003).

By virtue of this, it has been observed here that Hungarian professional footballers' migrations are determined by a blend of motivational forces, the inner balance and structure of which is in constant flux, shaped by local and global

migratory conditions and experiences, and partially drives the migration patterns of Hungarian footballers. In other words, the components of this motivational blend may or may not remain the same during the course of the migration. For example, the birth of children is usually a new component that may or may not happen, whereas the power equilibrium of the components will be undergoing transformation for certain as a result of local/global conditions and migratory experiences.

The motivational blend of individual migrants is an important segment of Hungarian football related migration sequences, but it must be noted that it is not solely responsible for the existing migration patterns. Thus, based upon previous chapters and observations (see Tilly, 1990, Maguire, 1999), when interpreting the migrations of people in general and professional Hungarian footballers in particular, the demand for foreign legionnaires, the role of agent networks and individual migration incentives, have to be taken into consideration in conjunction with both local and global/regional migration conditions. These components shape and perpetuate these migration patterns, which create a dense and complex ever-changing lattice-work of migration figurations.

In light of the above, it can be concluded that one of the global push or pull factors at the beginning of a migrant's journey is the characteristics of the host country, the final or transit destination. Part of Hungarian footballers' migratory experiences was to select an appropriate host country where they could begin or prolong their international career. Players are usually aware of the importance of carefully selecting their country of destination, but they are often not the only ones involved in making these decisions. In the next section, the problem of choosing host countries will be discussed, thus providing further insight into football networks.

6.2.2. Selecting or Selected Host Countries

The next phase in the process of migration experiences involves the selection of potential host countries. In this section, I will shed some light on the degree of control Hungarian professional footballers exercise over choosing their countries of destination. Generally speaking, all the interview subjects admitted that they had limited control over selecting their host countries and had to rely on the footballing connections of agents, friends or club managers. This signalled to them that Hungarian players were not desirable commodities on the international football market as they were not 'desperately' sought out by foreign clubs. Gabor expressed this situation as follows: 'To be honest, Hungarian players are not that popular internationally at the moment and thus we cannot dictate. So we have to take each and every opportunity and have to make compromises in order to get a contract abroad.' Gabor later illustrated his statement with an example he had heard from his agent:

> My agent received a call from a foreign club and they were after a player for a specific position... He said that he knew a very good quality player. Then the club asked if he had played for the national team. The agent said that he had been selected for the national team. The next question was about his nationality. The agent said that he was Hungarian. Then thank you very much but we do not want him!

This indicates the level of difficulty involved for Hungarian players in launching their careers in foreign leagues. This stems from the present international standing of the national team and the quality of Hungarian club football. A football agent who had experience of numerous years in selling and buying footballers reinforced this situation:

> Hungarian players to go abroad simply...regardless of the fact that something has probably moved because there are references such as Lisztes and Kiraly and it sounds really good, but formerly not even for free... Well, ten years ago no one wanted Hungarian footballers, not even for free. I tried to take 1 or 2 footballers... but they were not needed...This indicated the level of our football and this is terrible.

Although this agent mentioned that the situation was improving, my interview subjects had not experienced this improvement and were in a vulnerable position in terms of selecting host countries. Interviewees further reinforced the problematic of going to the desired destinations and stated that they took whatever was offered to them. As Janos explains:

> It was not my choice. Unfortunately, Hungarian players are in no position to say where they want to go! It is agent dependent which team they can get. I was a national team member and the whole thing happened very fast. EPONA [a tourism oriented company] was the main sponsor and 5 of us were the players of the boss of EPONA and he had connections. Frankfurt came in the last minute...There were one or two weeks left [in the transfer period] when this man told me that we were going to Frankfurt. I thought that it was going to be a tryout, but we signed the contract immediately.

Attila described a similar situation with regard to choosing his destination country: 'I did not choose Belgium. It just happened. Agents got it all organised.' Zoltan explicated the same procedure: 'My agent arranged the team and told me that there was this opportunity.' While the foreign contract of Tamas was facilitated by a friend: 'The Australian position happened through a connection with a friend.'

All the above quotations reflect the fact that migrant Hungarian footballers did not have a high degree of control over selecting their country of destination, which was mainly due to the lack of international appreciation for Hungarian football in general and Hungarian footballers in particular. Most of the Hungarian footballers begin arranging their foreign careers with great hopes and expectations, but they soon have to realise that they are in no position to freely select club or country. Lajos expressed this issue clearly: 'My first goal was to measure my skills. Then I signed for countries where I had not wanted to go. I always said that if I were to go abroad then I would not go to Turkey or Israel. And I ended up there.' In a similar vein, Zoltan mentioned that:

> I would love to play there [Spain], but I do not have such dreams because I have learned that you have to see things realistically. I would like to play football abroad in a championship that is stronger than the Hungarian...My dream would be Spain though, but I do not think that it will work out for a Hungarian player.

There was only one exception in terms of having a higher degree of control over the destination country. Andras explained that he had received two offers to choose from and he personally visited both of the clubs and negotiated with them:

> I made my decision based on professional aspects because the two offers were the same in terms of money and there was a coach I had known. The German opportunity was not that appealing to me. I went to Germany and negotiated with them, and when you have two cities to choose from you measure which one your family may like better.

Andras' unique example derives from one major factor that needs more attention. He was less reliant on agents' networks as he had developed football related connections with foreign coaches and managers. He is a truly independent, goal-oriented and highly educated (with a Bachelor's degree) footballer who was not satisfied with the way his agents handled his career and he took matters into his own hands. His advantage was his excellent language ability. He spoke fluent English and later learnt Flemish as well. He visited coaches and clubs by himself, negotiated contracts and organised his visas almost without any help. He explained the following:

> In my case, I personally talked to that Norwegian coach and he recommended a manager who was going to help. We met at the airport and he helped me at the negotiations. He did not have to translate as I understood most of the things. He only helped me with some words...

He could be a 'freelancer' since he did not have to rely entirely on the services of a 'middle man'. He possessed both the necessary connections and the ability to communicate effectively with foreign club representatives. Despite this exceptional case, most Hungarian footballers are at the mercy of their agents and foreign clubs, if they have migratory intentions.

This section revealed that Hungarian professional footballers possess very little control over their foreign careers regarding selecting destinations. They are rarely given opportunities to choose from and have to take (or reject) whatever is offered to them. By virtue of the above, it appears that Hungarian footballers are in a vulnerable position, at least at the beginning of their foreign careers, as they lack football relations and appropriate language skills and are dependent on agents' networks.

These circumstances can be explained by the fact that Hungarian footballers are not highly desirable commodities in those countries and leagues where they desire to go to. Nonetheless, Tilly (1990) offers an additional explanation for this phenomenon. He observes that the effective units of migration are not the individuals, but sets of people linked by acquaintances or work experiences. These units are important, mainly in case of long-distance migrations, because migrating from one country to another usually entails many risks from personal security to social comfort. Most individuals do not dare to take those risks by themselves and tend to let their migration intentions to be directed by various units of migration (e.g. agents). These units have already established good and reliable contacts with possible destinations and thus people who are new to migration experiences can depend on established interpersonal networks for information that minimize the risk migration may involve (see Tilly, 1990). This network of units of migration protects migrants and perpetuates pipelines between host and donor countries, forming simultaneously a binding and a supervising agency that often constrains migrants' potential. As Tilly argues: 'Constrained by personal networks, potential migrants fail to consider many theoretically available destinations, and concentrate on those few localities with which their place of origin has strong links' (1990, p. 84). For instance, amongst the interview subjects there was only one individual who was willing to go beyond

established football migration networks and take additional personal risks to widen his opportunities. This proactive behaviour is not usually followed by others as its prerequisites are not possessed by most of the Hungarian footballers.

In conclusion, it can be observed that Hungarian footballers have desired foreign countries of destination (e.g. England, Spain and Germany) and intentions to select from those. However, in reality, they have little control over this process and host countries are often selected for them by representative units of football networks. In fact, they have to strongly rely on these networks if they want to launch or prolong their careers abroad. This observation demonstrates a constant interplay between macro- (football clubs), meso- (agents), and micro-structures[3] (footballers) of migration, shaping the migration patterns of Hungarian footballers.

The chief reasons why Hungarian footballers are often bound to these networks are the following: Hungarian football and footballers do not represent an outstanding quality on the international domain, i.e. they are rarely in the public 'football' eye, and they do not represent a globally acknowledged 'trade mark'. As Gabor puts it: 'Hungarian players who play in the domestic league are not wanted, but as soon as they are abroad they get attention.' Most of the Hungarian footballers interviewed do not have sufficient migration related knowledge, experience and connections to be able to seek out foreign contract possibilities by themselves without the safety net of football networks. Moreover, Hungarian footballers are generally low risk takers (see Chapter 7) and thus rarely dare to individually take the chances migration may entail.

Having discussed the dearth of control Hungarian footballers tend to have over selecting host countries, the section below, as the next phase of migration experiences, will explore the degree of clarity and precision of transfer and contract,

i.e. how much transfer related information Hungarian footballers received and whether it was sufficient and realistic.

6.2.3. Transfer Issues: Clarity of Contracts

The general impression of Hungarian footballers with regard to contract negotiations was that these were well organised and players received as much information as possible. The subjects stated that it was essential for them to know to where they were going, for how long, for how much and under what conditions. As Andras explained this: 'It was very important to me where I was going to sign for, for how long, for how much and in what conditions. These were the most important factors and I was clear on them.' Gabor said that: 'We got things clarified in advance, from monetary issues through accommodation to car (sic). When I signed the contract everything was concrete.' Gerzson reinforced these sentiments and briefly described the whole process of negotiation:

> First, I got a contract plan. I was asked how much I wanted to make. I told them something. They thought it was a bit too high. Then we arrived to an agreement somewhere between, which included paying the rent and the car with insurance and maintenance. All were included in my contract. It was a very clean contract. I even showed that to a Hungarian lawyer and he said that everything was all right. It was so clear that nothing had to be changed.

Although, initially, all the contracts appeared clear and the information received sufficient, some of players admitted that they had learnt about unforeseen or problems after moving to the host country. Laszlo said that: 'Everything that could have been clear was clear [during the negotiations]. But I really got to know things [local conditions] when I got there.' In another case, the negotiations appeared clear and well-organised and the club promised that the footballing circumstances would be appropriate, but failed to deliver. Zoltan described his situation the following way:

> Unfortunately, there was one thing I did not know about. When Turin was in the second division, only one footballer who was from a non-EU country could play on the team. And they couldn't sell those Croatian players, but they signed me. I

> heard that they were talking about this and were not too concerned about it, and I was told that they would sell them and there would be no problem. Then 4 or 5 months passed by and I could not play in the team. I did not even get the right permit to play there. This was a piece of information that I was told about but they did not consider it a serious issue as they thought that it was going to work out.

Another player pointed out that his contract negotiations proceeded correctly, but the club administration misfiled his tax papers and due to this he lost his work permit and had to move back to Hungary. The subject suspected that the club had mishandled his documents, along with other players' papers, intentionally, in order to avoid paying high taxes. Balazs shed light on this by describing the following incident:

> I was supposed to pay tax like a footballer from the EU and it was all arranged, but they forgot to submit this part of the contract. Then there was a check at the club and it was noticed that I was not paying as much tax as I was supposed to and then my work permit was cancelled. The club got fined...They did not even pay pension and such things. This was so strange because everything is so different there, but there are swindlers even there.

The incident that happened to Balazs whilst playing abroad can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it is possible that the club intentionally attempted to commit a tax fraud, but, on the other hand, they might simply have misplaced some of his documents, which was due to human error and was discovered during an official bureaucratic revision. Regardless of this speculation, the contract of Balazs was cancelled, his work permit withdrawn and he had to move back to Hungary.

All in all, apart from some unpredictable occasional difficulties in the host environment, Hungarian footballers were in general satisfied with the way their contract negotiations were organised and rarely complained about clubs failing to meet financial or other agreement criteria. Nevertheless, most of them pointed out that they were only able completely to understand the complexity and difficulty of living abroad and being a migrant player after the actual move. The next sections of this

chapter will introduce the key professional and personal adjustments Hungarian migrant footballers had to consider in the host milieu.

6.2.4. Professional Adjustments: 'Pick up the Rhythm!'

The theme of professional adjustments, either negative or positive, revolved around the following categories: reception in foreign football, footballing infrastructure, intensity of training sessions and differences in attitudes to football. Replies received from the players with regard to their reception in foreign football clarified that it is entirely club dependent. Therefore, some of the players were reasonably well received and it was not too demanding to fit in to the new footballing environment, while other Hungarian footballers had to struggle and never felt truly part of the team. For example, Andor remembered his experience with a foreign club as follows: 'I am not saying that I was accepted because I was never accepted. I know G.K... [and] he also said that fans were chanting the name of the other goalie even after 3 years.' Zoltan had to go through a similar experience:

> I felt that I was not wanted by the coaches and the players, and I thought that it was partially due to me being a Hungarian. My attitude is not to argue with anyone, I accepted everything and I am not a hell-raiser kinda guy and I was still ostracised. It can be said that I was ostracised.

Gabor felt frustrated and powerless within his team because of the way other players treated him:

> I like to be on my own and lead my own life, but I couldn't do that abroad. I got into an environment in Austria where I couldn't do that and was not allowed to express myself. The coach liked me a lot, but not the players. There were lots of foreign players.

The confrontations Hungarian players experienced can be partially explained through the concept of 'established-outsider' relations (see Chapter 2). According to this approach, which can be used to sociologically make sense of migratory experiences, the major disparity amongst existing interest groups is the length of time

they spend in the given environment (see Elias and Scotson, 1994), i.e. the status of a footballer within the team is based on a chronological hierarchy. By way of this time-laden social status, the established group(s) is ascribed to a higher moral status, while newcomers (outsiders) are often viewed as less civilised or even barbaric (cf. Chapter 2 and Reng, 2003). When applying this approach to the theme of football migration, it is to be noted that the dynamics of a football team are distinctive and more complex, as it is a more confined and controlled social terrain, than the original configuration of the 'established-outsider' theory. These peculiarities include not only a historical gap between groups of players, but a compartmentalisation that is shaped by nationality and acquired football skills.

While not denying the significance of seniority within a football team, it must be noted that in a migration-active, cosmopolitan environment, the acceptance of foreign and newcomer footballers is also dependent on their performance and the national make up of the host club. For instance, Laszlo said that: 'You have to prove that you are a good player in a foreign country [and] that you did not get signed just to increase the number of players, but because you are a good player.' Andor also noted that: 'I thought that I always had to be in the first bunch because I was a foreigner, and I was required to do more than domestic players. This was the reason why I got signed.' All of the interview subjects admitted that good performances and hard work were a way to gain (a higher degree of) acceptance. Furthermore, the national make-up of the host club appeared important. The players pointed out that footballers were usually organised in cliques by nationality and, thus, it was extremely difficult for a single foreigner to fit in and those players experienced the highest degree of discomfort in the host environment who were the sole Hungarian players. For instance, Gabor stated that: 'I was the only Hungarian and it was very difficult,

mainly for those who were alone... Therefore I felt a bit like an outsider.' Gabor also claimed that: 'There were Croatian, Yugoslavian and Macedonian players, and I was to substitute a Croatian player. I was made to feel not welcome there after a couple of weeks.' Gerzson also observed this sort of national segregation and the way he coped with his situation as being the only Hungarian on the team:

> I was the only Hungarian. I felt this and if there had been another Hungarian then it would have been a lot easier. I was mainly friendly with the Norwegians...but you could not notice that on the pitch. It was noticeable during training sessions because there were incidents such as when I was chased by three Serbian players as I had had a confrontation with one of them. Serbians stick together a great deal.

Laszlo further illuminated the vulnerability of being a single Hungarian player abroad:

> There were Austrians. That was one clique. There were the Yugoslavians and they were more in numbers. They could play because they helped one another [on field]. And there were those who were alone. I was one of them. We could not really help each other that much because the coach favoured the other players.

These quotations illustrate the level of difficulty for single Hungarian players, and perhaps players of other nationalies too, to get accepted by the circles of established foreign and indigenous players, which are exclusively based on nationality. The feeling of being an outsider manifested itself exponentially in the case of those players who were sentenced to loneliness in private life as well. When Zoltan was recalling his life abroad emotions flooded him and he cried out:

> I was totally alone! I was alone for three years! I am telling you that when I went there everything was all right. At the beginning, it was enough to be in a new environment, that people loved football, and football itself was enough. But when you win a match, let's say, against Dortmund and there are 60 thousand fans and you play well. And really, 60 thousand fans applauded as I touched the ball and that was great. Then the game is over, you take a shower, get in to your car, go home and watch the T.V. I could not even celebrate. Nothing!

In addition to the above, these quotations also indicate that players gravitate to nationality-defined cliques and thus, as the quotation by Gerzson illustrated, the 'natural' equilibrium amongst established and outsider groups could be altered. That is, the large number of foreign players, often coupled with the presence of a foreign coach, can force the originally established domestic players into the position of outsiders in which they can lose their ascribed status.[4] Attila stated that: 'The old coach was gone and this Austrian coach came...He surrounded himself with Austrian players and Yugoslavian ones who sort of belonged in the Austrian clique as they had been there for 6-7 years.' In contrast, Gerzson recalled the following: 'In Belgium, the number of Belgian players was so few that they had to maintain their position and thus they only spoke in Flemish. The Norwegians and Danish players were separated as well.' He also noted that Serbian footballers tend to stick together and that when a club appoints a Serbian coach the number of Serbian players will rise considerably.

The overpowering presence of Serbians in particular, but any other nationality, in general can upset the conventional balance amongst established and outsider groups or create nearly equally influential established groups. This can also be explained through the established-outsider theory in acknowledging the possibility of altering power relations between the established and outsider interest groups or the shades, possibilities and power struggles of various established and outsider factions within the same social setting. However, it must be noted that the social fabric of a football team is much different to what generated the conclusions of the work of Elias and Scotson (1994).

Nevertheless, not all the subjects had to undergo this type of hardship. Some of them noted that they were well received in the host country and treated fairly by team-mates. Aladar recalled his first period with his foreign club:

> When I got there, after two weeks, we travelled to the Fiji Islands with the team for a qualifying tournament. So I was 'locked up' with my team-mates for two weeks and it helped me a great deal to fit in. I was accepted very fast and I had no problems.

Janos was enthusiastically talking about his positive experience in Israel as a migrant footballer:

> There [in Israel] I was received as a star and was treated as such till the end. This might have been due to that fact that there are numerous religions in Israel and there are no strangers there. There are emigrants from every country in Israel and I did not feel like a stranger for a minute.

Janos also expressed his worries prior to moving abroad, but he considered himself fortunate as he was positively received in the host country: 'I was a bit afraid of going abroad, but absolute nothing. They had already got used to foreign players. I went there in '99 and migrations had been going on by then. So I was only one of the migrants.' Laszlo, too, indicated that having a significant number of foreign players on the team can be advantageous for a newcomer foreigner and that past migratory experiences such as good command of a foreign language can accelerate team integration:

> I was lucky in Belgium because there were 13-14 foreigners in the team. I did not go to a pure Belgian team where it might have taken more time to get accepted, but in that club there were players from several nations and I did not have problems. Of course, 1 or 2 weeks had to pass by to get acquainted with them, but aside from that there was no such problem. In Norway, the fact that I spoke the language was a brownie point, which helped me make long-lasting friendships fast.

By virtue of the above examples, it can be observed that Hungarian players encountered various degrees of difficulty in terms of fitting into the host environment that depended on the receiving club, previous migratory experiences and private life. Players indicated that the presence of other foreign players could assist the process of integration. On the other hand, when the number of foreign players exceeded the number of domestic players or foreign footballers formed cliques based on

nationality, it was exceedingly challenging for a single Hungarian to assimilate. It was then specified that players without direct family support experienced the hardship of isolation exponentially as they were left unaccompanied on and off the pitch. Previous migratory experience, such as good command of a foreign language and familiarity with the social habitus (see next section) of certain foreign players, proved to be a relevant means to abridge the adjustment period. Hence it can be stated that those players suffered the most trouble in the host environment who had little or no migratory experience, were single both in professional and private life and were surrounded by nationality-driven cliques in the host club.

Another professional adjustment, although positive, was the quality of the foreign football infrastructure. Players indicated that foreign, mostly Western European, clubs represented a higher level of organisation and better work-related player support and footballing apparatus. Laszlo claimed that: 'Everyone had their own equipment and ball abroad, and there were six normal size pitches, a gym, and a swimming pool. There was everything there that was necessary to be successful and develop good players.' Gabor compared the conditions of his Hungarian team to the foreign club he used to play for:

> At Honved, even the first team did not have equipment to train in or with. Fans took our jerseys and we did not have anything to train in. So there were these kinds of problems. When I went abroad I was amazed by the circumstances. Although, I had seen those on TV, and had tried to get ready for them, and had known about those circumstances, but when I first personally met those football pitches and conditions, and saw that there were sufficient footballs, I thought it was not possible to compare the place where I was coming from and the place where I arrived to.

Some of the players explained that the difference was not exclusively about the monetary gap between Hungarian and foreign clubs, but the way those clubs were organised and run. As Janos says: 'The structure of that club was a lot better built than the Hungarian ones. Different tasks are worked out in a detailed way. Everything is

much more organised.' Those professional footballing circumstances not only allow the players to earn more and train in better conditions, but are able to focus solely on football. As Lajos phrased it: 'I can say that I was received by professional conditions when I went abroad. I was given everything, starting with a flat. This showed trust towards me that made me relaxed. In reality, I only had to concentrate on the game.' Geza added that: 'You can earn a lot more abroad, and conditions are much clearer. Here, this abnormal system exists and we have to be entrepreneurs to get paid. This is a sick thing. This is not normal. I did not have to deal with anything abroad, but football.' Gerzson concisely summed up the professional differences: 'I must say that in terms of conditions they are 15-20 years ahead of us.'

Hungarian footballers do not find it unbearable to become accustomed to the better developed and more organised footballing and bureaucratic conditions that foreign clubs represent. The interview subjects often referred to foreign clubs and players as more 'professional' and 'goal-oriented', and noted that they represented a dissimilar way of thinking compared to Hungarian clubs about football and being a footballer in general. Next, this aspect of Hungarian footballers' foreign experience will be discussed.

With regard to the nature, quality, length and work-load of training sessions, subjects had varying impressions which were coach and football season dependent. Some coaches preferred the 'old school' and made players run for hours. Gerzson said: 'There was more running. The amount of running I did in my first month at Hertha was equal to the entire running I had done up to 21 years of age.' Other players indicated that some trainers paid more attention to skill development. The example of Lajos illustrates this succinctly:

> I went to Graz and that Dutch coach had even harder training sessions. My whole life was about training, eating and sleeping. And then again I trained, ate

> and slept. This was my life for 2-3 months. The coach was an older man who supported an older Dutch style of training. There were occasions when I had the urge to vomit. The Austrian coach focused on tactics. It might have happened because he arrived in the middle of the season and there was not much physical training then. Training sessions were loaded with drills with balls and revolved around skills and tactics. But I must say that the training sessions of the Austrian coach were not as hard as here in Hungary. I think that the type and work-load of training sessions depend on the coach.

Nonetheless, all the interviewees seemed to agree on one common disparity: the intensity of training sessions. This was a general observation concerning each and every country, club and coach, and the interview subjects often referred to this as the need of 'picking up the rhythm'. For instance, Janos said that:' Players consider every training session as if that was a proper match. Everyone gives 100% everyday. I think this is an important difference.' Gabor also observed that: 'training sessions were more intensive and I would highlight the one-on-one training drill. There have been numerous players commenting on this...that those who got to play for a foreign team experienced that a game of one-on-one is almost the matter or life and death.' The players also pointed out that the hard working footballers, who 'run like mad dogs', as Lajos expressed it, were appreciated. Gerzson explained why this phenomenon might have been unexpected by Hungarian footballers:

> In Hungary, at most places, those players are appreciated who play spectacularly, do spectacular dribbles and score nice goals. In Belgium, a player is only considered a player when he runs to death, tackles and steals the ball... I think it is not only in Belgium, but also in many other places. Hardworking and industrious players receive the same appreciation. In Hungary, this ratio is very off-balance. In Hungary, he will only be appreciated if he scores goals and play spectacularly.

The dispositions of foreign footballers do not only include hard work, but 'rock hard professionalism', as Laszlo put it, as well. This 'rock hard professionalism' was manifested in the way foreign players dealt with the issue of winning and losing. In the next sub-section, I will explore what Hungarian footballers thought of foreign players' modes of coping with the outcomes of football matches.

6.2.5. Defeat: The Hungarian Coping Strategy

All the interviewees expressed that there was a significant difference between the mentality of foreign and Hungarian players in terms of the way they treated success and failure. It appeared that Hungarian migrant players were astonished by the professional manner in which foreign players treated issues of this sort. It was then observed that foreign players do not celebrate victory and express sorrow in defeat as Hungarians do. Foreign players process these events with disciplined professionalism. To Zoltan, it was an atypical occurrence:

> To me it was very strange that we went to play a game and we lost, and after half an hour no one talked about it. Everyone was happy and focused on the next game and talked about the next game. In Hungary, on the other hand, you would cry over these things for three days.

Janos realised this disparity in coping with losing a game at an early stage of his career and noted the following:

> I noticed that I made a bigger fuss about losing than a foreign player. Losing was fast forgotten there. It is not that they forgot about it, but they tried not to think about it. I felt blue and was in a bad mood after losing, and my team-mates were asking what my problem was. They are probably much more optimistic or can stand failure easier...For example, we lost a very important game and got demoted to a lower division, and I thought that there would be a lot of crying and stuff, but they were cracking jokes like other times. I am pretty sure that a Hungarian changing room would look entirely different after losing an important game.

Gabor reinforced this dissimilarity when talking about his foreign sojourn:

> When I was in Frankfurt and we were coming back after games and were sitting on the bus after winning, there was nothing! They played cards and there was a laugh from time to time. It is totally result independent. When we lost they did the same...

At a later stage of his interview, Gabor recapped in brief the essence of this mental disposition:

> When they win they do not make a big fuss about it abroad. When they lose it is the same. In Hungary, when you win you are as happy as you can be, but when you lose you read [in the papers] that we do not need football in Hungary. It is easier abroad because whenever I think about it the first thing that comes to mind is the word 'professional'. They are professionals! To win is their job.

> They are happy about winning, but life goes on. They lose, no problem, life goes on as well.

These examples demonstrate one, probably the most significant, of the fundamental traits of Hungarian footballers. The way they learnt to treat defeat and victory seems to be deeply imprinted on and historically rooted in the Hungarian culture in general and football in particular. In making sociological sense of the idiosyncratic mindset of Hungarian footballers, the concept of 'habitus' will be applied (see Chapter 2 on Process Sociology).

The key aspect of the habitus theory, which makes it applicable to analysing the dispositional traits unique to Hungarian footballers, is the fact that not everyone possesses the same habitus. Nonetheless those of the same nationality and/or profession - who occupy the same position within the social world - tend to have the same habitus (see Ritzer, 1992). Hence, the way Hungarian footballers perceive and react to the host environment and the presence and performance of foreign players is not entirely individualistic. Rather it has common attributes that are driven by a shared national history and (footballing) culture.

With regard to the habitus of Hungarian footballers, it has been observed that they treat the outcomes of football matches in a particular way, which suggests large emotional fluctuations between the two ends of this sporting scale. Although interviewees highlighted that Hungarian players tend to cope differently with both failure and success compared to foreign footballers, here the former will be paid greater attention as defeat-generated shame and trauma seems to have been part of the Hungarian self-image and national identity for quite some time (see Lukacs, 1988, Vardy, 1989b, Csepeli, 1997, and especially Teleky, 1997, pp. 85-86). First, the notion and cultural manifestation of 'shame' will be presented through the work of

Elias (1939/2000), followed by a preliminary observation as to why it appears to be a significant part of the habitus of contemporary Hungarian footballers.

Shame is a part of the habitus of all people and is 'a specific excitation, a kind of anxiety which is automatically reproduced in the individual on certain occasions by force of habit (Elias, 1939/2000, pp. 414-415). Shame is a type of discontent which ascends when a person 'has done or is about to do something through which he comes into contradiction with people to whom he is bound in one form or another' (Elias, 1939/2000, p. 415). In other words, 'shame' is the by-product of the actions of the individual in the social setting where s/he was expected to perform differently and is triggered by, for example, fear of loss of respect, social/economic status and/or freedom. The feeling of shame only occurs when the person who is 'lapsing into inferiority can avert this danger neither by direct physical means nor by any other form of attack'. (Elias, 1939/2000, p. 415). That is, in this particular case, 'shame' is a defence mechanism of projection (for an explanation see Freud, 1968), the last shelter of the 'reprobate', which is used to repudiate his/her own activities when these become dangerous (Freud, 1968).

It can be argued that the habitus of feeling ashamed and of publicly expressing 'shame' by footballers in the Hungarian society dates back to the communist era and, perhaps beyond that to monarchical absolutism.[5] The fear of Hungarians in general and Hungarian footballers in particular of the communist authorities, who held the monopoly of violence, generated a high degree of shame in defeat. Generally speaking, Hungarians were in a defenceless position and were the play-things of a regime that exercised merciless authority. Since Hungarians could not openly defeat the system they retreated to the 'terrain of shame'. In a similar fashion, Teleky observes: 'After all, everyone knows that decade after decade Hungary continues to

have the highest annual suicide rate in the world, or at least in countries where statistics are kept' (1997, 85). Moreover, taking into consideration the social and political role football and footballers had in communist Hungary (see Chapter 4), it can be argued that displaying 'shame' became more articulated with regard to footballers as football was chosen as the most popular sport in Hungary. Also, footballers were in the public eye, expected to represent the country and its political ideology internationally and to carry out immaculate sport performances (see Chapter 4, Taylor and Jamrich, 1998 and Kowalski and Porter, 2004). When footballers, or for that matter athletes in general, could not meet the requirements of the regime and were afraid of retaliation, but had no legal means to secure their lives or social positions, they displayed an amplified feeling of shame as a way of persuading the authorities and the public about the sincerity of their efforts and regrets. As one of the interviewed coaches, who was an active player during communism, expressed it: 'After defeat, it was customary [for players] to hide for three days ... It was obligatory for us to cry while sitting on the bus.' This description of the communist footballing conditions might be a bit exaggerated in terms of the 'three days of hiding'. It, nonetheless, reinforces the idea that Hungarian players were used to displaying sorrow after defeat. Differently phrased, in this socially defenceless situation, Hungarian footballers attempted to escape the punishment meted out by the regime or the public through the means of 'shame'. This behaviour has become part of the habitus of Hungarian footballers and the unrealistically high level of shame contemporary players still display is a residual communism-induced trait. Or, as Freud observed: 'these [attitudes] are residues of very vigorous defensive processes in the past which have become dissociated from their original situations... and have developed into permanent character traits' (1968, p. 33).

In this section, I discussed the chief professional adjustments migrant Hungarian footballers had to make and endure whilst abroad. It was highlighted that the adjustments were both positive and negative, in the sense that, for example, more advanced footballing conditions were virtually effortlessly embraceable, while the faster pace of foreign leagues and the hard-core professional mindset of foreign players generated discrepancies. Given that the life of the migrant is not exclusively a question of his/her work experiences, in the next section I will explore the private problems that migrant players encountered in various host environments, bearing national identity centrally in mind.

6.2.6. Personal Troubles: National Identity in Motion

Hungarian players indicated that the most demanding issues to endure in the host country were lack of friends, distance from family, the lure of Hungary and their town/city of origin, missing Hungarian cuisine and peculiarities of the host culture. All of these matters were referred to by the interviewees with case-specific dissimilarities. For example, although Gabor acknowledged various problems, to him, the lack of friends was the most critical aspect and he stated: 'Mainly that all the friends stayed here [in Hungary] and we went there without knowing anyone there. That was not easy.' Janos indicated his, and his family's problem, with missing Hungarian cuisine: 'We missed Hungarian flavours a great deal everywhere. For instance, you cannot buy Hungarian sour cream in Italy. In Israel, you could not get Hungarian salami because of kosher food. We always suffered because of this.' Laszlo mentioned the problem of not seeing his parents and grandparents as often as he would like to and confessed: 'What is negative is that I do not see my parents and grandparents as often and it generates some sort of an absence, and when we come home because of the national team we try to make up for it.' In addition to these

issues, Aladar expressed his attitude to and opinion with regard to the host environment as follows:

> Austrians are nice, but cold. I could never get used to that. I would never be able to live in a country like Austria, although it is much more advanced. The life standard is quite high and they are well off. But neither I nor my girlfriend could get used to that kind of coldness. I would not be able to live in Austria or in any other country, for that matter, because I and my Hungarian mentality would not change that much to settle somewhere else.

Aladar specified that, although Austria represents more advanced social and perhaps footballing conditions, he never considered it as his 'home' and would not think of settling there. This quotation directly leads to the theme of 'feeling at home' in the host environment.

Regardless of the quality of reception in the host country and club, all the interviewed players pointed out that Hungary or a specific town/city of Hungary constituted home throughout their foreign careers. To Janos, home was 'Hungary, evidently. I felt I was a total stranger.' In a similar vein, Zoltan never felt at home abroad: 'Nothing meant real home. The place where I went home to, and, unfortunately stayed alone, meant a medium level of security.' Gerzson, however, liked the host country and intended to spend some more time there, [but] he would not consider settling: 'Home is always Hungary. Despite the fact that I would love to go back to Norway and stay there for a longer period. I could not leave Hungary forever because I am a Hungarian. I do not have any other reasons. I love Hungary.' Zsolt too admitted that: 'I love Belgians...but, regardless, I love to be at home.' Aladar was more particular about the location of home, which reflected a certain degree of local-patriotism: 'To me Szombathely [a Hungarian city] is always 'the home'.' Andras demonstrated a family-oriented attitude, along with some local-patriotism when specifying the location of 'home': 'Wherever my two sons and wife are. When I am

done [with football] then it is Pecs. I am from Pecs [a Hungarian city] and I want to go back there. I try to drive my life to end up there.'

All of the these quotations illustrate that Hungarian players, regardless of the experience they underwent in the host country and club, want to return and settle in Hungary. This was reinforced by the future plans of the subjects most of whom admitted that they would like to have a few more years of foreign football, but all of them wanted ultimately to return to and settle in Hungary. Jozsef said that: 'I would like to spend next year abroad and come back [to Hungary] after that and do something football related.' Aladar mentioned that: 'I will return to Szombathely after my career ends abroad.' Gabor also expressed his intention of remaining in Hungary and Hungarian football: 'I am 30 years old. I would like to say here [in Debrecen]. I still have 2 and a half years in my contract and I want to spend that here.'

The common desire of Hungarian players to return and settle in Hungary can be attributed to the manner in which they behaved and perceived themselves in the host environment. As has been observed, most of the footballers never truly felt at home in the host country and Hungary, or a particular city/town, constituted home even for those players who had positive experiences abroad. This sense of home is directly linked to the way Hungarian players depicted their private lives and sense of Hungarianness - their national identity - whilst abroad. All of the subjects noted that they remained Hungarians and that their sense of national identity never declined. In fact, most of the players pointed out that their degree of Hungarianness was heightened and they became hyper-sensitive about Hungary and related issues. Gabor reflected upon his attitude towards Hungary as follows:

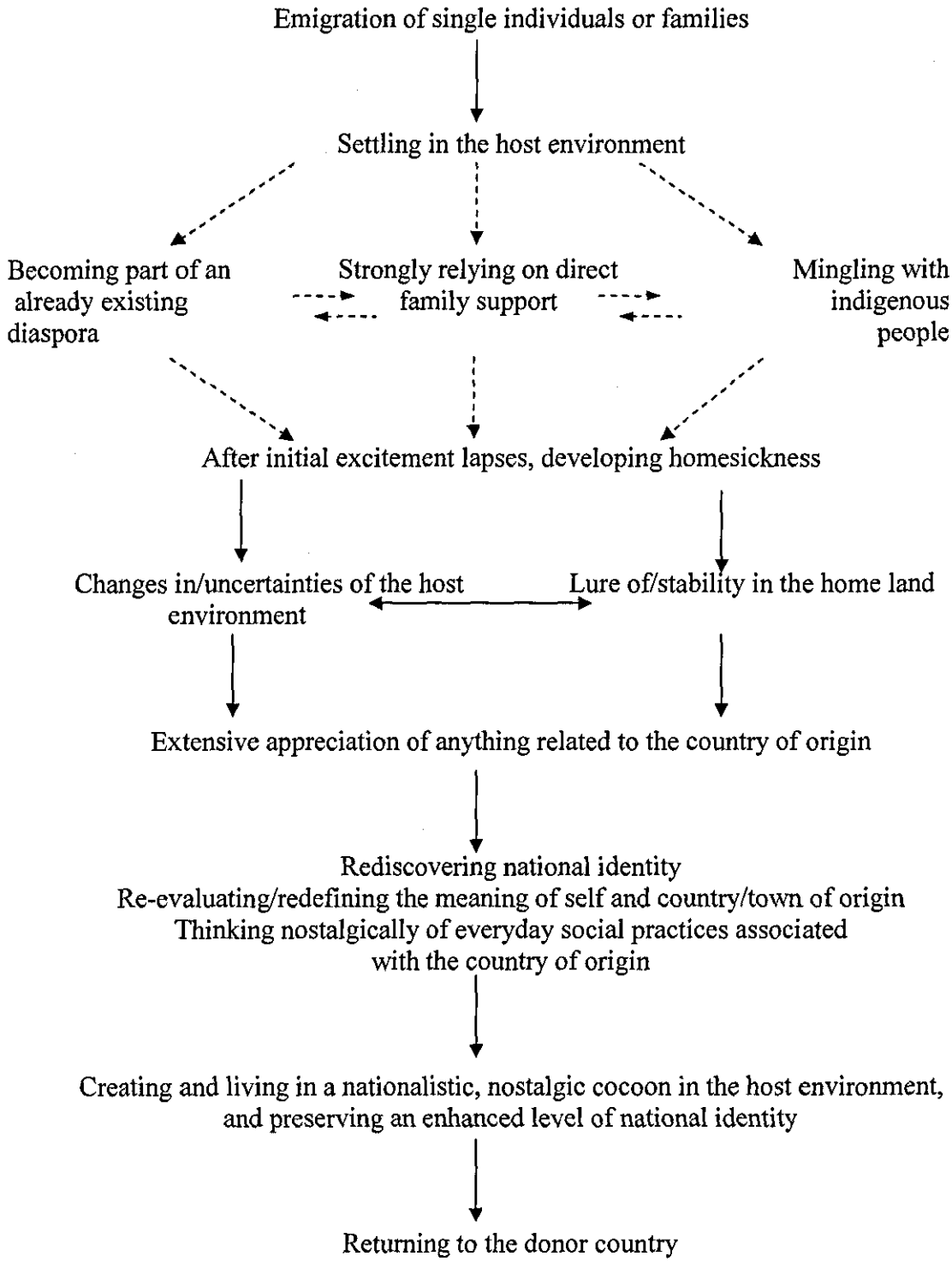
> I am very proud to be a Hungarian and whenever I was asked I immediately said that I was a Hungarian. It happened that some people had negative opinions about Hungarian football and Hungary in Norway and Belgium, but I was like a defence lawyer and told them all about the circumstances.

Zoltan illustrated the strengthening of his Hungarianness in this fashion: 'I became really patriotic. This really emerged in me. I was very sensitive when someone said something bad and was proud when there was something good about Hungary. Everything interested me about Hungary...I was proud of everything good that happened in Hungary.' This strengthened national identity, described by Zoltan, was present in the case of all the footballers. Attila admitted that spending some time in a foreign country made him re-evaluate Hungarian culture: 'There [abroad] you can really learn to appreciate the value of Hungarian food. One night I just drove around Szombathely and I was thinking whether people liked and appreciated this city or just get up in the morning and go to work?' Aladar clearly explicated the way he came to re-evaluate Hungary and his Hungarianness:

> I would say that its [Hungary] value has grown. When I get on a bus I feel differently because I see the things of the city. They are different. In the old days, when I went to school by bus and I got on that bus, I took it for granted. Now I see it a bit differently... now I am so far from it I am very happy if I can take a walk in that park and sit on that bench. Simply, its value has grown.

Attila added that: 'We go to a Hungarian restaurant when my wife has a birthday or name-day. That is a very good feeling.' It was also specified that, although footballers had to accept and accommodate to the rules and customs of the host club, they tended to resist some part of the foreign culture and assumed an escapist attitude in their private lives through creating a small Hungarian cocoon in the host setting. Gerzson declared that: 'I eat Hungarian food and live like a Hungarian man. Nothing has changed in this regard. So I am in a small cocoon abroad.' Zoltan also mentioned that: 'We eat Hungarian dishes at home.' Then Attila noted his intention of preserving his Hungarianness abroad: 'They [the football club] really try to force upon me this German stuff [food] but I cannot and do not want to switch. I would go bananas. My body would not know what's up!'

Figure 12 The Process of Rediscovering National Identity – The Case of Hungarian Migrant Footballers



Based upon these quotations, it can be observed that migrant Hungarian footballers consider Hungary as home, never intend to settle in foreign countries, develop an enhanced sense of Hungarianness abroad and tend to create and perpetuate a 'little Hungary' in the host environment. These phenomena clearly indicate a process which migrant Hungarian footballers undergo while abroad. This process, illustrated by Figure 12, can be termed as 'rediscovering national identity' - Hungarianness in this particular case - and can be discussed further.

According to Smith, 'a sense of national identity provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world' (1991, p. 17). This shared and unique culture enables us 'to know "who we are" in the contemporary world' (1991, p. 17). When people migrate, they often go through identity crises or develop personal insecurities in facing other cultures. A way of coping with cultural challenges is to 'rediscover ourselves' through our original culture. In other words, 'by rediscovering...[our] culture, we 'rediscover' ourselves, the 'authentic self'...[as] it has happened to many divided and disoriented individuals who have had to contend with the vast changes and uncertainties of the modern world. (Smith, 1991, p. 17).

After presenting the Hungarian footballers' dispositions in the host countries, it can be argued that they underwent a process of rediscovering themselves and their national identities in order to cope with the challenges the modern football world and foreign cultures displayed. As a result of this process, they developed a sense of amplified national identity that aided the preservation of their self-integrity. Figure 12 demonstrates the phases of this process. This requires further elaboration.

The process of rediscovering national identity begins with the actual migration of individuals or families who move away from their country and culture of origin and attempt to settle in a foreign host environment. In doing so, they may unite with an

already existing diaspora (if present and desired), rely on direct family support (if present) and mingle with indigenous people (if necessary or desired). These factors, in unity or individually, facilitate the assimilation of the migrant into the host environment. Nevertheless, as the footballers in my sample indicated, after the initial excitement, such as new accommodation, new culture and people, migrants tend to develop severe homesickness, which is induced by, on the one hand, challenges in and uncertainties about the host environment and, on the other hand, the lure of and stability in the original home land. Footballers reacted to the blend of these impacts by developing an extensive admiration for anything related to their country of origin through which they rediscovered their original national identity that had been taken for granted prior to migration. In the case of footballers, rediscovering national identity meant re-evaluating and redefining themselves and their country of origin. This was manifested in thinking nostalgically about everyday social practices in the home environment such as travelling on the bus and sitting on a bench in Hungary, and appreciating national cuisine. The optimal way - a type of defence mechanism - for Hungarian footballers to cope with and survive the host culture was to create a nationalistic, nostalgic cocoon in the host environment in which they could preserve their rhapsodic[6] national identity and escape from the realm of 'foreignness'. This was a 'sanctuary', representing Hungary, and themselves, in the foreign terrain, a place where they could retreat and find peace in familiar nationalistic elements such as language, food, photos and, perhaps, customs. After returning to the donor country, this rhapsodic nationalistic sentiment, supposedly, begins to decline and then is reduced to a normal level.

Interestingly, a similar argument to the above can be observed in a few novels about Hungarian migrants. For instance, one of John Marline's fictions, Putzi, I Love

You, You Little Square (1981), which is set in Canada (Winnipeg), within a Hungarian migrant community, tells a story about a precocious talking fetus on the verge of being born. This is a quest for the fetus to find a proper father for himself, but behind this façade there is a meta-narrative. The fetus, Putzi, speaks only English, but perceives himself as Hungarian in the womb of his mother. And it can be argued that Putzi represents the second generation of these Hungarian migrants who had been living in a hermetically sealed Hungarian community (womb). They themselves struggle with their own identities as they still think of themselves as Hungarians, simultaneously feeling the allurement of the dominant identity, which would also be a way of escaping certain Hungary-related stereotypes. The tension lies in the process of 'giving birth', which is, in reality, a re-birth for that Hungarian community through extensively embracing the dominant culture. The anxiety derives from the first generation who are afraid of leaving the (Hungarian) 'womb' and integrating into dominant cultural practices. Putzi, a second generation Hungarian migrant speaks fluent English, but is still brought up in this Hungarian cocoon, and has the opportunity to overcome these fears and stereotypes whilst still preserving some aspects of his Hungarianness.

This story depicts general tensions between the migrant and the host environment and the first and second generations of migrants. Nevertheless, the interesting fact is that Marline represents the Hungarian migrant community as people living in/within their isolated locality, which has also been observed with reference to the behaviour of migrant Hungarian footballers in the host environment. Hence, it is possible to argue that when Hungarians migrate in general they take their original culture with them and form an isolated 'little Hungary' in the host country, which disintegrates with time. The rest of the tension illustrated in this novel does not apply

to the case of contemporary Hungarian football migrants as they do not intend to reside in the host country (see Figure 12) and, consequently, do not fully experience the above described process of assimilation.

Despite the fact that this observation and model may only be applicable to the case of Hungarian migrant footballers, other research has detected similar patterns. For instance, Stead and Maguire made the following observation regarding Scandinavian migrant footballers in England: 'The Nordic/Scandinavian players may have been crossing geographical boundaries, but culturally, they were not doing so. They retained a strong commitment to their roots' (2000, p. 55). This indicates another set of migrant footballers perpetuating strong ties with their culture of origin. Nonetheless, the sample of Hungarian migrant footballers still reflects a unique scenario as they do not merely 'retain their original roots', but develop an amplified sense of Hungarianness and live in a culturally sealed environment, creating a strong sense of 'little Hungary'.

Further research of this kind might be able to establish that it is not only Hungarian footballers or footballers who rediscover and reinforce their original national identity and learn to view it through 'rose-coloured' geographical distance in order to cope with the challenges of the modern world and the host country.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have extensively discussed and attempted to make sense sociologically of the lived experiences of Hungarian footballers in the host environment. I began by exploring the blend of motivating forces unique to the individual migrant and his/her circumstances and changes over time. Thus, it is inaccurate to specifically state what motivates migrants without longitudinal examiniation of the elements and power balance within this blend. It was then

explained that a continually transmuting mixture of global and local push and pull factors was responsible for motivating Hungarian footballers. They were stimulated chiefly by better financial and infrastructural conditions, challenge, self-improvement, and domestic footballing discrepancies (see also Stead and Maguire, 2000). It was revealed that there was no prime mover (see Chapter 2) with reference to this migration sequence. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, although Hungarians may not have been solely concerned about personal financial gains, they could only find better footballing conditions and more challenging leagues where, in turn, they earned more. In sum, monetary circumstances, directly and indirectly, played a significant role.

It was also explicated that Hungarian footballers had little control over selecting the destination country as they tended to rely on migratory meso-structures. The selection and transfer procedure was chiefly organised by agents, and players often had only the 'right' to signal disagreement or agreement. This relevant piece of information requires revisiting the migration typology of Hungarian professional footballers, which will follow here.

The sample of Hungarian players could still be perceived as a group of migrants, who have little or no control over the destination country, in the intersection of 'circular' and 'career' migration categories (see Tilly, 1990), the formulation of which is dominantly football-industry led. On the other hand, they cannot be seen as mercenaries because of lack of control over selecting the destination country. Mercenaries are motivated by short-term gains and use agents to maximalise profit (cf. Maguire et al., 2002). Since Hungarian footballers described themselves as having an inverse relationship with agents, i.e. they were used by them, they should rather be depicted as nomadic-returnees. That they belong in the 'returnee' category is made

evident by the fact that the Hungarian footballers in my sample had little or no intention to settle in the host country and all of the subjects ultimately wanted to return to and settle in Hungary. Moreover, in a sense, they are to be perceived as nomadic migrants, due to moving around often and relying on the networks of agents and the agent-dependent limited options. That is, Hungarian footballers are at the mercy of football agents in seeking more fruitful footballing opportunities. This expands the original meaning of the 'nomad' migrant who can be viewed as a cosmopolitan footballer (see Stead and Maguire, 2000), in this case, depending significantly on migratory meso-structures. By virtue of the above, Hungarian professional footballers of the post-communist transition period were circulatory-career migrants with nomadic mobility and returnee intentions.

Subsequently, professional and private adjustments were discussed in relation to what Hungarian footballers had to endure in the host environment. It was pointed out that the most significant professional difference was habitual in terms of foreign players being more professional in general and in particular in the way they treated victory and defeat. Then, attention was paid to the way Hungarian footballers commonly react to defeat because shame and trauma appear to be a part of Hungarian national habitus and identity. As argued, Hungarian players tend to display an amplified degree of shame after defeat that has become a part of their self-defence mechanism induced during the communist regime. In lacking legal or other means to protect themselves from retaliation after defeat, Hungarian footballers developed into the habit of overemphasising their shame in public, which still constructs a part of their national footballing habitus and is undoubtedly recognised when confronted with other habitual manifestations.

The way Hungarian footballers react to the host environment in private life also reflects that they possess well-functioning, over-developed self-defence mechanisms. Most of the interviewees indicated that their national identity, their 'Hungarianness', strengthened whilst they were abroad. This happens regularly with migrants who learn to re-evaluate their self-identity in a foreign environment. Nevertheless, this was not the only symptom observed in this case. Subjects also indicated that they tended to create a Hungarian cocoon in the host environment which was an isolated environment, a refuge, where they could eliminate the feeling of foreignness and of being surrounded by foreignness. That is, instead of embracing the host culture and environment, Hungarian footballers guarded their rhapsodic Hungarianness and tried to eliminate the impacts of foreign culture on private life as much as possible. This behaviour pattern demonstrates a way of coping with migratory social situations, and may be characterised by an historically rooted, amplified self-defence mechanism, which takes effect when Hungarian players are forced outside of their comfort zone of Hungarianness. This launches the process of 'rediscovering national identity' (see Figure 12), which was characteristic of Hungarian footballers in the transition period.

The data I collected is limited to the years of post-communist transition and only allows one to generalise this behaviour pattern to Hungarian male footballers. However, it would be a sociologically intriguing project to explore the roots of the historical events that triggered this self-defence mechanism and whether this can be observed with regard to other sports or, perhaps, to the entire Hungarian population. This would obviously support, or could be supported by the conclusions of other migration related research (e.g. Wallace and Stola, 2001), that have already observed that Hungarians have relatively insignificant intention to migrate or, those who migrate, to settle in the host country in comparison with the populations of other

Central European countries. In this way, the findings of this research could be extended and some aspects of Hungarian national identity, which are often questioned and questionable in recent times (see Csepeli, 1997, Kosztolanyi, 2000), could be illuminated further. This would be of importance in the contemporary era of globalisation in which local and national identities are often seen to be subjugated by globally conveyed identities, bringing along locally experienced global uncertainties (cf. the hyperglobalist view discussed in Chapter 2).

Notes

[1] For another example, see Kevin Keegan's (1997) autobiography in which he admits that he had to put a premature halt to his international career because his wife had become reluctant to move to another foreign country. Keegan writes:

> Negotiations were at an advanced stage when Jean [wife] suddenly said that she didn't want to go to Italy...In those days the newspapers were full of stories of kidnappings and terrorism in Italy and the targets were prominent businessmen, politicians and well-know personalities. We had a small daughter to consider now, and Jean felt it was a risk that simply was not worth taking (1997, pp. 174-175).

[2] All the past and present neo-classic economy based migration theories are embedded in the work of E.G. Ravenstein (1885, 1889) who developed statistical laws to interpret migration patterns (see Castles and Miller, 2003).

[3] For an explanation of migration system theory and its structures see Castles and Miller (2003, pp. 26-28).

[4] Lorenzo Amoruso made the following observation with regard to the arrival of a Dutch coach (Dick Advocaat) in his autobiography: 'the atmosphere changed because the Dutch colony had taken control and the rest of us felt like outsiders...now Ibrox was like a little piece of the Netherlands. It was a strange, strange time to be a Rangers player' (2002, pp. 192-193).

[5] The degree of shame Hungarian footballers display following a defeat might even have deeper historical roots stemming probably from the losses and trauma Hungarians suffered due to post-World War I peace negotiations (see Vardy, 1989), which constitute the most sensitive spot in the historical consciousness of the Hungarian nation (Csepeli, 1997). The argument presented in this thesis is only a preliminary one in terms of the development of Hungarian footballing habitus, the analysis of which requires further and more profound, historically-rooted investigation to fully explore the complex transmutation process within Hungarian national habitus.

[6] The word 'rhapsodic', is used in the sense of expressing and experiencing powerful emotions (cf. Teleky, 1997).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE 'JUNGLE' OF POST-COMMUNIST HUNGARIAN FOOTBALL

In chapter 6, I introduced the major issues with regard to migrant Hungarian professional players and their reactions to the host environment through discussing general concerns, problems and behaviour patterns. The motivating forces triggering the migration of professional Hungarian footballers were also acknowledged, one of which is the Hungarian domestic football culture. Hungarian footballers indicated that they often began to forge migration plans due to discrepancies they had experienced within the home club. Since Chapter 6 centred on the lived experiences of Hungarian footballers playing abroad, the subject of domestic problems was not explored. Nevertheless, this is a vital part of the development of migration patterns as domestic 'push factors' often prove to be significant in inducing migration flows (see Patrias, 1994). For instance, deficient domestic conditions can hinder football development, cause financial shortage in professional as well as private life, accumulate various levels and types of insecurities and, consequently, lead to migration (see Maguire, 1999 and Chapter 6 of this thesis). Migrations of this kind have been widely present in Hungarian football since 1990 (see Duke, 1994), illustrating the volatility of domestic footballing conditions.

As the title of this chapter indicates, Hungary's post-communist football transition has not been an entirely smooth process (see Bali, 2001 and previous chapters in this thesis). In fact, the last fifteen years have revealed a regression of Hungarian football, which began in the communist regime, and have sparked further decay and problems. These have not been given proper sociological consideration. Therefore, in this chapter I will attempt to examine the post-communist Hungarian football culture, in an attempt to shed light on the most significant matters concerning

Hungarian football, debunk some of the most relevant contemporary 'football myths', and, when it is possible, to form links with the past. This endeavour is based on a qualitative data set collected through semi-structured interviews, and the findings of the preceding chapters. Interview subjects consisted of the key officials of the Hungarian FA; managers, coaches, and foreign and indigenous players of three professional Hungarian football clubs, one of the 'Magic Magyars' and a football agent (ex-football manager). The subjects represent various spheres of Hungarian football, from the official and managerial side, through coaches to the players and players' agents. In this way, it will be possible to construct a more reality-congruent picture of Hungarian football culture. In other words, the members of each of these groups offer their own perspectives on the examined phenomena, and since they represent different levels in the Hungarian football hierarchy, they see the same occurrences from different angles. Hence, it was imperative to extensively explore all of the perspectives in order to arrive at a more realistic representation.[1]

In general terms, in this chapter I will cast some light on the major problems that Hungarian football has experienced in the transitional years, some of which are still at work and deeply rooted in the communist era. It is also intended to bring to light what foreign footballers think of Hungarian football; why they are recruited and decide to move to Hungary, and whether Hungary is truly the gateway to Western European football. Then, attention will be turned to what various representatives of Hungarian football anticipated and what their attitudes were towards Hungary's EU accession. The final part concludes the chapter and the main issues that revolved around Hungarian football in the given era.

7.1 Post-Communist Hungarian Football: An Analysis

Drawing on interview data, several general problems of contemporary Hungarian football can be identified: an inefficient football infrastructure; an immature youth-development system; a lack of state support; the changing social significance of football; and an emerging tendency for migration. These issues were identified by the interviewees as the major defects of Hungarian football, and while each can be perceived in isolation, they will be considered below as interconnected phenomena.

7.1.1 Infrastructure

As indicated by the subjects, the major infrastructural problems are considered to be a lack of full-size natural and artificial pitches, underdeveloped conditions of existing facilities and a lack of football equipment. These deficiencies derive mainly from lack of money as the state has been providing less financial support since the collapse of communism. Gyorgy, an FA representative, explained this in the following way:

> It must be mentioned that until 1989-90, while Hungary was still a part of the communist bloc, there was a [centralised] financing system. I am not saying that it was good, but at least there was some sort of system that could devote money to sport in general and football in particular.

Lazar, another FA official, explained the contemporary situation as follows:

> Then change of the [political] system came and, obviously, it [centralised financing] just did not work after privatisation. This [old] kind of financing ceased, but the new system never really came around. Nothing really replaced the old system. Practically, we are at the stage that Hungarian football is maintained by private investment, TV revenues, advertisements and commercials. Obviously, there is a need for a planned financing in sport in general and in football in particular on which we can rely.

After 1989, sport clubs lost a significant part of their state support and had to find sponsoring organisations and other revenue streams in order to maintain their own institutions. This was the beginning of the re-commodification of sport in Hungary

(see Molnar, 2002), i.e. sport became commercialised as it had been prior to communism.

Under communism, sport was ideology-driven and government supported (see Chapter 4). Coaches and sport managers did not need to be concerned about club budgets as sports generally served governmental purposes and there was a considerable sum of money devoted to sports so as to popularise communist ideologies (see Chapter 4).[2] In such as situation, sport clubs did not need to market their products and enjoyed a stable situation created by the regime. In the post-communist period, the political function of sports was transformed, along with the centralised financing system, forcing sport clubs to organise their existence virtually without any state endorsement or support. In this new, market-driven sporting environment, the communism-bred club managers had to face unexpected financial challenges and the nature of a market economy. These challenges appeared to be significant as sport leaders had not been required to market sport performance and to rely on their own initiative.

Adam Zwass (1984) developed a similar argument with reference to the problems that were induced by the first economic reform in the late 1960s. Zwass argued:

> Economic reforms of the late '60s fundamentally shook the centrally driven Hungarian economy. Most of the plant managers, who over the years had become accustomed to the life of a state official, who had everything handed to them and did not have to be concerned about the sale of their products and the expansion of their enterprise...they experienced no relief at suddenly being burdened with the responsibility for their enterprise and having to rely on their own initiative (1984, p. 5).

The trade and industry reform of the late 1960s created a novel economic environment, which was fundamentally driven by a Western-type supply and demand oriented market economy. These progressive financial provisions lasted only for a few

years (1968-1973) and then the original, conservative economic system was restored. This was possible as, during the years of economic reform, the central political apparatus remained intact. Since the process of economic reform came to a premature halt, due to a strong internal Party struggle (see Zwass, 1984), not all areas of public life were directly influenced by it. Therefore, the sphere of sport began to experience the laws of market economy only after 1989, but when it did, sport managers underwent the same process and problems observed by Zwass (1984) concerning plant managers.

After the collapse of communism, no pattern existed regarding obtaining sponsors or selling sports (see Collins, 2004). Sport organisations began to learn to manage monetary issues in their own way, which was manifested in a mixture of Western and Hungarian practices (see Molnar, 2002). This could be understood as the modification and partial integration of Western-type sponsor-sport club relationships, the interaction of local and global practices, resulting in hybrid ways of organising the Hungarian sport market. In this situation, as a result of the mingling of the global and the local, a new hybrid sport-cultural formation began to emerge slowly replacing the old declining one (for further details see Molnar, 2002). Hungarian sport clubs began to approach international and national investors to obtain monetary support in return for advertising space and time. Now, all the major sport clubs have sponsoring contracts (for examples see Chapter 5).

Nonetheless, it was highlighted by interviewees that not even the communist government invested sufficient money into football development, and, as Gyorgy said: 'practically, today there are less football pitches than 50-60 years ago.' Moreover, the existing football facilities are in poor condition as most of the teams struggle to make ends meet. Jozsef, a club manager, explained that: 'we do not have

enough and good quality football pitches and other facilities'. Moreover, Janos, one of the club representatives, stated that: 'there are problems with payments to players and to water, electricity and gas suppliers that are still due. This is a tragedy because these dues are not paid by the clubs.'

Under these circumstances, clubs are unable to fulfil legal obligations towards suppliers and players, and it is unachievable to improve existing resources or to construct new ones. Bela, one of the managers, observed: 'The most important is the infrastructure. There are no pitches! Both youngsters and pros do not have good facilities to train. There are no stadia and the level of society's expectations has changed. So those stadia, can be called barns, do not satisfy onlookers any more.' This underdeveloped football infrastructure is chiefly caused by scarce financial resources and is partially responsible for the contemporary state of Hungarian football culture.

The problem of lack of financial resources appears at all layers of Hungarian football and, as has been noted already, players and football clubs generally do not have sufficient equipment to train in or with (see Chapter 6). All these finance generated issues, as the interviewees asserted, have led to the present conditions and decreased the popularity and prestige of football in Hungarian society. Football, however, should not be perceived as an isolated social sphere, existing outside of general social problems (see also Jinxia, 2003). Several of the subjects highlighted that football actually struggles with similar problems as Hungarian society as a whole. In the words of Gyorgy: 'Hungarian football has the same problems as Hungary itself. Football cannot be separated from financial, legal and economic matters. Hungarian football has the very same problems [and] the very same symptoms.' Zsolt, a coach, asserted that: 'Hungary has been struggling with serious problems for quite some

time...[and] this is the root of our problems.' Lazar also expressed that 'Hungarian football will not get better unless something is done about general financial conditions throughout Hungary'.

The above quotations demonstrate that football is not the only sphere in Hungary with ambiguous finance and underdeveloped infrastructure. In fact, Hungary as a nation-state is still struggling with the heritage of the communist regime. This includes: obsolete industries, outdated technology, heavy international debts, environmental problems (Energy Information Administration, 1995) and an exploited and elitist sporting system (see Davies, 2004). Nonetheless, these problems do not exclusively concern the elite level, but, as Bela explained, the grass-roots also suffer from an underdeveloped sporting infrastructure.

7.1.2 Youth-Development

A recurring theme of the interviews was the current state of football youth-development. Interviewees pointed out that the youth-development system also needs improvement as the communist administration heavily relied on the so-called 'grund' system as 'natural teachers', as Lazar explained. By 'grund', Hungarians mean those uninhabited, mostly flat, urban places where youngsters could get together and play, mainly football. These places are thought of as 'natural teachers' because youngsters played and developed their football skills unsupervised. This 'natural' and unsupervised youth-development system supplied Hungarian club football with players between the World Wars and even after World War II.[3]

The process of urbanisation drastically reduced the number of 'grunds' all around the country, which were never substituted by modern football fields. It was pointed out by several of the subjects that this system that worked effectively in the 1950s and 1960s, was never replaced with a modern youth-development scheme.

Gyorgy noted: 'The number of footballers has been decreasing since the '70s... For example, in Budapest, 80 football pitches got closed down in the last 10 years. This dramatically reduced the number of children playing football.' Another Hungarian FA official, Szabolcs, noted the problem of lack of modernisation: 'that era is over when uncle Janos, who loved football, was the coach, the custodian and the chauffeur. He recruited and coached kids. This is not working nowadays. This era is over now. We need those modern systems, equipments and circumstances that are out there in the world.'

Additionally, Szabolcs pointed out that: 'There is a very hard and many decades-long heritage, that is: an extremely immature youth-development, the reduced number of clubs, footballers, pitches and referees.' Coaches also indicated that it is not a prestigious and well-paid occupation to be a youth coach. Youth coaches usually have to have additional jobs to make ends meet. Therefore, the highly qualified and talented experts attempt to ply their skills elsewhere for higher monetary rewards, leaving the less capable coaches to train youngsters.[4] Zoltan, one of the players, explained this situation as follows: 'Youth-development coaches, for instance, mine was very bad. Nevertheless, I admire him because he stayed the course for 5000 Forints [£15]. So this is the situation.' Another player, Balazs, indicated the level of football knowledge of his youth-coach and remarked that: 'When I was in the youth team we often had to run on concrete, wearing cleated boots, which, as we know, is very bad for your feet'.

In order to improve the state of youth-development, the government (1998-2002) launched the so-called 'Bozsik Programme' (see Chapter 4), which was supposed to boost the number of children involved in football. This programme only offers a partial solution to the problem of youth-development as football facilities still

require improvement. As an FA representative, Lazar, observed: 'We tried to start the Bozsik programme last year in order to recruit tens of thousands of children, between the age of 7 and 11, to play football for clubs. We are 40 years late.' In addition, the Bozsik Programme is still subject to political pressures, which was pointed out by Gyorgy:

> The matter with the Bozsik Programme is that the first instalment of the state support arrived, but, if I know it correctly, the second HUF500 million instalment did not even arrive prior to the change of the government. This would have meant half a year of monetary support. So this is just not working without the money!

The evidence shows that the lack of financial and state support, and obsolete infrastructure undermined the formulation of a well-functioning youth-development programme. Even though there are endeavours to improve this situation, they function with a relatively low efficacy and there is still an insufficient number of young Hungarian footballers. Moreover, Hungary is not exclusively a host, but a donor country as well (see Chapter 5). When domestic talent emerges it is immediately taken by richer Western clubs, which does not make youth-development financially rewarding for Hungarian clubs. Janos noted: 'First of all, we do not have enough young talent and it is not worth developing and training them because they are taken from us by bigger clubs'. Jozsef added: 'The most talented young players immediately sign away and, thus, we actually are becoming like a *colony* that is exploited.' Bela gave a particular example to illustrate the present situation:

> We had a talent and wanted to sign him, but the parents got smart and they did not want to have a contract with us. So, Galatasaray took him against the development expenses. Then you must think whether it is worth doing it?! There is one talented child out of every 3000 or 4000. A club must be very lucky in order to find 1 or 2 talented ones!

These quotations illustrate the phenomenon of the 'de-skilling of donor countries', which means that less developed countries regularly experience the loss of

sport talent to more developed countries (see Maguire, 1999). Maguire et al. argue that ' less developed countries invest in the production of athletic talent, but once these players reach maturity, more economically developed leagues... recruit the best available talent' (2002, p. 37). Consequently, the rapid influx of foreign players and the absence of youth-development schemes are directly linked to a decline in national playing standards (Maguire and Pearton, 2000). Maguire et al. add that 'the presence of overseas [foreign] players denies indigenous players access to teams and leads, in some instances, to personal and national underdevelopment' (2002, p. 42). This, in turn, can further reduce the attractiveness of domestic football for youngsters as they soon realise that they have limited chances for proper training and making the team.

In addition to this, after the collapse of communism, the spectrum of sporting and other free time activities began to widen, siphoning potential, talented youngsters away from football. A manager explained this as follows:

> A lot less people play football than, let's say, 15-20 years ago. The Internet and the changing environment play a big role in this...Now there are things which are much more attractive than football, where you can earn more with investing a lot less energy...The environment that surrounds football also frightens children away. There are no real role models and everyone gets confronted with violent behaviour, racism and fights in the stadia and, thus, the number of onlookers is also small. Parents do not take their kids to the stadia and, thus, there is no one to start playing football.

That is, although this argument is not unique to contemporary Hungarian football, the general decline of football quality and the swift deterioration of football facilities, coupled with the growing varieties of free time activities (open society) have made a continuously declining number of people interested in and concerned about football. Therefore, football has been losing its social base, which, in terms of player development, was expressed succinctly by Szabolcs: 'Every country's football rests on amateur football, on this wide base which is the mother of everything. This is really tight here. In other words, we rather have a tower than a pyramid.' Broadly

speaking, under these circumstances, it is extremely demanding to maintain high quality football and develop highly skilled footballers.

The data indicate that these aspects of football migration can be identified in Hungary, i.e. an immature youth-development system, the lure of the Western European leagues and an excess of foreign footballers, which are mutually responsible for the current footballing conditions. In addition, the changing football culture, especially the fan culture, has been ineffective in promoting football in Hungarian society. Actually, the post-communist football culture can be considered as a significant 'push factor' for players and seen as a highly unattractive social sphere for potential footballers. The problems of the changing football culture - increasing and recurring football violence - will be considered in the next section as a crucial push factor.

7.1.3 Violence in the Stadia

Weak domestic and international football performances, coupled with outdated football facilities failed to raise the appeal of football in the circle of both fans and players. One of the FA officials, Szabolcs, stated: 'I cannot really talk about real Hungarian fans as the number of them has been greatly reduced, and the 'fanhood' of some of those who remained is questionable.' Having mentioned the issue of 'questionable fanhood', one of the managers, Bela, gave an example regarding the conditions of football stadia, the level of security and the problems of decreasing spectators:

> The other thing is the atmosphere on the pitch. On the one hand, the League strictly punishes affrays. There was a very serious one here on 30th March when the Ferencvaros could not be the champion and both the players and referees got beaten. This is really intolerable! On the other hand, the ones who caused this trouble were who had caused troubles 3 months ago, but had not been arrested... Then Ferencvaros got fined because of lack of security. And now the very same people got in and Ferencvaros got fined again, and those people are still at large.

A few months after the above mentioned incident, another disturbance took place, which was reported by the Magyar Nemzet (Hungarian Nation, 02/July/2003) as follows:

> The championship of this season was finished with scandalous scenes in two stadia - in Ulloi Street and in Sopron. After Ferencvaros tying with Debrecen (0-0), which meant the Championship title to the MTK, the crowd went riotous and smashed and crashed, and carried out arson and belaboured people. The police arrested eleven individuals. The situation was similar in Siofok where one person was hospitalised with severe injuries. The police arrested twelve individuals there.

Then the article continued to discuss in detail what exactly went on that bizarre last day of the 2003 National Championship:

> In the very moment when the FTC-Debrecen match was over, a crowd of the spectators flooded the field and began to punch and kick anyone who happened to be in their way, including footballers of both Debrecen and Ferencvaros, coaches, reporters and their 'fellow' spectators. They took apart the goalposts, vandalised the billboards, intruded into the changing rooms and broke the windows, burned the street billboards, were continuously throwing beer bottles and even attacked the firemen on duty.

One of the coaches, who received a severe beating from the horde of fans and had to be hospitalised for a short period, commented on the incident with a sense of resignation: 'We are in Hungary!' Another coach, Jakab, in the light of these events expressed the idea that 'Hungarian football and fan culture is undergoing a serious crisis'.

These incidents did not seem to increase the Hungarian football authorities' awareness and they failed to acknowledge the violent Hungarian footballing conditions and the need for increasing safety measures in and outside football stadia. This is evident by the fact that no more than one year later, the BBC reported another football game that ended in violence. According to this report (BBC Sport Online, 01/10/04), UEFA has brought charges against Ferencvaros after crowd trouble and racist abuse during their UEFA Cup match against Millwall. It was reported that: 'Missiles were thrown during the match and Millwall's black players were subjected

to racist chants by local fans' (BBC Sport Online, 01/10/04). The wave of violence was not confined to the stadium as two Millwall fans had to be hospitalised due to stab wounds, while two others were less seriously injured in clashes in the city centre (BBC New Online, 01/10/04).

Under these recurring violent and financially unstable circumstances (see also Chapter 5), along with poor national or international footballing performances, Hungarian football failed to perpetuate an attractive image that perhaps also motivated footballers to leave the country and contributed to the overall decline of the domestic footballer supply. This unappealing image of Hungarian football culture is a frequent appearence in the Hungarian media (see Chapter 6). For example, one of the players, Gerzson, pointed out that 'footballers always get ridiculed in Hungary'. Zoltan, another player, added that 'the Hungarian media write so much horrible stuff about us'. Andras gave an example to illustrate this problem:

> There is this TV show called 'Banana-Skin' on TV2 and I was watching it last night. The first thing they showed was two test-tubes loaded with people. Then one of the guys asked his partner whether he could guess in which test-tube the Hungarian footballers were? I think that the guy said 'A', and the other one asked why!? And the answer was: Because the people in that test-tube move very slowly.

This evidence and the previous sections indicate that football and footballers do not reflect high standards and goal-oriented attitudes, and the chaotic state of Hungarian football (see Bali, 2001) hardly attracts domestic footballers to remain in the country or youngsters to choose football as a way of life or making a living. Therefore, Hungarian football lacks sufficient good quality domestic players, the number of which has been declining due to the aforementioned conditions. In need of professional and affordable footballer material, Hungarian clubs, in a similar fashion to other European clubs, have turned their purchasing power to foreign 'talent'. In the next section, I will examine the impact of foreign players on Hungarian football and

will explore their status. That is, I shall discuss why foreigners are often preferred to young domestic talent, and some aspects of the controversial legal environment that complicates the life of foreigners will be highlighted.

7.2 CHEAPER, FASTER, FOREIGNER?

After reviewing the relevant sections of the qualitative data set, it is clear that FA officials, coaches and managers (although they appeared to be less explicit) expressed the same themes regarding the presence of foreign players in Hungarian professional football. Several issues stand out, including: the lack of domestic players, the growing fashion of having foreigners in the squad, and legal ambiguities. These matters will be given consideration below.

The interviewees all admitted that it was necessary to purchase foreign players because of the lack of good quality domestic players, for which the defective domestic feeder-system was viewed as fundamentally responsible. Odon, a coach, explained this in the following way: 'There is not enough good quality footballers in Hungary...[and] this is why they [foreigners] come here.' Jozsef, a manager, further pursued this argument:

> Today, there are no Hungarian footballers. When we take a look at the teams, I think, it is not possible to build up 3 or 4 teams only from Hungarian footballers which could achieve a moderate level on the international stage. So... the market [of Hungarian players] is nonexistent. There is a very few Hungarian footballers and this is what puts club managers into difficulties.

Although, this opinion overstates the 'non-existence of the market of Hungarian footballers', it is important to acknowledge the low supply of them. Aside from the real need for foreign legionnaires, some of the subjects noted the importance of 'football fashion' and asserted that nowadays it is fashionable to have a few foreign footballers in the team. The presence of good quality foreign players raises media attention and excites fans (see Maguire et al., 2002). Szabolcs made this observation:

'I would say this in inverted commas that fashion is also kicking in regarding this matter.' Janos, a manager, remembered a case when a Brazilian player was brought to Hungary, and had been glamorised by the media:

> There was this case when that footballer from Brazil, called...Oh...Tulio. He was heralded by the media because according to his pedigree he had played for big teams. There were great expectations towards his Hungarian début. He could score one goal in his first game but that was some sort of a lucky dip and was due to his watchfulness. Later, he managed to score a goal in every second match, but his personal performance was simply horrifying. He could not be a part of the teamwork. This problem was due to his very weak physical condition. Then the shit hit the fan and covered the whole club as the media and the fans began to munch on this transfer and question why the club had bought such a worn out player. And, well, he did not come for free. In Hungarian terms, he was an expensive player.

This quotation illustrates the 'fashion' for purchasing foreign (semi) stars to boost public interest. However, this aspect of purchasing foreign players does not seem to operate well in the Hungarian football environment, because Hungarian football clubs in general do not represent a purchasing powerhouse that could compete with Western European clubs. In other words, Hungarian clubs can only afford superannuated or second class players. So, due to limited financial resources and transfers of this kind, the 'fashion' aspect of purchasing foreign players has already ceased and the buying of foreign players is now perceived as a matter of 'pure' necessity. Lazar explained the present situation in the following way:

> Elsewhere the primary reason for recruiting foreign players is to have such stars in the first division who improve and popularise football. If I think about this then I must say that in the Hungarian championship such players can hardly be found. If so, it is very rare. There have only been one or two [foreign] players who could become stars in Hungary.

This argument is reinforced by the fact that subjects often complained about the quality of foreign players and indicated that Hungarian clubs mostly have second class foreign legionnaires. Ivan, a coach, stated that: 'really outstanding players don't come to Hungary.' Szabolcs made the following observation:

> Those who come here are usually second class players. Not even one is ever asked to play in his national team. That is, they do not have enough skills to be recruited for their national team. If they can't get into their national team then they simply can't help Hungarian football.

The low or average quality of imported players was a general concern of all of the Hungarian interviewees. By virtue of this, foreign players only perpetuate the already low quality of Hungarian football and do not establish higher standards. Gyorgy expressed his worries in this way:

> We do not actually have outstanding players amongst the foreigners. There are clubs having 4-5 Croatian players on the team and the president of the Croatian Football Federation has not even heard of those names. The situation was quite similar when Imre Jenei was the head coach of the [Hungarian] national team...and he did not even know the Romanian footballers who came over to play. So, this is the standard.

Phrased differently, Hungarian professional clubs, due to scarce financial resources, recruit second class foreign players, who mostly arrive from other Central and Eastern European countries (see Chapter 5), as the pool of available Hungarian players of good quality is not satisfactory. Forced by the present conditions, clubs purchase players who cannot significantly contribute to the development of Hungarian football quality. They are only capable of perpetuating the low current level. This situation raises the following questions: Why do clubs recruit a significant number of foreign players if they cannot enhance Hungary's national or international footballing capacity? Would it not be more profitable, in the long run, to invest in youth-development instead of spending money on foreign players of average skill? At first sight, a logical reply to these questions would be that Hungarian football needs fewer foreigners and more Hungarian talent emerging through a well-developed feeder-system. Nonetheless, the reality indicates otherwise and suggests that there are other factors at work in terms of the migration of foreign footballers to Hungary which need more attention.

7.2.1 Further Reasons for Foreigners

There are multiple reasons why Hungarian clubs fill the footballing gap with foreign legionnaires. First of all, as already noted, the malfunctioning youth-development system plays a role. In order to improve this situation, it is recognised that the state, or private entrepreneurs, would need to invest large amounts of money in youth-development, which seems to be unavailable in Hungary as there are more urgent social issues to be considered. For example, Jozsef described the footballing conditions of his team: 'Here we have 6 football pitches for 700 kids and adult footballers to play on. Coaches just cannot do good quality work!' Janos explained that 'facilities are very low quality…I think that talented kids do not even get to the pitch to play ball.' Clubs rarely have the appropriate facilities to conduct a well-functioning feeder-system and they do not have the financial resources to augment their existing facilities.

By virtue of this, Hungarian clubs tend to rely on foreign players as the Hungarian youth-development system is inefficient and requires an enormous financial injection in the form of facility reconstruction. The improved footballing conditions would probably make Hungarian football appear more attractive to young domestic talent. If this were done, they would not intend to sign for foreign clubs as early as possible, which, in turn, would make youth-development more profitable for Hungarian clubs. Hungary would not then be an exploited football *colony*.

Due to these immature youth-development circumstances, foreigners are viewed as a fast and affordable solution (see also Poli, 2005) through which the football culture and level can be maintained, but not improved. That is, purchasing foreign players offers a swift temporary solution that seemingly reduces the problem of financial instability and defective youth-development. This reaction of club managers

to the existing problems illustrates how chaotic Hungarian football was in the transition period (see Chapter 4). During this period, the management and owner(s) of football clubs were frequently replaced, creating an unstable financial and professional environment. It can be argued that most of the owners did not anticipate running the clubs for a prolonged period and thus did not implement long-term investments (see also Duke, 1994).[5] Instead, they preferred short-term, immediate solutions which, in most cases, meant filling existing footballing gaps with cheaper foreign footballers (see Chapter 5). It was indicated by the subjects that foreign players usually cost less than signing a Hungarian player with higher monetary demands. A manager stated that:

> Lots of clubs struggle with financial difficulties here and many of them try to bring in cheaper foreigners instead of buying more expensive Hungarians. They save money this way... Hungarian players have certain financial expectations and they do not want to accept less. Clubs do not want to meet their demands unless it is absolutely necessary. This mostly concerns the smaller teams where money is so tight that they can hardly buy footballs and pay the bills. For them it really matters if they can find a 23-24-year-old Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Bosnian or Georgian player who can replace one of the 18-year old Hungarian players and is willing to sign for less money, and can provide almost the same performance.

In Hungary, buying foreign players appears to be a cost-reducing practice (for another example of using foreign players as a cost-reducing measure, see Poli, 2005), into which clubs are forced by poor financial circumstances. That is, unstable general domestic financial conditions induced similar circumstances within the sphere of football as well, which, instead of opting for long-term solutions, called for immediate, short-term measures by way of bringing in foreign footballers. Therefore, the existing pipelines between Hungary and the donor countries (see Chapter 5) are used to channel players of average or below average skills. These players do not enhance footballing quality; they are purchased with the sole purpose of preserving

the current state of Hungarian football and achieving short-term financial gains and solutions.

This phenomenon was also mentioned by subjects who were familiar with situations in which the valuable players of teams, under new management, were sold out and their places filled with less expensive and less skilful foreigners. An FA official recalled the following case:

> For example, it happened to Vasas last year or, maybe, a year before last year that the team got very weak because the number of foreign players was above ten. Vasas got demoted to a lower division and someone bought the club cheaply as it was on the verge of bankruptcy... The players still held a relatively high value and got sold. But the team had to be filled up with players in order to compete in the championship. This was when the team got filled up with very low quality foreign players.

This quotation demonstrates the situation that the post-communist privatisation led to and the way football in particular and industrial production in general became exploited (regarding privatisation patterns in Hungary, see Szalai, 1995).

In the transition period, not only were the financial conditions chaotic, but numerous legal ambiguities were also created (see Cox and Furlong, 1995 and Chapter 4 in this thesis). These legal uncertainties produced another reason for hiring foreign players. One of the interview subjects, an agent, revealed that foreign players were often pseudo-legally hired, which could be done as the appropriate legal regulations were not adequately implemented. Geza pointed out:

> it [legal misconduct] is even more so in the case of foreigners. With Hungarians as well, but more so with foreigners because they cannot do anything legally... Foreigners do not stand a chance. There are regulations that have not been observed. For example, this club violated its obligations to this player. The disciplinary committee ascertained this there and then. Here is the retribution: the club lost its right to the transfer fee and the player is free to transfer anywhere. Plus, the club was to lose 3 points in the round. In reality, this guy [footballer in question] has not yet been paid and none of the sanctions have been carried out...

Moreover, according to his explanation, Hungarian players in general are employed by clubs as outside contractors, which is a tax reducing arrangement. In this way, clubs are not required to pay tax on the money they pay footballers for their services. Professional footballers must have individual entrepreneur status and pay tax individually on the money they receive from the club. This situation applies to foreign players as well. Since most of the foreign players do not speak Hungarian, this immediately puts them into a more difficult situation as they have to rely on migratory meso-structures in completing various legal documents (see Chapter 6) and petitioning for entrepreneur status.

Nevertheless, the real problem of this situation with regard to the status of foreign players lies in the faulty machinery of the Hungarian legal system (see also Nyiri, 2005). Geza also revealed that non-EU citizens did not have the legal rights to possess the entrepreneur status foreign players were granted in Hungary:

> According to our operative international agreement, only citizens of the EU are to establish sole proprietorships in Hungary. By virtue of this, entrepreneur clearance can only be granted to EU citizens...So they [foreign players] cannot be entrepreneurs, but employees. If they are employees then the expenses of clubs will increase.

This procedure places foreign players in a vulnerable position as they do not have the legal rights to defend their own situation in case the club fails to meet the agreement criteria. In fact, they are in a defenceless position as they initially signed a legally invalid contract. Geza, described this procedure as follows:

> Those miserable fellows [foreigners] cannot do anything legally. Anyhow, the rights of foreign players to work have not yet been clarified...So there is a doublespeak here around work permits, which can be obtained from local and county municipalities. This is totally messed up and there is no clear way in what to do if you are a foreign footballer...They [clubs] lie about this subject a lot and give advanced payments to players and make them sign receipts, and in this way they [foreign players] can be fooled.

Geza at a later stage of the interview process explained the entire practice of misleading foreign players:

> Here comes the trick that fools them [foreigners]. They receive the first payment, but not any accommodation support. There have been lots of cases when players were evicted because they had not paid the rent. It has happened at many clubs, now, with this Brazilian player, Silva Welton... He [foreign player] gets so fooled with this. Because it is possible that they receive the first payment as there are players who want to get this amount of money at the beginning, but they will never see the rest of it...They are tricked because their situation is not legally clarified. Namely, this is a sub-contract and no one can possess this who is from outside of the EU. So this is totally fake. And this is not known by the visa issuing office nor by the employee office. They do not know that X.Y. cannot have this kind of contract. He can only be an employee of the club, which is called: Employer – employee relation agreement between the sport association and the professional footballer. But there are totally different amounts of money, significantly less, in these contracts. This is what is submitted to the Football Association.

In other words, foreign players are usually required to sign two contracts: a legal one and a pseudo-legal one. This is possible since most of the foreign players are not familiar with the language and/or with Hungarian legal procedures. The legal contract, submitted to the Hungarian FA, contains significantly lower amounts of money after which clubs are taxable. The pseudo-legal contract encloses the amounts of money the foreign player is entitled to by the agreement between the club and himself. Given that the second contract is barely legal, the foreign player has limited means to protect his rights and claim compensation. This is why there is a high turnover of foreign footballers in Hungarian clubs. This was underpinned by one of the foreign interview subjects who admitted that he had to leave his previous club because of financial disagreements. Dusan confessed the following: 'I was at Dunaferr and, after one year, I felt that there were money problems. I thought that it was not good. I heard that Ferencvaros had been inquiring about me and that was good. I was told that it was the best club in Hungary.' This quotation indicates the

problem foreign players often encounter in Hungary, mainly in clubs with small and medium size budgets.

Another issue raised by the misconduct of professional football clubs is the length of time these contract frauds have been practised. The question this situation poses is why foreign players do not file formal complaints or raise their collective voice to prevent clubs from exploiting them? The answer to this question has two interlinking sides: communication problems and the way agent networks often function in Eastern and Middle European countries. Migrant players have to rely on well-established migratory networks, which can aid, constrain and take advantage of their migratory movements (see also Poli, 2005). These phenomena require further consideration.

As I already indicated in Chapter 3, it was difficult to ensure that foreign footballers would agree to be interviewed as they do not have a good command of Hungarian or English. They speak a so-called 'football Hungarian' which is sufficient to get by on the football field, but inadequate to interact with reporters or understand complicated legal procedures or documents. One of the foreign players interviewed indicated that he had spoken to the media no more than twice while in Hungary due to the fact that he only spoke Croatian. This problem was also recognised by Geza who highlighted that most of the players he helped transfer from Croatia could only speak Croatian and they had serious difficulties with explaining the nature of their problems. That is, monolingual players are at the mercy of the clubs and agents who organise their transfers and pay their wages. When the constituents of the macro and meso-structures of migration collaborate at the expense of the members of the micro-structure, which is ongoing in Hungarian football, then foreigners are exploited and defenceless since the networks they trusted and relied on ultimately exploit and then

reject them (see also Poli, 2005). Thus, as Geza expressed above, foreign footballers often find themselves without any money in a foreign country the language of which they do not speak. They cannot find or afford legal representation, which would be unpromising as the contracts they signed were barely legal. Nevertheless, the seemingly endless supply of foreign players, coming chiefly from post-communist countries (see Chapter 5), allows Hungarian clubs to pay less attention to urgent domestic footballing issues. Players are easily and relatively inexpensively replaceable.[6]

Poli (2005) made a similar observation regarding African players and terms it 'downward mobility', meaning the exploitation of foreign players who are often victimised by speculative transfer networks. He writes that: 'African players, at the beginning of their career lend themselves perfectly to the role of a flexible and easily exploitable force, of which European clubs and players' agents do not hesitate to take advantage' (2005, p. 229). These players are used and then abused. One of the interview subjects of Poli (2005) indicated that African players often come to France in search of contracts, but these endeavours regularly end in players cruising the streets of a foreign country without a visa or a contract. A similar situation can be observed in Hungary. The difference is that most of the players arrive in Hungary from neighbouring countries and when their professional situation becomes unbearable they simply move back to their country of origin to be replaced by other players, perhaps from the same nations.

This section has shed light on the discrepancies of Hungarian football in terms of the migration and presence of foreign players. The domestic conditions, making foreign imports necessary, attractive and profitable, were discussed and the transitory conditions were depicted through examples and observations of various

representatives of Hungarian football. In conclusion, it can be argued that foreign players are temporary, cost reducing, easily accessible, and, sometimes, even profitable solutions to the problems of Hungarian football. They can be used, and due to the ambiguous Hungarian footballing conditions, abused, and then swiftly replaced by others from the vast supply of foreign footballers.

After reviewing some of the transformative problems of Hungarian football and the presence of foreign players in it, attention will now be turned to the perspective of foreign footballers about Hungarian football.

7.2.2 The Last Shelter: Why Hungary?

In the receding sections, I suggested that foreign players are considered as a relatively inexpensive, temporary solution to the domestic problems of Hungarian football and have a high tendency to experience maltreatment and, in consequence, their footballing expertise of moderate quality is exploited. Regardless of the specific Hungarian footballing circumstances, there is still a significant inflow of foreign players to Hungary (see Chapter 5). The reasons why the supply of foreign implants seems to be constant will now be considered.

Interviewed foreign players explicitly stated that Hungary was not their primary choice. In fact, they highlighted that it was the only place they could go. That is, they were coerced by both internal and external factors to transfer to Hungary. Internal conditions include the footballing capabilities of the foreign players in question, while external conditions relate to the demand of the football industry (migratory macro-structures) for players of various prices and qualities. The internal and external conditions are interrelated and two general scenarios have been detected in this regard. The skills of migrant players in Hungary are either of average quality or already at the stage of decline. In other words, on the one hand, mainly second class

footballers transfer to Hungary as they are not employed by glamorous Western European clubs. On the other hand, disposed players, branded 'second class' by Western football networks, move into the clubs of Hungarian professional football with already declining abilities. One of the interviewees, Tomas, admitted that he was not happy with his previous club in Western Europe, but could not sign for another Western European club and his only option was Hungary:

> I went to Stuttgart, but I had to warm the bench after half a year because the coach did not like me... So I did not play and just warmed the bench and then I decided to try to move on. The only problem was that I did not have too much time and there were not too many places to go, but Hungary...I could not go anywhere else.

Another player, Dusan, suggested that footballers have a relatively short career span, the threshold of which he had already exceeded and he perceived his move to Hungary in the light of that: 'In sport, but not only in sport, in life too, there are two ways: One to go up and one to go down. I always went up, and then there is a time when you stay and start going slowly-slowly down.' While declining abilities seem to be an aspect, so does lack of ability. One foreign player, Vendel, expressed the difficulty of finding a host club as his abilities were not outstanding: 'I tried to go to other places, but the best circumstances appeared here [Hungary]. When you are not selected for the national team then it is very difficult to get into those big [Western] clubs.' That is, due to middling footballing skills this player received limited opportunities to launch his career abroad and selected Hungary as the best possible option. Nevertheless, sometimes the careers of players with above average abilities are influenced by various external factors (see also Chapter 6) and, thus, directed to Hungarian football. Alex described his personal strife prior to signing for a Hungarian club:

> I had a place to go in Greece. I went there but did not sign a contract. Although, I was almost 100% sure that I was going to play there. Then in the last minute a

> problem came with the president and the coach. The president fired the coach and the new coach took other players. He had another vision and other players. I was without a club for one and a half months.

This player indicated that he decided to take up a position in Hungarian football as he had been without a contract for a significant period and had been desperately searching for opportunities. A manager, Jozsef, also disclosed a situation with regard to a foreign player in his team whose contract negotiations had failed in Hamburg and, in that anxious state, he accepted the offer proposed by the Hungarian club:

> Habi Ronald is such a player here. We are very happy that he came here. He could not work out a contract with that Hamburg team and, thus, he got stuck here for our advantage. He belongs in the pool of the better players who could hold his water in a better Western European club. But his case is quite rare.

Another player, Vendel, revealed an additional external factor, which is the domestic footballing circumstances of his home country. Regardless of the previous observation concerning the poor Hungarian footballing conditions, the environments some foreign players endure in their home countries are often of inferior quality. To these players, Hungary represents a better working environment and a stepping-stone to a more modern and Western lifestyle. Vendel admitted the following: 'It is more peaceful here. In Croatia my salary could be 5-6 months late and it could be a problem when you could not pay your bills... There were problems with finances and I became stressed.' This perception was further strengthened by managers and coaches, who stated that, to most migrant footballers, Hungary still represents a higher level of security, with a more developed and Western-type social life, and, in consequence, they are motivated to take a chance on Hungarian football, irrespective of the general conditions revealed in the previous sections. For example, an FA official, Gyorgy, indicated the following: 'these players cannot even make a living there [home country]...[and] we are the West to them.' A manager, Janos, provided this explanation: 'Players basically come from Eastern Europe. In Hungary, the life is

a bit better compared to those countries. As far as I know, they can earn a bit more here.' Nevertheless, aside from the differences in living standards between Hungary and Eastern European donor countries, there is another attractive aspect to Hungarian football, which is the country's geographical location.

One of the clichés about Hungary, stemming from its geographical location, is that it is a country that is the 'Gateway to Western Europe'. This observation appeared to be realistic in the transition period concerning general migration patterns (see Chapter 4), but my interview subjects denied Hungary's function as a transit country of football migrants. Nevertheless, migrant players still seem to embrace this false belief and hope to use Hungary as a springboard to Western Europe. Despite the expectation migrant players might have had when transferred to Hungary, they soon realise that they have been misled by their agents.

My interview subjects pointed out that Hungary is not a transit country of football migrants and it is exceptional if a migrant player can move on to more prestigious Western clubs from Hungary. One of the managers, Bela, made the following observation: 'They [foreign footballers] mostly come from countries where they do not have good chances to move forward. Hungary is closer to Austria and to Germany and they believe that they will be able to move towards those countries...Aside from 1 or 2 exceptions, this does not work this way.' Other managers also indicated that players regularly come to Hungary with great hopes (cf. hopes of Hungarian migrants in Chapter 6) but 'after a while they simply move back to their country of origin or move to lower divisions' - Jozsef added. A coach, Odon, asserted that: 'Most of the foreigners stay here [Hungary] for one year and then they go back to their home countries or move to Germany or Austria, but play only in second or third divisions.'

This myth that Hungarian football is the 'Gateway' to Western European football derives from Hungary's geographical location, which projects the idea of an obvious socio-geographical proximity to some of the Western European countries. However, geographical location (see the discussion of geographical proximity and migration in Chapter 5) evidently does not guarantee football contracts, and foreign footballers tend to miscalculate Hungarian footballing conditions and misjudge the opportunities that will be open to them. This phenomenon exists as foreign players are bound to rely on information provided mainly by agents and, thus, they are only aware of what they have been told (see also Poli, 2005). As the previous chapter has already indicated, migrant players will experience the whole complexity and reality of being a migrant after they actually migrate. Hence, foreign footballers soon realise that Hungary does not represent a significant international footballing capacity and that its clubs, and their players, are not in the Western European football-public eye. When they become conscious of their positions in Hungary, they may pursue football further in Hungary, move back to their country of origin or attempt to seek out moderately profitable jobs in the lower divisions of Western countries. For instance, Ivan, a coach, explained: 'I have had a few foreign players who wanted to move onto other countries, but they could not as they were not that good. So in the end, they either went back home or ended up playing in lower divisions'.

In this part, it has been established that Hungary was not the primary choice of host country of foreign footballers. In fact, Hungary was considered as the only hope, 'the last shelter' for foreign players to launch or perpetuate their migrant careers. Players have taken up footballing positions in Hungary as they became superfluous commodities in more advanced Western leagues, were out of contract for a long period and, thus, became desperate. They were also constrained by unstable domestic

situations that raised various levels and forms of insecurity. Moreover, the lure of Hungary's proximity to Western states and the vague, but virtually unfeasible chance to transfer to one of them, motivated a significant number of footballers of the countries of the post-communist bloc to go to Hungary (see Chapter 5). These players are channelled to the Hungarian professional league by internal and external factors, and the speculative and exploitative football migratory meso-structure. These players remain in Hungary for a limited period of time and pursue and experience domestic football about which they formulate opinions. In the next section, their views on Hungarian football will be briefly introduced.

7.2.3 Hungarian Football: A Foreign Perspective

Observations made by the interviewed foreign players concerning the current state of the Hungarian football environment are by and large similar to the opinions of migrant Hungarian players explored in Chapter 6. Foreign footballers generally viewed Hungarian domestic football, in comparison to the football standards of other countries (mostly Western ones), as being characterised by less professional attitudes, training sessions with less rigour and intensity and an environment with an extensively relaxed atmosphere. For instance, Tomas illustrated this difference as follows: 'Italy, Germany and Austria are a different world...I think that when good quality Hungarian teams such as MTK and Fradi take part in the UEFA cup, then you can see the obvious difference.' Alex expressed one of the disparities between Hungarian and German football by stating that: 'It [Hungarian football] is more relaxed. Not like in Germany... There you must work always. Here we say: 'Ok. Today we take it easy'.' Additionally, Vendel emphasized the relaxed nature of Hungarian football: 'The game is different here [Hungary]. It is much more

relaxed...Training sessions are longer. In Yugoslavia, training sessions are shorter but much harder.'

Generally speaking, foreign players argued that Hungarian football, in comparison to other European footballing environments, represents a less demanding, less intense and less challenging setting. This constructs a football site where, for example, reflected players can come to retire, or second class players can reside, because they can meet the footballing standards and are affordable (see preceding sections).

Foreign players also indicated that, in Western European leagues, there is always high pressure on players to achieve and perpetuate peak performances because that is the only way to get into and stay in the team (This coincides with the observations of Hungarian players in Chapter 6). Therefore, there is an endless, intensive competition amongst players of the same club to preserve their position or to shift to a new, more profitable one. Alex described this situation: 'It is different. Here [in Hungary] it is much more relaxed. For example, in Germany, players would be afraid for a position...Everybody wants to play and everybody wants money. If you do not play you do not get that much.' Quite the contrary, the unambitious mentality of domestic players appears to be a feature of Hungarian football culture.

In fact, foreign players noted that domestic players are not as aggressive and motivated to win. For instance, Vendel stated that: 'I always want to win. I do not even like to lose when it is only a training session. When there is a two-on-two game, I do not like to lose. It is in my blood to win...This tiny mental difference exists between me, players of old Yugoslavia, and Hungarian players.' Tomas experienced similar footballing attitudes and expressed his awareness of another Hungarian characteristic, that of high emotional oscillation:

> I hate to lose even if it is only training. I hate to lose! But when I lose I congratulate you because you were better. I think to go forward. I look at the past how I did in the past, but it is not the way how it should be. What is important is what is going to happen! You must think about what will happen! I think Hungarian people... when things are good then things are very good. When things are bad then things are very bad. There is this big difference between good and bad. There is no middle. I try to stay in the middle.

This quotation again supports the findings of the previous chapter and indicates that Hungarian footballers display a particular behaviour pattern in which they exhibit extreme emotional fluctuations induced by victory and defeat (for details see Chapter 6). Interestingly, Dusan noticed that not all Hungarian players have these attributes and noted that Hungarian players with foreign experience tend to represent a different football mentality and display more professional attitudes:

> Here in Debrecen there are lots of players who have played outside of Hungary. I came from a foreign country, so did Habi, Sandor Tamas, Dombi Tibor, Szekeres, Kis Zoli, etc... We have 8-9 experienced players who have played abroad or have come from abroad. They represent another way of thinking.

This observation indicates that migration can indeed have a positive impact on Hungarian football development in a way that foreign experiences can enhance the physical and mental traits of Hungarian footballers, which, in turn, can strengthen domestic football quality when returning to Hungary. Nevertheless, it must be noted that this is a unique scenario as most of the interviewed Hungarian players indicated that it was never required or was nearly impossible for them to apply their foreign experience in Hungarian clubs. Zoltan admitted:

> I have never been asked in this regard [using foreign experience]. I am not going to volunteer. There are things I remember such as training programmes. I have accurately written down what we did and which day we did it. But I am not going to knock on anybody's door to say 'Hey I have got these ideas!'.

Gerzson expressed his opinion:

> It could be [used], but you are not allowed to. There is a certain life style here and you have to get used to that. There are people who try but they usually fail... Everyone has to understand that there are concrete things here... There is a thing [way of football] everywhere, although this thing is a piece of crap

> because Hungarian football is crap, but still we have to live in it and get used to it.

These quotations show that Hungarian players are not in a position to effectively use or transmit their international experience. Indeed, returnee footballers often remarked that they had to get used to the Hungarian environment again and were not required, allowed or asked to ply their expertise gained abroad. Peter demonstrated this situation as follows:

> There are many players in Hungary who are mentally strong. Wanting to win is typical of them and it is a good thing, but after a while they sink into this Hungarian environment and lose this plus, because this is a plus. Not all Hungarian players have this ability.

That is, Hungarian players have a good chance of gaining mental strength and ambition while abroad which will fade away a few months after returning to Hungary. Tamas's observation reinforced this argument:

> They [Hungarian players] come back home from abroad and they get into a Hungarian environment from a German one. Then there is no point coming home because they do not train as they did in Germany. This is an enigma even to me. I think that the problem has to be found in the environment, which does not require them to work hard.

A coach, Odon, made a similar observation regarding returnee Hungarian players:

> Experience shows that when they [Hungarian players] come back you can see the difference for about 1 or 2 months, then they get used to the environment. That is, they get back to a previous stage. They say: 'What for?'... 'I don't need any extra. I do not need to do 130% when I can get by with 80%!

This perception is arguably known to everyone involved in football in Hungary. Actually, the half-hearted mentality of Hungarian footballers has become a stereotype and part of the football culture. This label has even been used to motivate footballers. Peter recalled an interesting situation in demonstrating the general mentality of Hungarian players, the status of Hungarian football and existence of this stereotype:

> We have got a coach in Sopron who is forward thinking and I think he wants to achieve something. He tries to reform training sessions and match strategies. I sometimes feel that he is similar [to foreign attitudes] because he says: 'Do not

> be Hungarians! Be professionals! Think!' I think that he wants to achieve what is fundamentally required abroad.

These quotations signal that both foreign and Hungarian players are aware of the behavioural differences, which are also evident in the way this coach encouraged his players 'not to be Hungarians' and to 'be professionals'. Hence, during this transition period, professional thinking was atypical of most of the Hungarian clubs and players. Nevertheless, sporadic manifestation of this attitude could be observed, as was revealed by Dusan. A significant number of foreign-trained players with a Western-type football mentality can transport and establish ambitious, atypical footballing attitudes in Hungary. This perhaps is an emerging pattern in confrontation with residual footballing practices. For instance, Jakab, one of the interviewed coaches, who used to be a migrant himself, explained the importance of his foreign encounters: 'To me, the most important was that I experienced certain things that reinforced that I had been right. I had been right about the way I had viewed and felt the difference between Hungarian and foreign football. These were 'tolerance of failure' and 'coping with failure' (cf. Chapter 6).

Dominant values, in this case those involved in communist footballing practices, are established political and cultural practices which exists throughout a civil society, and a series of cultural, political and ideological practices to cement a society into a relative unity are involved as well (Bennett, Martin, Mercer and Woollacott, 1979). Ingham and Hardy (1993) argue that the dominant is never complete and that it always exists in relation to alternative social ideas. That is, in order to appreciate the dominant one needs to be familiar with other forms of social practices (see Ingham and Hardy, 1993; Elias, 1996; and Chapter 6 in this thesis on the habitual practices of Hungarian footballers). The dominant Hungarian footballing practices of the post-communist transition period are also residual ones as they are the

tie between the past and the present. 'The residual, by definition, has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present' (Williams, 1977, p. 122). In this sense, the dominance of residual communist footballing attitudes was characteristic of Hungarian football in the transition, together with sporadic emergent practices which tie the present to the future (see Ingham and Hardy, 1993). These emergent or alternative practices, which were pointed out by some of the players, may themselves become incorporated in the dominant cultural formation (Ingham and Hardy, 1993) in the process of transition. In other words, dominant values change from era to era (see Elias, 1939/2000) and, although, residual communist practices still operate, there can already be observed sporadic emergent Westernised (footballing) practices (see Molnar, 2002, Collins, 2004), as was pointed out by Dusan.

The dominance of residual footballing attitudes is very likely to be caused by a constellation of factors. These are: the quality of presently employed foreign players, malfunctioning youth-development programmes, the exploitative practices of richer Western leagues, and the way footballers' contracts are operated in Hungary. For instance, Bocsak (2001) argues that, in Hungary, footballers often possess contracts which are not highly concerned with their on-field performance and, thus, they are not motivated to win as the sum of money offered to them for winning is insignificant compared to their base salary. Bocsak and Imre (2003) also suggest that the amount of money footballers are entitled to for winning by their contracts in Hungary is only a fragment of the base earning. Therefore, they are not sufficiently motivated by external monetary factors.

Another aspect of residual footballing attitudes is the quality of currently employed foreign footballers. Domestic players are not in jeopardy of losing their positions to high quality foreign legionaries as foreign players represent an average footballing quality (see previous section) and, thus, tension amongst players of the same clubs rarely emerges. In addition, the Hungarian youth-development system is faulty and when it manufactures a few football prodigies, they are immediately siphoned off by richer Western leagues (see Chapter 6). That is, domestic talent frequently gravitates to Western clubs (see previous section) and the football gap is thus filled with mediocre foreign footballers who cannot and are not under pressure to enhance the existing half-hearted football atmosphere. By virtue of the above, it can be argued that Hungarian players are not well motivated externally as contracts are not result-oriented and players consequently do not experience stimulating intra-team competition from high quality foreign peers and ambitious domestic talents.

All in all, foreign players observed that Hungarian football and footballers reflect a different, less professional and less aggressive mentality, coupled with the emotional fluctuations described depending on the outcome of the game. These opinions support the arguments put forward in Chapter 6 regarding Hungarian footballing conditions and the mentality of Hungarian players. As such, these observations can be perceived as the past peculiarities of Hungarian football in the post-communist period.

7.2.4. EU Vigilance

After depicting the changing conditions of Hungarian football by using the views of people involved in various segments of it, attention will now be briefly turned to the future of Hungarian football and football migration. In fact, in this part, I will discuss the expectations and predictions of FA officials, managers, and coaches

concerning the possible changes Hungary's EU accession would bring. Hungary is still a relatively young member state of the European Union, and Hungarian society in general and football in particular are at an early stage of the process of Europeanisation.[7] Therefore, only a few aspects of this process can be fully detected at the moment and residual post-communist practices are still present (see Collins, 2004), although to a lesser degree. Furthermore, in this section, I will indicate the degree of pro-active and pro-European attitudes of various layers of Hungarian football, which were probed six months before the actual EU enlargement. This set of information will shed light on the degree of knowledge subjects possessed prior to enlargement and what they thought of the future of Hungarian football and football migration in light of the EU.

Interview questions centred on the impact of the EU enlargement on the development of Hungarian football and Hungary-related football migrations. Replies to these inquires demonstrated a considerable degree of uncertainty from the official, managerial and coaching sides. It appeared that the majority of officials, coaches and managers were often only guessing about the EU era and did not seem to understand the magnitude of this political and economic unification. For instance, Gyorgy remarked:

> I do not think that it will be so drastic... I think that the situation will not change drastically. So I believe that there will be players who will sign for foreign teams, as some do now, but they will eventually return as they realise that they prefer playing here.

Szabolcs proposed that: 'Maybe the regulations will be stricter with regard to foreign footballers coming from the East. So, for example, players coming from Romania or the Ukraine will not be granted working visas as easily since they will be from non-EU countries.' One of the coaches, Jakab, displayed similar attitudes: 'In my opinion, it will not bring along too big changes, because if someone wants to go he can. So...

there are no serious barriers in this regard. So I do not believe it will bring along a big change.' Bela expressed his opinion regarding this issue as follows:

'Fundamentally... I think it will not because a foreign... no foreign European club will sign Hungarian players based on different circumstances, but based on performance.'

These quotations illustrate that the majority of the subjects did not expect Hungary's EU accession to drastically change domestic football conditions. They predicted that the EU accession would perhaps reduce the number of foreign players from non-EU states as the process of obtaining work visas would become stricter, and slightly increase the number of migrant Hungarian players moving to the West. Nonetheless, this set of replies appeared overly general, and to lack systematic thinking and pro-active attitudes.

On the other hand, some of the subjects could list a few issues which would change and have to be addressed after the EU enlargement. Lazar provided the following example:

> For example, Gabor Babos who has been voted twice the goalie of the year in Holland, and has received several offers from various English teams, but could not accept any of them since he is not the first goalie for the Hungarian national team and, thus, could not take part in 75% of the matches of the national team.

This prediction is correct in the sense that the number of Hungarian players has indeed increased from zero to nine in the UK since May 2004. Nonetheless, later in this interview the following issue was brought up:

> It [EU enlargement] will mean fundamental changes. In the Union, teams will not be allowed to employ their footballers as outside entrepreneurs. In this way, they now can avoid certain tax related burdens. I think this will have to be changed. This means that the teams will be paying a lot more National Insurance and tax. In terms of the flow of players, I think it will make things easier. So, Hungarian players will be able to transfer to other EU counties easier based on the free flow of labour and uniform EU regulations.

Denes expressed ambiguity: 'It will make the situation worse in a sense that amateur players can migrate basically without any limitation. On the other hand, Romanians, Serbians and Croatians will not be EU members.' Interestingly, only one official, Janos, recognised the financial significance of this union and predicted that:

> Obviously, in the very moment when Hungary becomes a member of the EU, it will be imaginable that not only the players but Hungarian football itself will attract [more] attention and maybe investors will appear, too. When Hungarian football moves into a different financial environment then it might change. This might lead to signing better players and this would help Hungarian football.

Regardless of this somewhat hopeful perspective, he too expressed his uncertainties about the upcoming merger and explained that:

> We do not know! [We] have never been in the Union, so we do not know what the financial environment will look like. We do not know what those financial burdens might be that we have to bear. Well, there might be a very difficult situation, but in opposition to this, I say that there is a chance for Hungarian football to receive more money.

Jozsef also expressed some of the problems Hungarian football will have to face and the possible consequences these problems might entail:

> Players' contracts will be different. There will have to be employment contracts between players and clubs. This will depend on the length of the grace period the Hungarian sport law will allow, but the income of players will decrease...I think that net income will decrease and gross income will remain about the same. This means that Hungarian footballers will be more likely to move abroad as their financial opportunities will grow there... Since, in terms of migration, their situation will be a lot easier, I am sure that, if the conditions do not change and something can keep players here, Hungarian footballers will use the first division as a spring board.

The subjects quoted above demonstrated a higher degree of knowledge and awareness about the approaching merger and predicted that some aspects of Hungarian football would have to be changed and conformed to the EU. The most significant matter seemed to be the way clubs employed players. This type of employment would not meet EU standards and would have to be reformed. The Europeanisation of footballer-club, employee-employer relations would bring along other problems such

as the reduction of players' wages, which, in turn, would motivate footballers to seek more lucrative opportunities abroad. This is assumed to further weaken domestic footballing conditions as it would be more difficult to legitimise the cheap supply of foreign players from non-EU countries and, thus, clubs would not be able to replace migrant Hungarian players as fast, as easily, and as cheaply, as in the transition period. In other words, Hungary's EU accession is predicted to cause some fundamental changes in the contemporary footballing practices and will perhaps change migration patterns and the structure of Hungarian football.

Regardless of the proximity and impact of Hungary's EU accession, no exact way of football and football migration was depicted regarding Hungary's post-accession era. Although officials, managers and coaches could foresee a few possible problems Hungarian football will have to face, they appeared not to have exact knowledge about EU requirements and what it would entail to fulfil them. That is, they seemingly were unaware of the complexity of the upcoming Union's impact on Hungarian football. Neither did they seem to have pre-prepared ways to deal with those. Consequently, it can be argued that a significant number of the interviewed FA officials, managers and coaches displayed only a limited knowledge of the likely consequences of Hungary's EU accession six months prior to the actual date of the EU enlargement. This reflected a low degree of pro-active attitudes as FA officials and club managers had no action plan for how to address the approaching EU-related changes. This passive attitude could be held partially responsible for the chaotic transitory footballing conditions.

This observation suggests a recurring inert behavioural pattern in terms of dealing with approaching international and domestic political and economic concerns. This was first revealed by Zwass (1984) regarding the way plant owners reacted to the

first economic reform under communism, which reflected passivity and bewilderment. The same type of behavioural pattern could also be observed with reference to Hungary's urgent economic and political issues, which finally led to the collapse of the communist regime in 1989. In the post-communist era, help and ideas to revitalise the countries of the Eastern communist bloc arrived from the West, stimulating ambitious and pro-active attitudes to be integrated. As Davies observes: 'the countries, sports organisations and sports administrations [of Central and Eastern Europe] looked westwards for ideas, inspirations and models of how they might maintain and develop sport in their changing political, economic and social circumstances' (2004, p. 799). Nevertheless, the links of Central and Eastern European countries 'with the past still remain very strong as they reflect not only structural arrangements, but also deeply rooted cultural norms and behaviours' (Collins, 2004, p. 679). These countries in general and Hungary in particular need to establish new cultural identities and political and economic practices while constantly dealing with the residual communist ones (see previous section). In light of this, Davies suggests that 'sport needs more competent managers who add value to the work of their colleagues, who set and achieve targets and continually deliver efficiencies' (2004, p. 812). The data illustrate that the observation made by Davies (2004) is applicable to the Hungarian football culture, which seems to be in need of competent and ambitious leaders. To achieve this might be a key factor in the future of Hungarian football development.

7.2 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced the major issues that were representative of Hungarian football in the transition period. By illustrating the most significant footballing discrepancies, this chapter has provided an in-depth an analysis of post-

communist Hungarian football based on interview-gathered information from various layers of the social sphere under examination. Relying chiefly on this data set, the following issues have been identified: an inefficient football infrastructure, an immature youth-development system, lack of state support, the changing social significance of football and the increase in football migration. The problems identified have been presented and discussed and their interconnected nature shown. It was also observed that the struggling football culture reflects and reinforces the same problems faced by Hungarian society as a whole, and, thus, one cannot be wholly understood without considering the other. One of the 'Magic Magyars', Jeno Buzanszky, summarised the present problems as follows:

> I think football has basically lost the social role it used to have. Another problem is that children are not educated properly and early enough… Third, it [football] does not bring that kind of mentality to the society, that spirit of competition that I want to prove and produce. Fourth, the shop window of football is unattractive. That is, the circumstances are disorganised. Opportunities are not well established in football, meaning everything from facilities, manager readiness to financial background.

As a cheap, fast, short-term and partial solution to some of the problems of Hungarian football, clubs began to import foreign players in large numbers. Initially, this process had a fashion aspect to it, following the Western European pattern of signing attractive and glamorous players. Yet this proved to be short-lived in Hungary. This aspect of football migration ceased to exist as Hungarian football clubs do not have enormous purchasing power and cannot afford high quality players. Thus, signing foreigners became a fundamentally cost reducing provision to compensate for the malfunctioning youth-development system and the lure of the Western leagues. These circumstances created a footballing site where mainly second-class players gravitate or discarded players retire. This observation was reinforced by interviewed foreign players, who stated that they were either not wanted by Western clubs or their

career had passed its pinnacle and Hungary was the only feasible option for them. Foreign players also indicated that Hungarian football represents a lower degree of footballing demands and a less rigorous training atmosphere in comparison to other European leagues. Therefore, foreign footballers can still meet the professional demands.

Regardless of the quality of Hungarian social and football life, it seems that the country is supplied with an endless flow of Eastern European players. Hungary attracts a significant number of players from Eastern Europe for two main reasons. First, despite all the transitory political, social and economic discrépancies and insecurities, Hungary still represents a more stable and Western-type life style to most of the migrant players. Second, most of the migrant players are also deceived by the myth of Hungary being the gateway to Western European football, a view which is perhaps perpetuated by speculative migratory meso-structures. While Hungary still represents a Western-type life style to most of the migrant players, its role as gateway to Western European football is no more than a geographical stereotype. Relying on these features of Hungary and the shaky domestic legal system, speculative agent networks in collaboration with clubs have been exploiting the constant flow of ambitious foreigners.

Finally, the EU readiness of Hungarian football leaders was discussed and examined in terms of their knowledge of and pro-active behaviour towards Hungary's EU accession. It was observed that the sample could be divided into two major segments in terms of knowledge. One group could hardly indicate any appropriate knowledge and future problems about the merger, while the other segment demonstrated a considerable degree of wariness and could list a few important issues the Hungarian football sphere would have to face and address after the EU

enlargement. Nevertheless, none of the interview subjects could offer possible solutions to the upcoming problems, which may reflect a lack of pro-active behaviour. It means that they had not worked out a scheme to deal with certain EU regulations, which would be ratified in Hungary after the enlargement. This finding coincides with the argument of Davies (2004) who asserted that people in key offices still frequently represent residual, communist attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe and they need to be replaced by vigilant and agile leaders who embody pro-active behaviour patterns and strive for success. This will be a key determinant in whether the jungle of post-communist Hungarian football can be 'weeded out' in the process of Europeanisation. Furthermore, taking into account the circumstances depicted here, it can be argued that, to improve the present footballing conditions in Hungary, would take a considerable amount of time and a substantial sum of money. To this end, financial patronage to execute such developments appears problematic.

Notes

[1] During the course of this project, numerous attempts were made to extend the scope of subjects and arrange more interviews, either in person or via e-mail (see Chapter 3), which remained barren. Unfortunately, football agents and migrant players often showed reluctance and failed to reply to letters or e-mails. Despite this, the collected qualitative data provide a representative picture of the Hungarian footballing culture in the transition period in question.

[2] Dong Jinxia (2003) makes the same observation with regard to the function of sports in communist China.

[3] For instance, most of the players of the 'Magic Magyars' had been playing on 'grund'-s before being selected for a club. At that time, it was a common practice for coaches and scouts to stroll around those 'grund'-s and spot the talented ball players. In his autobiography, Ferenc Puskas (1955) describes the 'gound' his friends and himself played on and the way he was spotted and recruited by Nandor Szucs from Kispest Athletic Club.

[4] The same process of changing occupation and plying expertise outside of the original profession could be observed with regard to teachers in Hungary, whose salary became devalued due to the high inflation rate after 1989. This forced most of the teachers to seek part-time employment or to leave their original profession for higher financial benefits (for details see Molnar, 2002).

[5] The commonality of frequently appointing new club management was experienced during the empirical phase of this project by the researcher. Letters of initial inquiries regarding the research project were sent out to the clubs in the winter of 2002, those clubs who replied were re-contacted, but replies often arrived from different administrators. In the autumn of 2003, when the actual data collection took place, at one of the clubs, the researcher had to deal with a newly appointed management who had not had any knowledge of the promised interviews and the research project. This illustrates that unstable situation which was characteristic of Hungarian football clubs in the transition period.

[6] The high supply of players from the neighbouring countries and the limited demand - number of professional clubs - further devalue foreign players in Hungary, i.e. 'if the supply overshoots the demand wages sink' (Marx, 1976, p. 25). As long as this situation exists, those club owners and managers who are mostly interested in short-term financial gains will not invest significant money in facility and youth-development.

[7] The process of Europeanisation can be and has been defined in various ways (Borzel, 2002). Nonetheless, it is perceived here as the process of evolution of European political and social institutions that impact on political, social and cultural processes and structures of the member states (see Borzel, 2002).

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I have attempted to cast some light on the local-global migration-sport nexus. The fundamental idea of this project is embedded in the political and social transition Hungary has been undergoing since the collapse of communism and by the fact that certain aspects of Hungarian sports have been overlooked or only partially examined by academics, which was demonstrated by a systematic search for globalisation, migration and sport literature with regard to Hungary (see Introduction). Arguably, one of the main reasons why Hungary-related sport matters have remained relatively underrepresented and unknown to the wider international public is due to a language barrier. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, it is a long, demanding and challenging process to translate culture specific concepts and to provide appropriate, sociologically founded explanations of those in a different language (see also Elias, 1939/2000). This thesis has involved numerous translations of various length and complexity, which unquestionably have constructed a significant percentage of the core problems (see Chapter 3). Therefore, it is argued here that this language barrier has been a major contributor to the lack of scientific discussions, at international level, on (post-communist) Hungarian sport issues.

Another notable problem of Hungarian sport studies lies within the field of the social sciences. There seems to have existed a scientific demarcation line between 'sport social scientists' and 'social scientists' who are interested in sports in Hungary. Prompted by this segregation, one can detect two fundamental types of research practice. On the sport sociology side, one can encounter mostly quantitative, evidence dominated research projects with limited integration of contemporary sociological theories (see the works of Foldesi). This is probably due to the fact that there is still a

strong objectivist ontological sensitivity towards the nature of societies and social reality, and, thus, qualitative data collection procedures are perceived to be less scientific. In this sense, sport sociology, as part of the sport sciences, is chiefly descriptive and associated with natural sciences and, thus, follows a positivist paradigm in search for the 'truth' that is a reality which can be known through quantification.

Whereas, in the sociology of sport domain, one can observe a different approach to making sense of social reality in general and sport matters in particular. Hungarian sociologists of sport (see the works of Hadas) tend to let theory dominate their research and rely mostly on archival evidence. Therefore, they tend to focus on historical research which has limited validity in terms of explaining contemporary sport related social practices (for an exception see Bali, 2001). Even though, contemporary sport issues are considered as research themes, sociologists of sport, for instance, do not attempt to balance sociological theories and their accounts with contemporary qualitative or quantitative evidence, which indicates the nature of this scientific establishment and the social sensitivity and validity of the explanations it provides.

Despite this argument, some of the Hungarian sport scientists indicate that there is an improvement to be seen in the field of sport sciences in Hungary (see Foldesi and Inotai, 2001). Regardless of their observation, it is argued here that this improvement is of a questionable nature and that the above-described divergent sociological research practices have generated a scientific lacuna that needs to be filled with high quality, both evidence and theory driven research. Therefore, this thesis is a response to the contemporary challenges of Hungarian sport studies and the first step in filling this scientific gap through rethinking sport migrations and

presenting a case study of Hungarian football migrants, which is one of the major sport related issues that the collapse of communism triggered.

In providing a scientifically efficient explanation of the matter at hand, this research merges various intertwining components of globalisation, migration, sport and sociological theories. Following upon some introductory observations, a systematic literature review and some methodological issues, in Chapter 4 I provided a historical outline of football development in Hungary. In Chapter 5, I mapped the chief football related migration patterns regarding Hungary in the post- communist period based on a quantitative data set, revealing the most significant host and donor confederations and countries. Subsequently, in Chapters 6 and 7, I discussed Hungarian football and migration related issues in the transition period in question, drawing on a rich, interview-generated qualitative data set. In fact, in Chapter 6, I addressed the lived experiences and personal and professional struggles of Hungarian footballers, and outlined a way in which their national identity and personal/cultural habitus alter in the host environment. Additionally, in Chapter 7, I dealt with one of the most significant migratory push factors (post-communist Hungarian football culture) through an in-depth analysis. Also, in Chapter 7, I considered the future of Hungarian football by taking into account the present conditions of youth-development and the degree of pro-active behaviour of Hungarian FA officials and football managers with regard to Hungary's EU accession.

In this concluding chapter, the findings of the previous sections will be combined and concluded, and the relevance of conducting historical analysis highlighted. Furthermore, some theoretical and practical observations will be made with regard to conducting migration research in general and sport specific projects in

particular. Then, the limitations of this research project will be outlined, along with some recommendations for future research, building upon this thesis.

7.1 The Relevance of Historical Analysis: Linking Past and Present

The importance of historical analysis in sociological research was indicated by Elias (1983) who, taking into account his sociological views, argued against process-reduction that can lead to a limited understanding of contemporary social phenomena. Elias observed that one should not reduce historical processes to static phases and conditions, and that sociologists should think processually (see Mennell, 1992). In fact, he advocated that the social life of interdependent individuals and groups should be understood as existing over time in a constant process of dynamic flux and transformation (see Krieken, 1998). This is evident in the fact that present social conditions only represent one moment in a melange of continuously changing long-term historical processes, which induce some social circumstances to emerge as well as to vanish (see Elias, 1939/2000). In other words, an historical understanding of most now-contemporary social phenomena is vital in order to discover the plurality of processes that are at work. In an Eliasian sense, a multitude of processes is always responsible for each and every social change, none of which should be given ultimate causal primacy (see Krieken, 1998), although one process might be more significant than others in a given historical era and social setting (see Held et al, 1999).

While historical analyses are important in sociology (see Elias, 1939/2000), it is argued here that the degree to which they should be incorporated into overall data collection and analysis depends on the nature of the research project. In other words, the importance of tracing the sociogenesis of a social phenomenon depends on the phenomenon itself and the sociological approach one adopts to study that (cf. Elias,

1983). For instance, it can be argued that to investigate the contemporary social impact of a post-modern technological invention, such as the mobile phone, one does not necessarily need to provide an extensive historical account as the invention in question has a brief history and, thus, only its short-term social impact can be examined. On the other hand, if one was to investigate the technological process that led to the creation and social popularity of the mobile phone, then one would have to devote considerable attention to the history of technology without neglecting the importance of the 'here and now'.

By virtue of this, it is argued here that when researching the formation and transformation of migration patterns and migratory push and pull factors, a longitudinal approach is essential - as these have long historical roots - in order to shed light on the changing social, political and financial conditions that have contributed to the (re)development of the migration patterns under investigation. For instance, Stalker (1994, 2002) and Dovenyi (1995) embrace the value of historical analysis in the field of migration studies, although with a limited integration of sociological theories. Hasia Diner (2000) also recognised the contribution history and historians have made to migration studies, along with the lack of application of sociological theories. Diner further argues that 'history as a field...militated against a conjoining of the study of immigration... and migration theory' (2000, p, 39). In this sense, Diner highlights the different approaches historians and sociologists adopt when researching migrations. That is, while historians tend to base their interpretations on factual/statistical evidence and a limited incorporation of theories to uncover migration flows and patterns, sociologists let theory dominate their research practices and interpretations and often pay limited attention to historical facts (see Diner, 2000).

Bearing the above observations in mind, this research has attempted to pay considerable attention to both theory and historical evidence. In fact, the foundation of this thesis is constructed by an historical overview of Hungarian football development, which has greatly helped the understanding of post-communist migration patterns and reveals, for instance, the difficulty of collecting scientifically acceptable statistical data in Hungary (see Chapter 4). Previous migration studies centring on the communist period of Hungary observed that, under communism, migratory data were altered to meet the political needs of the regime and to underpin hegemonic values. This reinforced the problematics of collecting scientifically reliable empirical evidence to reveal the migration patterns that were taking place in the communist era in Hungary. In this way, historical evidence (or more precisely, the lack of it) has underlined the fact that the Eastern communist bloc in general and Hungary in particular was a closed, isolated political system and highly intolerant of emigrants (for an example see Toth-Szenesi, 2004). This political and cultural attitude partially derived from the way in which the Soviet communist regime perceived Western societies (see Marai, 1996) that was adopted by (forced upon) Hungary and had a significant bearing on shaping communist and post-communist migration sequences.

The isolation-oriented communist border policy began to drastically change in the second part of the 1980s. Then, the collapse of the regime gave way to the formation of an open society and led Hungary to join in an already highly globalised world regarding politics, economy, culture and migration. In Chapter 4, I described the various waves of migrants that reached Hungary in the late 1980s and early 1990s, due to the political and economic changes which most of the countries of the eastern communist bloc experienced.

Post-communist social conditions did not only affect general migrations, but sport related migrations as well. Nevertheless, it is argued here that sport/football migrations have to be separately investigated as Hungarian footballers cannot be considered as forced migrants. In this sense, the migration of Hungarian footballers has been voluntary and career-oriented since the collapse of the communist regime, whereas, for instance, the Hungarian minority was ethnically harrassed, and had its legal rights truncated in Romania and was (indirectly) forced to leave the country, which, in turn, generated various migration waves in Hungary (see Chapter 4 and Helsinki Watch Report, 1989). In other words, Hungarian football migrations and migrants differ from forced migrants in terms of motivations and goals. Moreover, Hungarian footballers have heavily relied on agent networks and the football industry to advance their careers, which created the idiosyncrasies of post-communist football migration patterns. These will be discussed in the light of the concept of globalisation in the next section.

7.2 Post-Communist Football Migrations in the Global Context

Post-communist football migration patterns reflect the presence of globalisation in Hungary and the fact that the country has become linked into global ethnoscapes (see Chapter 5). That is, one can detect the presence of foreign players from four football confederations, which can be seen as a clear indication of globalisation and being a part of global migratory networks. Nevertheless, it must also be highlighted that the number of foreign players from overseas confederations is relatively low in comparison to the number of footballers arriving in Hungary from UEFA countries. As was outlined in Chapter 5, UEFA is the most significant donor confederation because of geographical proximity, lower cultural differences, analogous football developments, and pre-existing migration routes within Europe. This observation

suggests a regional domination in terms of the donor nation-states of migrant footballers in Hungary and hence Hungary's role in the scheme of global football migrations and migratory networks needs to be reconsidered, taking into consideration the empirical evidence and the general arguments of transformationalists, hyperglobalists and sceptics.

Three fundamental perspectives were introduced in Chapter 2. These outlooks will be now considered in order to provide a theoretical framework for probing the dynamics of globalisation and Hungarian football migration. Drawing upon the quantitative data I collected, it can be observed that Hungarian football migrations during the post-communist transition reflect a strong sense of geographical, European regionalisation, along with some sporadic arrivals of footballers from other continents. In fact, most of the footballers arrived from neighbouring post-communist countries, which further reinforce the (Central) European orientation of migratory pipelines. The theoretical explanation for this empirical observation falls between the arguments of the sceptics and the transformationalists as they both acknowledge regionalisation as part of international/global processes. The hyperglobalist argument concerning the nature of globalisation, in sociologically making sense of post-communist migration patterns, can be disregarded as it does not support the phenomenon of regionalisation, but the erosion of nation-states (denationalisation), the emergence of a new world order and borderless economy (see Ohmae, 1995), and the worldwide spread and domination of a global pop-culture (homogenisation).

Although the empirical evidence does not indicate the contemporary significance of the hyperglobalist view of globalisation and it appears negligible when analysing migration patterns in general (see Waters, 1995) and post-communist migration patterns in particular, it is to be noted that the argument of the

hyperglobalists is more significant when applied to other spheres of social life as migrations are the least globalised transnational exchange system (Waters, 1995, cf. Castles and Miller, 2003). Besides, the hyperglobalist stance will probably gain more momentum in the field of migration as the process of global interconnectedness further 'matures'.

After eliminating a theoretical viewpoint, there are two fundamental perspectives left to consider: those of the sceptics and the transformationalists. When thinking with the sceptics' paradigm, one encounters a conceptual opposition between the notion of internationalisation and that of globalisation. Sceptics use the term internationalisation to describe worldwide occurrences as they oppose the views of hyperglobalists or extreme globalisers on the presence of a single global market (see Hirst, 1997). In fact, Hirst (1997) argues that globalisation is simply a necessary myth through which neoliberal global practices can be justified and legitimised. Sceptics challenge the extreme version of the globalisation thesis as, they argue, that fails to subsume national- and regional-level processes (see Hirst and Thompson, 1999). Therefore, they prefer the term 'Internationalisation', which is the growing link between essentially discrete national sites (and regionalisation and triadisation), and the geographical clustering of cross-border economic, social and cultural interchange (Ruigrok and Tulder, 1995).

Since the idea and phenomenon of globalisation is supported in this thesis and the fact that globalisation is indeed a real process is a premise of this research, one could easily dismiss the significance of the sceptics' view as they simply refuse to accept the extremist view of globalisation and give an account of internationalisation instead. However, when the arguments and definitions of the transformationalists on globalisation, and of the sceptics on internationalisation are carefully reviewed much

common ground is to be found. Transformationalists, similar to the notion of internationalisation supported by the sceptics, define globalisation as consisting of interregional and intercontinental processes, which do not include the global taking precedent over the local or the national and regional order of social life (see Held and McGrew, 2000). In fact, they support the idea of growing cultural, social, political and economic interaction and interchange of local sites in the global domain, but question the increasing convergence of cultures and civilisations. Furthermore, both sceptics and transformationalists are advocates for 'triadisation' (see Hirst and Thompson, 1999; Held and McGrew, 2000; Wade, 2003), which indicates that, in the regionalised world order, there are several centres and several peripheries. The centres are often referred to as G3, including Europe, Asia-Pacific and the Americas (see Held and McGrew, 2002).

Quantitative evidence has indicated that there is a strong sense of regionalisation with regard to Hungary-related post-communist football migratory networks. Most of the foreign football players arrive from UEFA countries. Hence, it is argued here that in the case of Hungary mainly the regionalisation aspect of globalisation appears to be relevant. The strong presence of regionalisation is due to the local and regional political, economic and cultural conditions that have a bearing on the development of migratory pipelines. Differently put, when analysing the number and presence of foreign footballers in and incoming migratory pipelines to Hungary, four chief donor countries have been identified - Slovakia, the Ukraine, Romania and Serbia-Montenegro - and it has been argued that the existence of migratory pipelines between these countries and Hungary is the result of four key factors: economic standards, geographical proximity, football camaraderie and a large Hungarian minority living within the territories of the donor countries (see Chapter 5).

These factors reflect a strong regional impact on the development of migratory pipelines. In the light of this, the hyperglobalist thesis can indeed be left out of the scope of applicable theoretical explanations without dismissing the concept of globalisation, but chiefly focusing on its regionalising aspects. Therefore, the argument of Featherstone (1991) and Robertson (1995), that one must theorise globalisation as constituted of dual and mutually generative global and local forces, need to be reconsidered. According to the present findings, when theorising globalisation, one must envision the process of globalisation as a triad of continuously and simultaneously acting processes of various levels and significance, the blend of which is unique to the geographical locus and has to be reconsidered over time.

By virtue of this, it is argued here that local/regional/global factors and circumstances, which are indicated by secondary resources and revealed through empirical investigation, must always be taken into account in unison when examining global-local relations. In other words, the global and the regional does not make sense without taking into consideration the local (cf. Robertson, 1992). Since sceptics and transformationalists both have paid significant attention to the importance of local practices in relation to the process of globalisation, none of these theses are rejected here. Rather, it is understood that the overlapping theoretical sites reflect one of the contemporary features of globalisation in general, and of globalisation and migration relations in particular.

For instance, considering the relevance of local conditions, to bring in cheap labour in the form of foreign footballers appeared to be a common cost-reducing practice in Hungarian professional football, which was mostly induced by local factors such as the chaotic financial and legal post-communist conditions that characterised the country throughout the 1990s (see Chapter 8). Moreover, in

highlighting the importance of regional aspects, it has been observed that some parts of a regional network - the post-communist comradely network - survived the collapse of the USSR and further facilitated the flow of cheap footballers to Hungary. Nevertheless, it is argued here that this post-communist migratory network represented only a phase in the formation of Hungary-related football migration patterns. Indeed, the Ukraine-Hungary migratory pipeline was flourishing in the 1990s but began to decline in 2000 (see Figure 11 in Chapter 5). On the contrary, the Slovakia-Hungary conduit became significant in the very same year when the Ukraine-Hungary one began to fade, probably indicating a new historical era for Hungary and Hungarian football.

The continuous temporal formation and cessation of migratory routes and pipelines (see Chapter 5) suggests the significance of historical analyses, which has been pointed out earlier and is another reason for integrating the academic stances of both the sceptics and the transformationalists. The exponents of these theoretical perspectives stress the value of historical sensitivity in globalisation related research in understanding its complexity (see Hirst and Thompson, 1999; Held and McGrew, 2000). In an historical sense, this research project has examined a specific transition period in between the Sovietisation and the Europeanisation of Hungary. This transition began with the collapse of the eastern communist bloc, which the Soviets and their allies sought to preserve as an isolated political, economic and ideological alliance. Hungary actively took part in this union that prevented the country from becoming more fully a part of global processes. Therefore, the transition period in question has produced interesting and unpredictable migration patterns, some of which have been revealed in a socio-historical fashion in Chapter 5 with regard to professional football.

In tandem with the pronounced historical sensitivity required in conducting migration analyses, it has also been acknowledged that contemporary events and migration patterns need to be considered in order to shed light on the problems and aspects of current general and sport related migratory issues (for an example see Nyiri, 2005). This is an important directive to be followed by research active sociologists of sport in Hungary, as they have been displaying a particular research anomaly. That is, they indeed retreat to the past through which they endeavour to interpret the present without acquiring sufficient empirical evidence about it (cf. Elias, 1983). This thesis has been developed in recognizing this inadequacy of Hungarian sociology of sport research and, hence, has collected relevant, contemporary primary data in order to explore and interpret the selected theme. The scientific significance and a way of analysing and structuring empirical evidence will be addressed in the next section.

7.3 Constructing a Migration Typology

One of the major goals of this thesis has been to extensively discuss and to sociologically make sense of the lived experiences of migrant Hungarian footballers in the host environment. The blend of motivating forces has been explored and it has been argued that this blend is unique to the subjects under investigation, including individual variations and changes over time. In this sense, it is inadequate to statically state what motivates migrants without examining the primeval elements of and the power balance within this blend in a longitudinal fashion. Hence, data indicate that a constantly changing mixture of global, regional and local push and pull factors has been responsible for motivating Hungarian footballers (see also Stead and Maguire, 2000). It has also been discovered that there is no distinct 'prime mover' involved in this migration sequence. Nonetheless, it must be highlighted that, although

Hungarians may not have been solely concerned about personal financial gains, they could only find better footballing conditions where, in turn, they earned more. In sum, monetary circumstances have, directly and indirectly, played a significant role in the post-communist blend of motivational forces.

Furthermore, it has also been explicated that Hungarian footballers tend to rely on migratory meso-structures in selecting the destination country. Selection and transfer procedures are also organised by agents and players often have only limited options to contribute or actively take part. This relevant piece of information has required revisiting the migration typology of Hungarian professional footballers, which has led to the following analysis and observation.

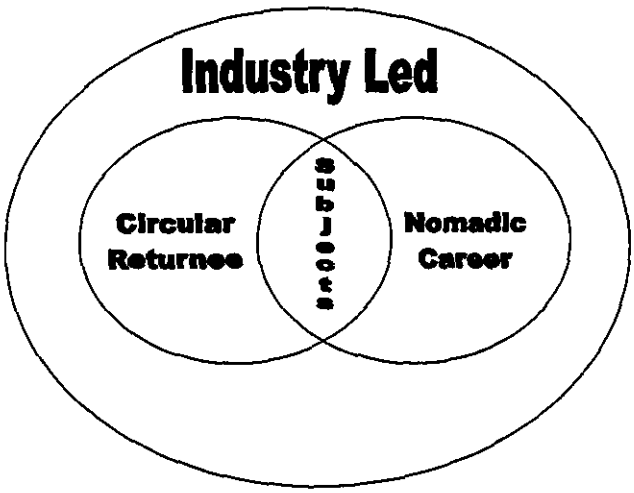
In terms of the migratory classification of the players interviewed, a combination of three fundamental typologies has been used. These are: Tilly (1989), Iredale (2002) and Maguire (1996). In taking into account these ideal-typical models of migrants and combining them with one another based on empirical evidence, the following case specific observations have been made and a typology has been constructed.

The evidence suggests that my sample of Hungarian players can indeed be perceived as a group of voluntary migrants as they move for economic or other benefits (see Castles and Miller, 2003) and, thus, they can be located at the intersection of the 'circular' and 'career' migration categories, the formation of which is predominantly football-industry led. They, however, cannot be perceived as mercenaries because of their lack of control over selecting the country of destination. On the other hand, they belong in the 'returnee' category evident by the fact that Hungarian footballers had no intention to settle in the host country and all of the subjects ultimately wanted to return to Hungary. The general migration literature

defines this type of migrants as 'target-earners' who move for financial and other benefits and 'want to save enough in a higher-wage economy to improve conditions at home' (Castles and Miller, 2003, p. 31). It is argued that this has definitely been an important aspect for migrant Hungarian footballers, which can be seen as a feature of career migrants. However, it can be argued that they do not exclusively accumulate financial capital, but footballing capital as well. Moreover, in a sense, they are to be perceived as nomadic migrants, due to their moving around quite often and relying on the networks of agents and agent-dependent limited professional options. By virtue of the above, it is argued here that Hungarian professional footballers of the post-communist transition period were circulatory-career migrants with nomadic mobility and returnee intentions (see Figure 13).

This typological analysis of Hungarian football migrants illustrates a way of combining various migration typologies and endowing existing migrant types (e.g. nomadic migrant) with new connotations to map research-specific migratory categories. Nevertheless, it must be noted that this is only 'a way' of developing/combining typologies - driven by empirical evidence, and this model is exclusively representative of post-communist Hungarian football migrants.

Figure 13. A Typology of Hungarian Professional Footballers in the Post-Communist Period



Other migration typology-centred research could follow this way of constructing a typology or, similar to Magee and Sugden (2002), one could create new categories suggested by empirical evidence. However, it is argued here that, while introducing new categories can be necessary, these should be always embedded in empirical data. Furthermore, it is essential to be familiar with preceding migration typologies so as to avoid 'reinventing' categories. This can simplify the matter at hand and maintain the sensitive balance between theory and evidence.

7.4 Habitus Theory and Migration Research

In this thesis, I have examined in depth the professional and private adjustments Hungarian footballers had to make in their host environment. It has been pointed out that the most significant professional difference is: foreign players being more professional in general and their ways of treating victory and defeat in particular. Detailed attention has also been paid to the way in which Hungarian footballers commonly react to defeat. As argued, Hungarian players tend to display an amplified degree of shame after defeat that has become a part of their self-defence mechanism induced by the high level of constant fear during the communist regime (see Marai, 1996). This self-defence mechanism has become a part of their national footballing habitus and is undoubtedly recognised when confronted with other habitual manifestations. Moreover, the way Hungarian footballers react to the host environment in private life also reflects the fact that they possess well-functioning, over-developed self-defence mechanisms, the analysis of which has again reinforced the usefulness of the concept of habitus in interpreting the behaviour patterns of migrants in general and migrant athletes in particular.

While the theoretical value of the concept of habitus appears significant in this case study in interpreting migrant-specific behaviour patterns in the host environment,

this concept has been generally overlooked in migration research. It is argued here that the reason for this is multi-fold. First, migration studies, in general, tend to be concerned with migration patterns and the number of migrants leaving one country and arriving in another (see Diner, 2000). In other words, these are large-scale, statistical studies either use secondary resources established by government offices or generate data through survey type methods in order to quantify migrations and demonstrate migration patterns. These types of survey only skim the surface. They can establish general quantitative observations, but cannot interpret the personal lives and challenges individual migrants undergo in a foreign setting. These studies tend to apply grand migration theories such as neo-classical economic theories (see Stalker, 2000) and historical-structural approaches (see Cohen, 1987), and attempt to establish general patterns and ideal-typical connections, and are mostly concerned with the macro- and meso-structures of migrations. These studies are important and provide us with an overview of global/regional and local migration patterns, which is highly useful when planning and conducting micro-structure or case specific research. However, large-scale migration studies prove to be insufficient in making sense of individual migratory experiences.

Small-scale and case specific migration studies, too, follow the research strategy and methodology of large-scale research and tend to be overly quantitative and apply grand migration theories to the interpretation of the conditions of migrants (see Dovenyi, 1995, Dovenyi and Vukovich, 1994). While these research projects are helpful and informative, they seem to neglect the individual in the group of migrants. These studies, similarly to the large-scale ones, are chiefly concerned with forced migrants and rarely consider professional, career migrants. Moreover, when the migratory experiences of career migrants are investigated, their personal life is usually

excluded and the focus is exclusively on their professional experiences (see Beenstock and Menahem, 1997; Remennick, 2001). It is, however, argued here that both of these aspects have to be taken into account simultaneously when conducting research on career migrants as personal struggles in a host environment, such as coping with solitude, have a bearing on professional life and vice versa (see Chapter 6). These aspects of the life of a migrant are impossible to detect based solely on secondary sources and survey types of data collection. To illuminate these problems, other research methods have to be used that require different units of measurement, research designs, strategies and theories (see Brettell and Hollifield, 2000).

Another reason why the concept of habitus is neglected in the field of migration studies is that this view can be easily misinterpreted and thus may appear as a static representation of social behaviour at first sight. Since migration research tends to be processual in its nature as migration patterns change over time, the concept of habitus may have been considered irrelevant. This is, however, a misconception of the concept, which indeed often reflects a state of personal attitudes, but this is never represented or should not be represented in a static manner. Actually, a migrant person's habitus in the present is the result of long-term historical and cultural processes, combined with processes of socialisation. These processes are constantly in flux and so is the individual's experience of them, which, in turn, keep his/her habitual practices and responses in motion. A point in case would be the ways in which Hungarian footballers reconsidered their national identity in the host environment (see Chapter 6). This was apparent in the strengthening of national identity and appreciation of their native culture. This feeling was directly triggered by the encounter migrant Hungarian players had with the host environment and by the social interactions they experienced. In this process, their socially constructed original

habitus was altered. When they returned to Hungary after finishing their career as migrant footballers and having resettled in a familiar environment, this feeling of enhanced Hungarianness declined and their habitus underwent a re-alteration process. This suggests a sense of fluidity in terms of the formation of personal and, in this case, national habitus.

Drawing upon this argument, it can be observed that the life of humans as social and cultural beings is built upon situations, interactions and experiences of similar sort, due to the ever-changing social and cultural environment over time. Hence, migration, as a social experience, should be considered as a cross-cultural cognition in which everyday habits and cultural practices have to be reconsidered and restructured in order to successfully cope with the challenges of the host environment. Therefore, it is indeed pertinent to define migration as 'a process that affects every dimension of social existence, and which develops its own dynamics' (Castles and Miller, 2003, p. 21).

In this research project, the concept of habitus has proven to be a particularly useful theoretical approach in sociologically making sense of the private and professional behaviours of Hungarian footballers in the host environment. In fact, it is argued here that the concept of habitus, combined with processual thinking, has the potential to gather great momentum in migration research. An argument has already been put forward for the significance of historical analysis and processual thinking when conducting migration research, as the nature of the subject matter is historical and driven by a blend of multiple factors. Besides, migration, by definition, incorporates the transfer of oneself to a foreign environment and the encounter with different peoples, identities and cultures. That is, migration studies often consider various degrees of cultural encounters, the clash of various local, regional and global

habitus. By virtue of this observation, the concept of habitus can help to explain why migrants behave in the ways that they do in the host environment and the ways in which indigenous groups/populations react to the presence of other/foreign habitual conducts.

In further thinking of the value of habitus-theorisation in migration research, it is argued here that, as a specific migration related manifestation of habitual practices, the theory of 'established and outsider' group dynamics (Elias and Scotson, 1994) should also be integrated into the analysis. This study illustrates a habitual struggle among three interest groups of a local community, influenced by national relocations. This situation, brought to light by this research, can ensue anywhere when two or more social habitual manifestations encounter and have to share the same social domain. However, one may argue that the outcome of this research cannot be fully integrated into explanations of contemporary migration phenomena, as the findings represent a social milieu of the late 1960s. This argument is partially correct in the sense that the established-outsider theory, similar to the majority of sociological theories, was indeed developed in the past and one has to be cautious when applying it to contemporary social phenomena. Nevertheless, it is argued here that this approach still has much to offer in shedding light on migration driven social relations. Certain aspects of this theoretical approach, however, must be revisited and reconsidered, taking into account contemporary social circumstances and the matter at hand. Smith illustrates this scholarly process of reconsidering sociological theories as follows:

> The ideas of Weber, Durkheim and Marx, for example, have been pushed, pulled, stretched, twisted and squeezed into all kinds of shapes. In different hands, these approaches to understanding human societies have been dissected almost out of existence, interpreted from a dozen different perspectives, and rendered down into convenient bite-sized bars (2001, p. 14).

This 'twisting and squeezing' should be the result of intellectual inventiveness, i.e. the ingenious combination of elements coalesced from diverse sources (Smith, 2001), which could underline the sociological significance of, in this case, the established-outsider theory within migration research.

In this thesis, a reason for revisiting the 'established-outsider' theory is the fact that the group dynamics of a football team is unique (see Chapter 6 and Elias and Dunning, 1986) and, thus, the power balance between established and outsider groups can be more volatile, multi-layered and much more complex than was indicated by Elias and Scotson (1994). Another idiosyncrasy of contemporary social relations within a football team is the ways in which members of the outsider groups (migrants) tend to perceive themselves. This thesis and some other observations (see Reng, 2003) have pointed out that migrant footballers often consider themselves to be more 'civilised' and the bearers of higher moral values. On the other hand, Elias and Scotson observed that the more civilised self-perception of the established group was triggered by a self-manufactured, unrealistic view. In reality, the established group did not demonstrate more civilised social and personal attitudes than the outsider group. They, nonetheless, suppressed the members of the outsider group who, in turn, integrated the established group's distorted perception into their personal habitus. Regardless of the disparity between the ways in which the outsider group of Winston Parva and migrant footballers tend to react to the actions and perceptions of established groups, arguably the main virtue of the established-outsider theory is that this sort of relations can be found in numerous social settings and on larger scales even if they may develop in different ways (Krieken, 1998).

In addition, this theory may prove to be highly useful for explaining the present European and international perception of Hungarian football, which can also

demonstrate the constantly and historically changing power balances and ratios among particular local, regional and global interest groups. For instance, Hungary once was a part of the 'established' group of football in a regional and international sense as Hungarian football in the early 1950s represented an extraordinary performance and, thus, other members of the established group as well as the members of the outsider group presupposed Hungarian football teams would always win or, at least, play outstanding football. The international status of Hungarian football began to decline in the late 1950s and it was lost by the end of the 1970s. The overall quality of Hungarian football further declined in the 1980s and 1990s, and nowadays, when a Hungarian club team or even the national team plays on the international stage, although some people still vaguely remember the 1950s and the team of 'Magic Magyars', they are treated as outsider/underdog contenders.[1] The present footballing status of Hungary is simply a consequence of the football quality Hungarian teams represent and of the fact that they have failed to qualify for any important international competitions for a long time (see Chapter 5). Therefore, as of now, Hungarian football can be considered as one of the 'outsiders' of European and world football. This phenomenon can be explained through the development of an established-outsider distinction, and the dynamics of stigmatisation which accompanies it, as part of the process of group formation (see Krieken, 1998).

7.5 Declining Hungarian Football: Is There Hope?

Speaking of the low quality of contemporary Hungarian football, this thesis has attempted to introduce the essential phases of Hungarian football development. Some aspects of the ways in which Hungarian social, political and cultural circumstances have influenced and transformed Hungarian football have been discussed in Chapters 4 and 7. It has been also illustrated that football has always been part of wider socio-

historical processes in various forms and ways. Football has been used for perpetuating violence related hegemonic values, gaining larger independence from oppression, re-establishing broken post-war diplomatic relations, conveying political propaganda and ideological superiority, and stabilising social conditions (see Chapter 4).

Afterwards, football, having fulfilled most of the expectations of various political regimes, *virtually* lost its political significance in Hungary in recent times, which is perhaps due to the fact that Hungarian people are aware of the role football played during communism. On the other hand, this could be simply induced by the poor football performance at both national and international level, which has led people withdrawing their attention from football.

Furthermore, a new attitude of Hungarian politicians towards football can be detected. It became one of the fashions of the 1990s that politicians openly expressed their indifference or aversion to football. This approach was supposed to demonstrate the ideological separation of contemporary Hungarian politicians from the past. It has been used to reinforce new ways of political thinking in times when it was hard to find other means to do so. For example, one of the governing parties (Alliance of Young Democrats) of the 1990s explicitly showed support for football in launching football stadia reconstructions and a youth development programme (Bozsik Programme), and failed to be re-elected. Nevertheless, it would be an overstatement to note that the failure of this political party was solely caused by their outlook on football, as there were other mishaps involved, but it was definitely a part of it.

By virtue of the above, it can be observed that football has still remained a subject of political manipulation. This has created unprecedented and dichotomous social attitudes to football and any football related financial investments. This has also

constructed, mostly derogative, social stereotypes about football related business relations, football management and footballers *per se*. Hungarian football has not been able to rid itself of these general perceptions, and as long as these stereotypes surround football, it is hard to predict any future progress.

7.6 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

As the previous sections of this chapter have indicated, this thesis provides several observations concerning the global-local sport-migration nexus. Nevertheless, it focuses exclusively on Hungarian elite football and footballers and, hence, the observations cannot be generalised to the entire web of Hungarian sport migrations or to the football migrations of other post-communist nations. This project should rather be seen as a precursor to and *a way* of conducting sport migration research focused on Central and Eastern Europe. In fact, through only focusing on the elite level of football migrations, it has been detected that sport related migration processes are complex and multi-layered in post-communist countries (see also Duke, 1994), and in order to disentangle the whole web, or just another segment of this network, more data would need to be collected, covering the migration of amateur athletes and sport personnel, which will probably be the foci of future research.

As it has been pointed out, this research is chiefly centred on post-communist issues in Hungary. This era represents an important transition; a shift gradually moving away from Eastern to Western social practices. Therefore, in terms of future research, a follow-up study would contrast and compare the current findings with post-EU accession conditions. It would be important to discover the ways in which professional migration patterns alter as a result of the growing impact of Europeanisation and to seek answers to the following questions: How will the composition of host and donor countries changes over time? In what ways will the

growing significance of globalisation/regionalisation and technological development affect the formation of migration patterns? How will changing local conditions alter the dynamics of push and pull factors and players' motivational blends?

A research project of this kind could also take into consideration the role of the EU in terms of its contribution to the promotion of European sporting issues, given the social and educational function of sports. It could be investigated how the legal conditions change and the youth-development facilities, opportunities and practices improve by virtue of Hungary's EU integration. A project of this nature would be essential, since the actions of the EU are aimed at developing the European dimension in sports, by promoting fairness in competitions and cooperation between sporting bodies and by protecting the physical and moral integrity of sportsmen and sportswomen, especially young sportsmen and sportswomen.

Another possibility would be to extend the scope of this research project and, while bearing certain methodological observations in mind, incorporate the lower divisions of Hungarian football and map the migration patterns, and push and pull factors of those. Furthermore, other segments of Hungarian sport life also require examination in terms of migration. For instance, the migratory aspects of sports such as basketball (which is swiftly growing in social popularity), handball and water polo (these sports already enjoy the support of a large fan base) could be investigated. The findings could then be contrasted with the outcomes of the present study. Through this analysis, the behaviour pattern displayed by Hungarian migrant footballers in the host environment could be reinforced (or refuted). This could indeed highlight a national habitual behaviour pattern, characteristic of Hungarian athletes in general. Also, this type of research could further reinforce the argument according to which Hungarian

athletes are inclined to migrate to financially more developed countries and to consider financial gains as the fundamental motivational force for migration.

In addition, since the collected data is limited to the years of post-communist transition and only allows one to generalise this behaviour pattern to male Hungarian footballers, it would be a sociologically intriguing project to explore the roots of the historical events which triggered the self-defence mechanism discussed in Chapter 6 and whether this can be observed with regard to other sports or, perhaps, to the entire Hungarian population. In this way, the findings of this research could be extended and some aspects of Hungarian national identity, which have been questioned recently (see Csepeli, 1997, Kosztolanyi, 2000), could be examined.

The relevance of migratory agent networks could be also investigated as to whether they posses the same function and role in other sports in distributing athletes on a regional/global scale or perhaps the degree of involvement in distributing and exploiting athletes is unique to football due to its popularity and financial background?

It would also be important and revealing to develop comparative, collaborative research projects on the sporting cultures of all the new EU member countries to discover and highlight advancements and hindrances. For instance, a comparative analysis of Czech and Hungarian football development and systems could be carried out to spotlight the success one system has achieved and the failure the other has endured. A research project of this kind could help Hungarian FA officials and football managers reconsider the state, status and operation of Hungarian football, which, in turn, could lead to some long awaited improvements.

Notes

[1] For instance, the easyJet In-Flight guide provides the following information to travellers about Hungary:

> Hungarian football has witnessed something of a decline recently, with clubs struggling financially and the national squad criticised for failing to produce top-flight football. But in the Fifties Hungary produced one of the game's most respected international players: Ferenc Puskas. Puskas captained the Hungarian when they defeated an 'unbeatable' England squad 6-3 at Wembley Stadium in 1953 (08/2005, p. 86).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Outcomes of the Hungarian National Championships between 1945 and 1990 (Data derive from Komaromi, 2003)

Seasons	First six teams in rank order (1→6)					
1945/46 I	UTE	Vasas	*Szegedi AK*	KHFC	*Debreceni VSC*	*Diosgyori DVK*
1945/46 II	UTE	Vasas	Csepel SC	*Szegedi AK*	FTC	MTK
1946/47	UTE	KHAC	Vasas	FTC	MTK	Csepel SC
1947/48	Csepeli Munkas	Vasas	FTC	KHAC	UTE	MTK
1948/49	FTC	MTK	KHAC	UTE	CsM	*Szentlorinc AC*
1949/50	**Honved**	**EDOSZ SE**	**Budapesti Textiles**	Csepeli Munkas	**Dozsa**	**Bp. Vasas**
1950	**Honved**	**Budapesti Textiles**	**Dozsa**	Csepeli Munkas	***Dorogi Tarna***	**Bp. Vasas**
1951	**Bastya**	**Honved**	**Dozsa**	**Bp. Vasas**	**Csepeli Vasas**	**Kinizsi**
1952	**Honved**	**Bastya**	**Dozsa**	**Bp. Vasas**	**Csepeli Vasas**	***Gyori Vasas***
1953	**Voros Lobogo**	**Honved**	**Bp. Vasas**	**Dozsa**	**Kinizsi**	***Gyori Vasas***
1954	**Honved**	**Voros Lobogo**	**Kinizsi**	**Bp. Vasas**	**Dozsa**	***Dorogi Banyasz***
1955	**Honved**	**Voros Lobogo**	**Kinizsi**	**Bp. Vasas**	***Dorogi Banyasz***	***Salgotarjani Banyasz***
1956	**Honved**	**Dozsa**	**Voros Lobogo**	**Kinizsi**	***Salgotarjani Banyasz***	**Csepeli Vasas**
1957	Vasas	MTK	Dozsa	FTC	Csepel	*Salgotarjani BTC*
1957/58	MTK	Honved	FTC	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	Vasas	*Salgotarjani BTC*
1958/59	Csepel	MTK	Honved	Vasas	Dozsa	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*
1959/60	Dozsa	FTC	Vasas	MTK	*Diosgyori Vasas*	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*
1960/61	Vasas	Dozsa	MTK	FTC	*Salgotarjani BTC*	*Szegedi HSE*
1961/62	Vasas	Dozsa	FTC	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	MTK	*Dorogi AC*
1962/63	FTC	MTK	Dozsa	*Dorogi AC*	Honved	*Gyori Vasas*
1963	*Gyori Vasas*	Honved	FTC	*Komloi Banyasz*	Vasas	Dozsa
1964	FTC	Honved	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	*Gyori Vasas*	Dozsa	Vasas
1965	Vasas	FTC	Dozsa	Honved	*Gyori Vasas*	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*
1966	Vasas	FTC	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	Dozsa	*Gyori Vasas*	Honved
1967	FTC	Dozsa	*Gyori Vasas*	Vasas	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	Honved
1968	FTC	Dozsa	Vasas	Honved	Csepel SC	*Pecsi Dozsa*
1969	Dozsa	Honved	FTC	Vasas	*Raba ETO*	*Pecsi Dozsa*
1970	Dozsa	MTK	Vasas	*Diosgyori VTK*	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	*Videoton*
1970/71	Dozsa	FTC	Vasas	Honved	MTK	Csepel SC
1971/72	Dozsa	Honved	*Salgotarjani*	*Tatabanyai*	FTC	Vasas

			BTC	*Banyasz*		
1972/73	Dozsa	FTC	Vasas	Honved	*Videoton*	*Zalaegerszegi TE*
1973/74	Dozsa	FTC	*Raba ETO*	*Videoton*	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	Honved
1974/75	Dozsa	Honved	FTC	Csepel SC	*Videoton*	Vasas
1975/76	FTC	*Videoton*	Dozsa	Honved	Vasas	MTK-VM
1976/77	Vasas	Dozsa	FTC	Honved	*Haladas VSE*	*Videoton*
1977/78	Dozsa	Honved	MTK-VM	Videoton	Vasas	*Diosgyori VTK*
1978/79	Dozsa	FTC	*Diosgyori VTK*	Vasas	Honved	*Raba ETO*
1979/80	Honved	Dozsa	Vasas	*Videoton*	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	FTC
1980/81	FTC	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	Vasas	*Videoton*	Honved	*Debreceni MVSC*
1981/82	*Raba ETO*	FTC	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	*Videoton*	Dozsa	Honved
1982/83	*Raba ETO*	FTC	Honved	Csepel SC	Dozsa	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*
1983/84	Honved	*Raba ETO*	*Videoton*	Dozsa	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	Vasas
1984/85	Honved	*Raba ETO*	*Videoton*	*Zalaegerszegi TE*	Vasas	*Bekescsabai SC*
1985/86	Honved	*Pecsi Munkas SE*	*Raba ETO*	*Zalaegerszegi TE*	FTC	*Videoton*
1986/87	MTK-VM	Dozsa	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	Honved	FTC	Vasas
1987/88	Honved	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	Dozsa	*Raba ETO*	FTC	MTK-MV
1988/89	Honved	FTC	MTK-VM	*Videoton*	*Raba ETO*	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*
1989/90	Dozsa	MTK-VM	FTC	*Pecsi Munkas*	*Tatabanyai Banyasz*	*Veszpremi SE*

- Rural teams are italicised
- Sovietised team names in the Rakosi era are bold
- Years of Kadarian Hungary are with grey background

Appendix 2. Minimal Phase Model of globalisation (Robertson, 1992)

Phase 1 (1400-1750): The Germinal Phase This period incorporates the expanding scope of Roman Catholic Church, the beginning of Heliocentric view and modern geography, and the spread of the Gregorian calendar.
Phase 2 (1750-1875): The Incipient Phase This stage includes the emergence of the idea of the homogenous and unitary state; the formalised international relations, standardised citizenly individuals and a more solid conception of humankind. Besides, the non-European countries began to be admitted to the Europe-dominated 'international society'.
Phase 3 (1875-1925): The Take-off Phase During this period the manifestation of globalising tendencies increases. Exponential development in number and speed of global forms of communication, emergence of increasing economic and political connections, along with global competition - for instance, the Olympics and Nobel prizes, and global conflicts such as the First World War.
Phase 4 (1925-1969): The Struggle-for-Hegemony Phase This part of history consists of constant fights, disputes and wars over establishing a new world order and domination such as the break out of the Second World War and the occurrence of the Cold War. This phase also includes the crystallisation of the Third World.
Phase 5 (1969 to date): The Uncertainty Phase This period contains that clarification of global consciousness, the number of global institutions increases, exponential acceleration in global mass communication and mass media. Also, civil rights become a global issue and world-wide debates emerge around race, sex and gender.

Appendix 3. Six Waves of Globalisation (Therborn, 2000)

First wave was dominated by the diffusion of religion and of religion related high culture. It also included major mass migrations (wonderings of peoples). At the same time the cultures process of deglobalisation was sustained by a consolidation of different polities within the same cultural area.
Second wave occurred through European colonial conquests in naval explorations and manifested in high value trade, plunder and extraction of precious metal and plantation slavery that were the key components of the new world system.
Third wave was resulting from purely intra-European power struggles. This was the series of the first global wars when the colonial wars became wars between European states, deploying large naval and land forces of metropolitan Europe on theatres of war across oceans and continents.
Fourth wave was driven by bulk trade, involved voluntary trans-oceanic mass migration and was situated by new and faster means of transportation and communication. Masses of migrants went out from Europe to the Americas and to Oceania. World community markets were established and the world capital market emerged. The gold standard ruled over transnational transactions. However, the First World War was followed by a significant new period of deglobalisation, which manifested in the shrinking of world trade, national abandonment of the gold standard, the reinforcement of states versus markets and national and ethnic particularism.
Fifth wave started after the Second World War and incorporated the enormous decline of the cost of communication and transport and the increase of the sharer of external trade. The Cold War and a worldwide rivalry began and reached their peaks between the USA and the USSR.
Sixth wave is the surpass of the politico-militarily driven Cold War by mainly a financial-cultural process. Mass intercontinental and transnational migration is returning with this new wave and in new patterns. This has changed the cultural landscape of the world. The New Worlds are becoming more multicultural than ever before and even Europe, the most monocultural part of the world, is now quite rapidly becoming multicultural. The emergence of the Internet and the English language as a lingua franca further increased the global interconnectedness.

Appendix 4. A Summary of Peoples' Wanderings and Migrations

Ancient Paths of Migrations[1]
MIGRATION IN PREHISTORIC TIMES
First people in Europe 700.000 - 8000 BD
Farmers in Europe 8000 - 800 BD
Invasions in Europe 800 - 400 BD
THE ANCIENT WORLD
Greek colonisation 200 - 400 AD
Roman expansions 400 - 500
THE MIDDLE AGES
Migration of nations 400 - 1000
The Vikings 750-1060
The Crusade/Age of transition 1000 - 1500

Five Waves of Labour Migration
1. Slave trade 1440 - beginning of 1800s
2. Indentured labour systems Early 1800s -1941
3. Mass emigration from Europe 1850s - 1940s
4. European migration after the World War II 1945 – 50 and 1950 - 73
5. Post-oil-shock migrations 1973 - present

[1] Data derive from the International Migration Site, which is a part of the web site of the history department of Leiden University [http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/migration/ (accessed: 07/14/03; last update: 09/09/02].

Appendix 5. Sample Letter to Teams

28 November 2002

In regards to: FTC Labdarúgó és Sport Kft.

Szeiler József
Manager
Budapest, IX.
Üllői út 129.
H-1091
Hungary

Subject: Inquiry

Dear Mr. Szeiler József,

My name is Győző Molnár and I am a Ph.D. student at the School of Sport and Exercise Sciences of Loughborough University. As a part of my postgraduate studies, I am conducting a thesis focusing on Hungarian football. My academic supervisor, Professor Dr. Joseph Maguire, advised me to contact you concerning the part of my research that I will need to execute in Hungary.

As a part of the research procedure I would like to conduct interviews with some of the players and with the key officials of the club. Of course, I guarantee full confidentiality and will provide a report on the findings.

This letter is an initial inquiry and I, or my academic supervisor, can clarify any issue you may wish to raise. I would like to conduct the interviews in October 2003. I am looking forward to hearing from you, either by post or by e-mail – the address is listed below.

Thank you for your time and help!

Sincerely,

Győző Molnár, M.Sc.
Doctoral Student
Loughborough University
e-mail: g.molnar@lboro.ac.uk

Professor Dr. Joseph Maguire
Supervisor
Loughborough University
e-mail: J.A.Maguire@lboro.ac.uk

Appendix 6. Sample Letter to Hungarian FA

20 February 2003

In regards to: Hungarian Football Federation

Dr. Imre Bozóky
President
Hungarian Football Federation
Budapest
Róbert Károly krt. 61-65.
H-1134
Hungary

Subject: Inquiry

Dear Dr. Imre Bozóky,

My name is Győző Molnár and I am a Ph.D. student at the School of Sport and Exercise Sciences of Loughborough University, UK. I have already written two letters to the Hungarian Football Federation but I have not yet received any response. Therefore I decided to chose a different way of communication to obtain an answer to my inquiry.

As a part of my studies, I am conducting a thesis focusing on Hungarian football. My academic supervisor, Professor Dr. Joseph Maguire, advised me to contact you concerning the part of my research that I will need to execute in Hungary.

As a part of the research procedure I would like to consult the archives of the Hungarian Football Federation and conduct interviews with key officials in the Association. In addition, I would like the opportunity to attend one of the national team's training camps and interview national team players. Of course, I guarantee full confidentiality and will provide a report on the findings to your Association.

This letter is an initial inquiry and I, or my academic supervisor, can clarify any issue you may wish to raise. Ideally, I would like to consult the archives in October 2003 but this is flexible. I am looking forward to hearing from you, either by fax or by e-mail – the address is listed below. It is highly important to me to receive a response from the Federation because I have to arrange my research accordingly.

Thank you for your time and help!

Sincerely,

Gyozo Molnar, M.Sc.
Doctoral Student
Loughborough University
e-mail: g.molnar@lboro.ac.uk

Professor Dr. Joseph Maguire
Supervisor
Loughborough University
e-mail: J.A.Maguire@lboro.ac.uk

Appendix 7. Sample Letter to UEFA

02 March 2004

In regards to: UEFA

Mr. Jean-Paul Turrian
UEFA, Director of Services
Route de Genève 46
Case postale
CH_1260 Nyon 2
Switzerland

Subject: Inquiry

Dear Mr. Jean-Paul Turrian,

My name is Gyozo Molnar and I am a Ph.D. student at the School of Sport and Exercise Sciences of Loughborough University. As part of my postgraduate studies, I am conducting a thesis focusing on Hungarian football. My academic supervisor, Professor Dr. Joseph Maguire, advised me to contact you concerning the part of my research for that I will need the cooperation of your organisation.

I would like to obtain some information as to whether UEFA maintains an archive concerning the migration of footballers of UEFA countries. If so, as a part of the research procedure, I would like to consult the archives of UEFA regarding the migration of Hungarian football players in Europe between the time period of 1980 and 1990. Of course, I guarantee full confidentiality and will provide a report on the findings. Research has already been conducted at the Hungarian FA and this work at UEFA is a logical extension of this.

This letter is an initial inquiry and I, or my academic supervisor, can clarify any issue you may wish to raise regarding the research. I would like to consult the archives in May 2004. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Thank you for your time and help!

Sincerely,

Gyozo Molnar, M.Sc.
Doctoral Student
Loughborough University
e-mail: g.molnar@lboro.ac.uk

Professor Dr. Joseph Maguire
Supervisor
Loughborough University
e-mail: J.A.Maguire@lboro.ac.uk

Appendix 8. Sample Letter to FIFA

10 February 2004

In regards to: FIFA

Dr. Linsi Urs
FIFA
Hitzigweg 11,
P.O. Box 85,
8030 Zurich
Switzerland

Subject: Inquiry

Dear Dr. Linsi Urs,

My name is Mr Győző Molnár and I am a Ph.D. student at the School of Sport and Exercise Sciences of Loughborough University, UK. As a part of my postgraduate studies, I am conducting a thesis focusing on Hungarian football. My academic supervisor, Professor Dr. Joseph Maguire, advised me to contact you concerning the part of my research for that I will need the cooperation of your organisation. Previously, Professor Maguire visited FIFA headquarters, and was allowed by Mr Zen-Ruffien to consult various archives relating to transfer of players.

As a part of the research procedure my supervisor and I would like to consult the archives of the FIFA regarding the migration of football players in and out of Hungary between the time period of 1980 and 1990. Of course, we guarantee full confidentiality and will provide a report on the findings. Research has already been conducted at the Hungarian FA and this work at FIFA is a logical extension of this.

This letter is an initial inquiry and I, or my academic supervisor, can clarify any issue you may wish to raise. We would like to consult the archives in May 2004. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Thank you for your time and help!

Sincerely,

Győző Molnár, M. Sc.
Doctoral Student
Loughborough University
e-mail: g.molnar@lboro.ac.uk

Professor Dr Joseph Maguire
Supervisor
Loughborough University
e-mail: J.A.Maguire@lboro.ac.uk

Appendix 9. Questionnaire

Foreign Footballers in Hungary

Name:.....
Nationality:.....
Current Club:.....
Age:.....Year(s) of experience as a professional player:.....

Please indicate if you have played for any other Hungarian football club beside your current team in the professional league. Please enter the name of the club you have played for and check a column to specify the number of seasons you played for that club.

Club Name	0-1 Season	1-2 Seasons	2-3 Seasons	3-4 Seasons	More than 4

Below there is a series of questions about your experiences as a football player in Hungary. The questionnaire consists of three types of questions. 1) Questions where you are required to thick/circle one of the options; 2) Questions which involve explanation and you are required to write your respond in the provided space; 3) Questions which are followed by a series of statements and you are required to rank the importance of each answer to you using the following scale:

5 – Highly Agree 4 – Agree 3 – Somewhat Agree
2 – Disagree 1 – Not at all

1. Why did you decide to work in Hungary as a professional player? Please rank the statements below from 6 to 1. 6= the most significant; 1= the least significant

To enhance your football career	6	5	4	3	2	1
To prolong your football career	6	5	4	3	2	1
To be a full time professional player	6	5	4	3	2	1
To earn more	6	5	4	3	2	1
To gain higher status as a player	6	5	4	3	2	1
To experience another country and culture	6	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....
.....

2. Why did you choose Hungary and your club?

The quality of Hungarian football	5	4	3	2	1
The reputation of the club	5	4	3	2	1
Approached by a Hungarian club	5	4	3	2	1
Interest in the Hungarian culture	5	4	3	2	1
Recommendations from other players	5	4	3	2	1
Recommendations by agents	5	4	3	2	1
Friend or relatives in Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Quality of life in Hungary	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

3. Was the information you received sufficient regarding your transfer?

I received sufficient information regarding my transfer	5	4	3	2	1

4. Was your move to Hungary well organised, including contract negotiations?

My move to Hungary was well organised	5	4	3	2	1
My contract negotiation was well organised	5	4	3	2	1

5. What were your main sources of information regarding Hungarian football?

Television	5	4	3	2	1
Newspapers	5	4	3	2	1
Internet	5	4	3	2	1
Relatives living in Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players in your country	5	4	3	2	1
Players from your country playing in or returning from Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Agents	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

6. Do you feel in control of your own life? (Please circle one!)

Highly Confident Confident Somewhat Confident Insecure Not at all

7. Are you confident in your employment position? (Please circle one!)

Highly Confident Confident Somewhat Confident Insecure Not at all

8. In what ways has your personal life changed?

Better quality of life	5	4	3	2	1
Higher social respect	5	4	3	2	1
Better relationships with people outside of football	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

9. In what ways has your professional life changed and why?

Higher training demand	5	4	3	2	1
Different playing style	5	4	3	2	1
Different coaching style	5	4	3	2	1
Better relationship with your team-mates	5	4	3	2	1
Better relationship with management	5	4	3	2	1
Better relationship with media	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

10. Who provided help regarding your coping with your new position in Hungary?

Family back home	5	4	3	2	1
Family in Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Friends back home	5	4	3	2	1
Friends in Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Team-mates	5	4	3	2	1
Club officials	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

11. Why are your employers motivated to recruit foreign players?

Better quality	5	4	3	2	1
Better work ethic	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players attract more fans and media	5	4	3	2	1
Lower monetary obligations	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

12. Do you think foreign players are well received in Hungary?

By older Hungarian players	5	4	3	2	1
By younger Hungarian players	5	4	3	2	1

By Hungarian fans	5	4	3	2	1
By Hungarian media	5	4	3	2	1
By coaches	5	4	3	2	1
By club management	5	4	3	2	1

13. Have you been well received in Hungary outside of the football context?

I have been well received by my neighbours	5	4	3	2	1
I have been well received by the local community	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Pleas explain!) .....

.....

14. Is there satisfactory media coverage of your achievements in Hungary?

I receive sufficient media time	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players receive more media time	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players receive more media time	5	4	3	2	1

15. What do you think of the impact of the foreign players in Hungarian football?

It has reduced the playing opportunities of native talents	5	4	3	2	1
It has improved the quality of Hungarian football	5	4	3	2	1
It has attracted more sponsors to the league	5	4	3	2	1
It has generated higher media attention	5	4	3	2	1
It has generated resentment from native players	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!) .....

.....

16. Why do you think Hungarian clubs recruit foreign players?

To improve the quality of Hungarian football	5	4	3	2	1
To provide different style of football	5	4	3	2	1
To attract media and fan attention	5	4	3	2	1
To reduce expenses	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!) .....

.....

17. What are the main differences between the foreign and Hungarian players?

.....

.....

18. Have you developed links/friendships with other foreign players in Hungary?

Yes ☐ No ☐

19. Do you prefer the company of foreign players?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Yes, please explain why!.....

.....

20. Do foreign players experience problems regarding the following issues in Hungary?

Language difficulties	5	4	3	2	1
Loneliness	5	4	3	2	1
Boredom	5	4	3	2	1
Difficulty of making new friends	5	4	3	2	1
Accommodation problems	5	4	3	2	1
Acceptance by team-mates	5	4	3	2	1
Acceptance by fans	5	4	3	2	1

21. Are you popular at home?

Yeas, I am a popular player in my home country	5	4	3	2	1
I came to Hungary for social recognition	5	4	3	2	1

22. How has the migration of footballers affected your home country's football and national team?

Increased the quality of football	5	4	3	2	1
Decreased the quality of football	5	4	3	2	1
Increased the status of national football team	5	4	3	2	1

Increased the status of football clubs	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!) .....

.....

23. Will you be able to use your Hungarian experience back home?

I will be able to use my Hungarian experiences back home	5	4	3	2	1

24. How has your sense of national and cultural identity been affected? (Please circle one!)

Strengthened Weakened No change

25. What constitutes 'home'?

Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Country of origin	5	4	3	2	1
Another country (Please list.....)	5	4	3	2	1
I do not feel home anywhere	5	4	3	2	1

26. Do you identify yourself with your Hungarian club and locality?

I feel I belong to my club and to Hungary	5	4	3	2	1

27. Would you say that Hungarian football and footballers are culturally different from the football and players in your home country?

Hungarian players are more aggressive	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players use more tactics	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players train harder	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players are less aggressive	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players train harder	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players use more tactics	5	4	3	2	1

28. Have your objectives and expectations of your move been met?

I am satisfied with Hungary and Hungarian football	5	4	3	2	1

29. What are your future plans?

Staying at your present club	5	4	3	2	1
Going to another club in Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Going back home	5	4	3	2	1
Going to another country	5	4	3	2	1

30. Which foreign country would you go to and why? (Please list and explain!)

.....

.....

31. What would be your main message for anyone who would be considering moving to Hungary to play football?

.....

.....

If there is any further comment you wish to make regarding any of the questions or the questionnaire, please do!

.....

.....

Thank you for your time and help, and best of luck for the future!

Appendix 10. Questionnaire in Hungarian

Külföldi labdarúgók Magyarországon

Név:.....
Állampolgárság:.....
Jelenlegi csapat:.....
Életkor:..... Profi labdarúgóként eltöltött évek
száma:.....

Kérem jelezze ha a jelenlegi klubján kívül a professzionális liga más csapataiban is játszott. Kérem írja le a klub nevét az alábbi táblázatba és jelölje meg egy X-el azt az oszlopot amely megfelel a klubnál eltöltött időnek.

Klub Neve	0-1 Szezon	1-2 Szezon	2-3 Szezon	3-4 Szezon	4 Felett

A következő néhány oldalon kérdések vannak felsorakoztatva az Ön magyarországon szerzett tapasztalatait illetően a labdarúgás terén. A kérdőív 3 típusú kérdést tartalmaz: 1) a kérdésre a választ X-elve vagy karikázva kell megadni, 2) a kérdésre, egy illetve több, egészmondatos választ kell írni az előre megadott vonalas részre, 3) a kérdést követően egy sor állítás van elhelyezve, amelyek után egy szám skála található 1-től 5-ig. Önnek az egyetértését kell a megfelelő szám bekarikázásával jeleznie. A szám skála a következő képpen értelmezendő:

5 - Teljes mértékben egyetértek 4 - Egyetértek 3 - Nagyjából egyetértek
2 - Nem értek egyet 1 - Egyáltalán nem

1. Miért jött Magyarországra profi labdarúgóként dolgozni? Kérem rangsorolja az alábbi állításokat 1-től 6-ig: 6=legfontosabb, 1=legkevésbé fontos.

Pályafutásom fokozása céljából	6	5	4	3	2	1
Pályafutásom meghosszabítása céljából	6	5	4	3	2	1
Hogy főállású labdarúgó legyek	6	5	4	3	2	1
A magasabb fizetés miatt	6	5	4	3	2	1
A magasabb társadalmi elismerés miatt	6	5	4	3	2	1
Hogy megismerjek egy másik kultúrát	6	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....
.....

2. Miért választotta Magyarországot és jelenlegi csapatát?

A magyar labdarúgás színvonala miatt	5	4	3	2	1
A csapat hírneve miatt	5	4	3	2	1
A csapat keresett meg	5	4	3	2	1
Érdekel a magyar kultúra	5	4	3	2	1
Más játékosok ajánlása miatt	5	4	3	2	1
Ügynököm ajánlása miatt	5	4	3	2	1

Mert barátok/rokonok élnek Magyarországon	5	4	3	2	1
Az életszínvonal miatt	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

3. Elegendő volt-e az átigazolásáról kapott információ jellege és mennyisége?

Elegendő információt kaptam az átigazolásomat illetően	5	4	3	2	1

4. Jólszervezett volt-e a Magyarországra költözése, a szerződési tárgyalásokat is beleértve?

Magyarországra költözésem jólszervezett volt	5	4	3	2	1
A szerződési tárgyalások jólszervezettek voltak	5	4	3	2	1

5. Melyek voltak a fő információ forrásai a magyarországi labdarúgást illetően?

Televízió	5	4	3	2	1
Újságok	5	4	3	2	1
Internet	5	4	3	2	1
Magyarországon élő rokonok	5	4	3	2	1
Magyar játékosok a hazámban	5	4	3	2	1
Magyarországról visszatérő játékosok	5	4	3	2	1
Ügynök	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

6. Úgy érzi hogy ura a saját életének? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

Tökéletesen Majdnem tökéletesen Nagyjából Nem igazán Egyáltalán nem

7. Magabiztos a jelenlegi szerződését illetően? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

Tökéletesen Majdnem tökéletesen Nagyjából Nem igazán Egyáltalán nem

8. Milyen módon változott meg a magánélete a magyarországi tartózkodása alatt?

Jobb minőségű élet	5	4	3	2	1
Magasabb társadalmi elismerés	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb emberi kapcsolatok a hétköznapi életben	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

9. Milyen módon változott meg a szakmai élete a magyarországi tartózkodása alatt?

Több edzés	5	4	3	2	1
Más játék stílus	5	4	3	2	1
Más edzői stílus	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb kapcsolat a csapattársakkal	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb kapcsolat a vezetőséggel	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb kapcsolat a médiával	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

10. Ki segített abban, hogy jelen munkájának nehézségeivel megbirkózzon?

Az otthon maradt család	5	4	3	2	1
Család Magyarországon	5	4	3	2	1
Az otthon maradt barátok	5	4	3	2	1
A magyarországi barátok	5	4	3	2	1
Csapattársak	5	4	3	2	1
A csapat vezetősége	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

11. Mit gondol?! A magyar klubbok miért alkalmaznak külföldi játékosokat?

Jobb teljesítmény	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb munka morál	5	4	3	2	1
Jobban vonzák a média és a szurkolók figyelmét	5	4	3	2	1
Olcsóbb anyagi feltételek	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

12. Elmondható az, hogy Magyarországon a külföldi labdarúgókat jól fogadják a(z):

Idősebb labdarúgók	5	4	3	2	1
Fiatalabb labdarúgók	5	4	3	2	1
Szurkolók	5	4	3	2	1
Média	5	4	3	2	1
Edzők	5	4	3	2	1
Club vezetők	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

13. Milyen fogadtatásban részesült Magyarországon a labdarúgó környezeten kívül?

Az új szomszédaim jól fogadtak	5	4	3	2	1
A helyi közösség jól fogadott	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

14. Elegendő figyelmet fordít-e az Ön futball teljesítményére a magyar média?

Megfelelő figyelmet kapok a médiától	5	4	3	2	1
Magyar játékosok többet szerepelnek a médiában	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldi játékosok többet szerepelnek a médiában	5	4	3	2	1

15. Mit gondol a külföldi játékosok jelenlétérő a magyar labdarúgásban?

Csökkenti a magyar tehetségek játék lehetőségét	5	4	3	2	1
Növeli a magyar labdarúgás színvonalát	5	4	3	2	1
Növeli a szponzorok számát a ligában	5	4	3	2	1
Növeli a média figyelmét	5	4	3	2	1
Növeli a hazai játékosok elégedetlenségét	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

16. A magyar labdarúgó klubbok miért alkalmaznak külföldi játékosokat?

Növelejék a magyar foci színvonalát	5	4	3	2	1
Mástípusú játékstílust szolgáltassanak a közönségnek	5	4	3	2	1
Vonzák a média és a szurkolók figyelmét	5	4	3	2	1
Csökkentsék a költségeket	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

17. Melyek a legfőbb eltérések a magyar és a külföldi labdarúgók között?

.....

.....

18. Kialakított-e kapcsolatot/barátságot külföldi játékosokkal Magyarországon?

Igen ☐ Nem ☐

19. Előnyben részesíti a külföldi játékosok társaságát?

Igen ☐ Nem ☐ Ha **igen**, akkor miért? (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

20. Tapasztalják-e az alábbi problémákat a külföldi labdarúgók Magyarországon?

Nyelvi nehézségek	5	4	3	2	1
Magány	5	4	3	2	1
Unalom	5	4	3	2	1
Barátkozási nehézségek	5	4	3	2	1
Lakás problémák	5	4	3	2	1
A csapattársak elfogadása	5	4	3	2	1
A szurkolók elfogadása	5	4	3	2	1

21. Ön népszerű a hazájában?

Igen, én népszerű vagyok otthon	5	4	3	2	1

Én a társadalmi elismerés miatt jöttem Magyarországra	5	4	3	2	1

22. Hogyan befolyásolja a labdarúgók vándorlása a hazája labdarúgását és a válogatott teljesítményét?

Növelte a futball minőségét	5	4	3	2	1
Csökkentette a futball minőségét	5	4	3	2	1
Növelte a válogatott nemzetközi elismerését	5	4	3	2	1
Növelte a futball klubbok nemzetközi elismerését	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

23. Lesz-e lehetősége a Magyarországon szerzett tapasztalatainak hazai hasznosítására?

Igen, lesz lehetőségem a tapasztalataim hasznosítására	5	4	3	2	1

24. Hogyan válltozott a nemzeti érzése és a kultúrális azonosulása (identitása) a hazája iránt? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

Erősödött Gyöngült Nem válltozott

25. Mi jelenti az „Otthon"-t?

Magyarország	5	4	3	2	1
Szülőföldje	5	4	3	2	1
Egy másik ország (Az ország neve.....)	5	4	3	2	1
Nem érzem otthon magam sehol	5	4	3	2	1

26. Mondaná-e hogy Ön csapatának és magyarországi lakóközöséggének egy szerves része?

Én úgy érzem, hogy a csapatomhoz és Magyarországhoz tartozom	5	4	3	2	1

27. Mondaná-e hogy a magyar labdarúgók kultúrálisan eltérnek a külföldiektől?

A magyar labdarúgók agresszívabbak	5	4	3	2	1
A magyar labdarúgók többet taktikáznak	5	4	3	2	1
A magyar labdarúgók többet edzenek	5	4	3	2	1
A magyar labdarúgók kevésbé agresszívek	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldi játékosok többet edzenek	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldi játékosok többet taktikáznak	5	4	3	2	1

28. Megtalálta-e a számítását Magyarországon és a magyar futballban?

Én elégedett vagyok Magyarországgal és a magyar futballal	5	4	3	2	1

29. Milyen a jövőre vonatkozó tervei vannak?

Maradok a jelenlegi klubnál	5	4	3	2	1
Másik klubhoz igazolok Magyarországon	5	4	3	2	1
Haza megyek	5	4	3	2	1
Egy másik külföldi országba megyek	5	4	3	2	1

30. Melyik külföldi országba menne és miért? (Kérem nevezze meg az országot/országokat és részletezze miért)

.....

.....

31. Mi lenne a fő üzenete azoknak a külföldi játékosoknak akik Magyarországra szándékoznak jönni futballozni?

.....

.....

Köszönöm az idejét és segítségét!! Sok sikert kívánok a jövőjéhez!!

Appendix 11. Questionnaire

Migration of Hungarian Footballers

Name:.....
Current Club:.....
AGE:..... YEAR(S) OF EXPERIENCE AS A PROFESSIONAL PLAYER:.....

1. Has your nationality ever changed? (Please tick one!)

Yes ☐ No ☐ **Yes**, how? (Please explain!).....

.....

2. Have you been the member of the Hungarian national team? (Please tick one!)

Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Are you currently the member of the Hungarian national team? (Please tick one!)

Yes ☐ No ☐

Please indicate if you have played for any other Hungarian football club beside your current team in the professional league. Please enter the name of the club you have played for and check a column to specify the number of seasons you played for that club.

Club Name	0-1 Season	1-2 Seasons	2-3 Seasons	3-4 Seasons	*More than 4*

Below there is a series of questions about your experiences as a football player. The questionnaire consists of three types of questions. 1) Questions where you are required to tick/circle one of the options; 2) Questions which involve explanation and you are required to write your respond in the provided space; 3) Questions which are followed by a series of statements and you are required to rank the importance of each answer to you using the following scale:

5 – Highly Agree 4 – Agree 3 – Somewhat Agree
2 – Disagree 1 – Not at all

4. Have you ever played abroad? (Please tick one!)

Yes ☐ No ☐ If **Yes**, please go to question **16** on page **4**; If **No**, please go to question **5**.

I. Hungarian Football Players without Foreign Experience

5. Have you ever had an offer to play abroad? (Please tick one!)

Yes ☐ No ☐ **Yes**, why did not you go? (Please explain!).....

.....

6. Would you be motivated to play abroad?

I would be motivated to play abroad	5	4	3	2	1

7. Why would you leave Hungary to play football in a different country? Please rank the statements below from 6 to 1. 6= the most significant; 1= the least significant

Quality of foreign football	6	5	4	3	2	1
Cultural experience	6	5	4	3	2	1
Professional improvement	6	5	4	3	2	1
Better salaries	6	5	4	3	2	1
Better facilities	6	5	4	3	2	1
Higher social status	6	5	4	3	2	1

OTHER (PLEASE EXPLAIN!).....

.....

8. To which country would you go to play and why?

.....

.....

9. Are you familiar with the transfer procedure you will have to go through if playing abroad? (Please tick one!)

Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Why would you not leave Hungary to play football in a different country?

Lack of knowledge of foreign languages	5	4	3	2	1
Distance from family	5	4	3	2	1
Distance from friends	5	4	3	2	1
Afraid of cultural differences	5	4	3	2	1
Difficulty of making new friends	5	4	3	2	1
Afraid of being a 'foreign-player'	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

11. If you played in a foreign country, in what ways do you think your personal life would change?

Would be more lonely	5	4	3	2	1
Would rely more on my family	5	4	3	2	1
Would have less friends	5	4	3	2	1
Would be more challenging	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

12. If you played in a foreign country, in what ways do you think your professional life would change?

Would be more training	5	4	3	2	1
Would be less training	5	4	3	2	1
Would be more challenging	5	4	3	2	1
Would be more controlled	5	4	3	2	1
Would be more freedom	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

.....

13. Do you speak a foreign language? (Please tick one!)

Yes ☐ No ☐ **Yes**, please list:.....

14. Do you follow foreign football? (Please tick one!)

Yes ☐ No ☐

15. What are your main sources of information about foreign football?

Television	5	4	3	2	1
Newspapers	5	4	3	2	1
Internet	5	4	3	2	1
Relatives living abroad	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players in Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players returning from abroad	5	4	3	2	1
Agents	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

After finishing question 15 please go to section III, question 42 on page 8!

II. Hungarian Football Players with Foreign Experience

16. Why did you decide to work abroad as a professional player? Please rank the statements below from 5 to 1. 5= the most significant; 1= the least significant

To enhance your football career	5	4	3	2	1
To prolong your football career	5	4	3	2	1
To earn more	5	4	3	2	1
To gain higher status as a player	5	4	3	2	1
To experience another country and culture	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

17. Why did you choose your host country and club?

The quality of foreign football	5	4	3	2	1
The reputation of the club	5	4	3	2	1
Approached by a foreign club	5	4	3	2	1
Interest in the foreign culture	5	4	3	2	1
Recommendations from other players	5	4	3	2	1
Recommendations by agents	5	4	3	2	1
Friend or relatives living abroad	5	4	3	2	1
Quality of life abroad	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

18. Was the information you received sufficient regarding your transfer?

I received sufficient information regarding my transfer	5	4	3	2	1

19. Was your move to your foreign club well organised, including contract negotiations?

My move was well organised	5	4	3	2	1
My contract negotiation was well organised	5	4	3	2	1

20. What were your main sources of information regarding the foreign club?

Television	5	4	3	2	1
Newspapers	5	4	3	2	1
Internet	5	4	3	2	1
Relatives living abroad	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players in Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian footballers playing or returning from abroad	5	4	3	2	1
Agents	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

21. Did you feel in control of your own life? (Please circle one!)

Highly Confident Confident Somewhat Confident Insecure Not at all

22. Were you confident in your employment position? (Please circle one!)

Highly Confident Confident Somewhat Confident Insecure Not at all

23. In what ways did your personal life change?

Better quality of life	5	4	3	2	1
Higher social respect	5	4	3	2	1
Better relationships with people outside of football	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

24. In what ways did your professional life change?

Higher training demand	5	4	3	2	1
Different playing style	5	4	3	2	1
Different coaching style	5	4	3	2	1
Better relationship with your team-mates	5	4	3	2	1
Better relationship with management	5	4	3	2	1
Better relationship with media	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!) .....

25. Who provided help regarding your coping with your new position?

Family back home	5	4	3	2	1
Family in the foreign country	5	4	3	2	1
Friends back home	5	4	3	2	1
Friends in the foreign country	5	4	3	2	1
Team-mates	5	4	3	2	1
Club officials	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

26. Why were your employers motivated to recruit foreign players?

Better quality	5	4	3	2	1
Better work ethic	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players attract more fans and media	5	4	3	2	1
Lower monetary obligations	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

27. Were you well received inside the host country's football?

By older players	5	4	3	2	1
By younger players	5	4	3	2	1
By fans	5	4	3	2	1
By media	5	4	3	2	1
By coaches	5	4	3	2	1
By club management	5	4	3	2	1

28. What was your reception in the host country outside of the football context?

I was well received by my neighbours	5	4	3	2	1
I was well received by the local community	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Pleas explain!).....

.....

29. What were the main differences between the foreign players and you?

.....

.....

.....

30. Did you develop links with other Hungarian players in the host country?

Yes ☐ No ☐ No, please explain why!.....

31. Did you prefer the company of other foreign players?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Yes, please explain why!.....

.....

32. Did you experience problems regarding the following issues abroad?

Language difficulties	5	4	3	2	1
Loneliness	5	4	3	2	1
Boredom	5	4	3	2	1
Making new friends	5	4	3	2	1
Accommodation problems	5	4	3	2	1
Acceptance by team-mates	5	4	3	2	1
Acceptance by fans	5	4	3	2	1

33. Was there satisfactory media coverage of your achievements in the host country?

I received sufficient media time	5	4	3	2	1
Native players received more media time	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players received more media time	5	4	3	2	1

34. Were you popular in the host country?

Yes, I am a popular player in my home country	5	4	3	2	1
I went abroad for social recognition	5	4	3	2	1

35. Why did you come back to Hungary?

End of contract	5	4	3	2	1
No other offers	5	4	3	2	1
Behaviour of foreign players	5	4	3	2	1
Cultural differences	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

36. How has the migration of footballers affected Hungary's football and national team?

Increased the quality of football	5	4	3	2	1
Decreased the quality of football	5	4	3	2	1
Increased the status of national football team	5	4	3	2	1
Increased the status of football clubs	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!) .....

.....

37. Have you been able to use your foreign experience in Hungary?

I have been able to use my foreign experience	5	4	3	2	1

38. How was your sense of national and cultural identity affected? (Please circle one!)

Strengthened Weakened No change

39. What constituted 'home'?

Hungary	5	4	3	2	1
The foreign country	5	4	3	2	1
I do not feel home anywhere	5	4	3	2	1

40. Did you identify yourself with your foreign club and locality?

I felt I belonged to my foreign team	5	4	3	2	1
I was treated as an outsider	5	4	3	2	1

41. Were your objectives and expectations of your move met?

I was satisfied with the foreign country and football	5	4	3	2	1

III. Interaction with foreign players

42. What do you think of the presence of foreign players in Hungarian football? (Please circle one!)

Very Good Good Bad Very Bad Not relevant

43. Have you experienced communication difficulties with foreign players? (Please circle one!)

All the time Often Sometimes Occasionally Never

44. Do you try to accommodate the needs of foreign players?

I try to help them as much as I can	5	4	3	2	1
I am not too concerned about them	5	4	3	2	1
I do not think they require any extra attention	5	4	3	2	1

45. How has the immigration of footballers affected Hungary's football and national team? (Please circle one!)

Very Good Good Bad Very Bad Not at all

46. Would you say that Hungarian footballers are culturally different from the players coming from foreign countries?

Hungarian players are more aggressive	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players use more tactics	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players train harder	5	4	3	2	1
Hungarian players are less aggressive	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players train harder	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players use more tactics	5	4	3	2	1

Other (Please explain!).....

.....

IV. Hungarian Football

47. Do you think there is any problem with Hungarian football?

Yes ☐ No ☐ If **No**, please go to question **51**.

In your opinion, what is the major problem?

.....

.....

48. What do you think needs to be done to achieve change?

More money	5	4	3	2	1
Better facilities	5	4	3	2	1
Better management	5	4	3	2	1
Better coaching	5	4	3	2	1
Better/more fans	5	4	3	2	1
Better youth development	5	4	3	2	1
More foreign players	5	4	3	2	1

Other (please explain).....

.....

49. Do you think that the migration of footballers could help Hungarian football?

Foreign players are good for Hungarian football	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign players reduce the playing opportunities of Hungarians	5	4	3	2	1
The presence of foreign players does not encourage youth development	5	4	3	2	1

50. Do you think that Hungary's joining the EU will stimulate the migration of Hungarian footballers?

It is going to increase the migration of Hungarian players	5	4	3	2	1
Nothing is going to change	5	4	3	2	1

51. Are you familiar with the new migration related regulations that will have to be taken into consideration as soon as Hungary joins the EU?

I am familiar with the EU regulations	5	4	3	2	1

If there is any further comment you wish to make regarding any of the questions or the questionnaire, please do!

.....

.....

Thank you for your time and help, and best of luck for the future!

Appendix 12. Questionnaire in Hungarian

Magyar labdarúgók vándorlásai

Név:.....
Állampolgárság:.....
Jelenlegi csapat:.....
Életkor:..... Profi labdarúgóként eltöltött évek száma:.....

1. Változott-e valaha az állampolgársága? (Kérem X-elje a megfelelő választ)

Igen ☐ Nem ☐ Ha **igen**, akkor hogyan? (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

2. Volt-e már válogatott? (Kérem X-elje a megfelelő választ)

Igen ☐ Nem ☐

3. Tagja-e a jelenlegi válogatottnak? (Kérem X-elje a megfelelő választ)

Igen ☐ Nem ☐

Kérem jelezze ha a jelenlegi klubján kívül a professzionális liga más csapataiban is játszott. Kérem írja le a klub nevét az alábbi táblázatba és jelölje meg egy X-el azt az oszlopot amely megfelel a klubnál eltöltött időnek.

Klub Neve	0-1 Szezon	1-2 Szezon	2-3 Szezon	3-4 Szezon	4 Felett

A következő néhány oldalon kérdések vannak felsorakoztatva az Ön magyarországon szerzett tapasztalatait illetően a labdarúgás terén. A kérdőív 3 típusú kérdést tartalmaz: 1) a kérdésre a választ X-elve vagy karikázva kell megadni, 2) a kérdésre, egy illetve több, egészmondatos választ kell írni az előre megadott vonalas részre, 3) a kérdést követően egy sor állítás van elhelyezve, amelyek után egy szám skála található 1-től 5-ig. Önnek az egyetértését kell a megfelelő szám bekarikázásával jeleznie. A szám skála a következő képpen értelmezendő:

5 - Teljes mértékben egyetértek 4 - Egyetértek 3 - Nagyjából egyetértek
2 - Nem értek egyet 1 - Egyáltalán nem

4. Játszott-e már valaha külföldön? (Kérem X-elje a megfelelő választ)

Igen ☐ Nem ☐ Ha a válasz **igen**, kérem folytassa a kérdőív kitöltését a **4.** oldalon a **16.** kérdéssel; Ha a válasz **nem**, kérem folytassa a kérdőív kitöltését az **5-ös** kérdéssel.

I. Magyar játékosok külföldi tapasztalat nélkül

5. Kapott-e már valaha külföldi ajánlatot? (Kérem X-elje a megfelelő választ)

Igen ☐ Nem ☐ Ha a válasz **igen**, akkor miért nem fogadta el (Kérem részletezze).....

6. Érdekelné egy külföldi ajánlat?

Igen, érdekelne egy külföldi ajánlat	5	4	3	2	1

7. Miért költözne külföldre profi labdarúgóként dolgozni? Kérem rangsorolja az alábbi állításokat 1-től 6-ig: 6=legfontosabb, 1=legkevésbé fontos.

A külföldi labdarúgás minősége	6	5	4	3	2	1
Kultúrális tapasztalat	6	5	4	3	2	1
Szakmai fejlődés	6	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb fizetés	6	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb létesítmények	6	5	4	3	2	1
Magasabb társadalmi elismerés	6	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

8. Melyik külföldi országba menne és miért? (Kérem nevezze meg az országot / országokat és részletezze miért)

.....

.....

9. Ismeri az átigazolási eljárást amin keresztül kell mennie ha külföldön szándékozik játszani? (Kérem X-elje a megfelelő választ)

Igen ☐ Nem ☐

10. Miért nem költözne külföldre profi labdarúgóként dolgozni?

Nyelvtudás hiánya	5	4	3	2	1
Távolság a családtól	5	4	3	2	1
Távolság a barátoktól	5	4	3	2	1
Tartás a kultúrális különbségtől	5	4	3	2	1
Új barátok szerzésének nehézsége	5	4	3	2	1
Félnék a „külföldi játékos" szerepében lenni	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

11. Mit gondol milyen módon változna meg a magánélete ha külföldön játszana?

Magányosabb lenne	5	4	3	2	1
A család fontosabb lenne	5	4	3	2	1
Nagyobb kihívás lenne	5	4	3	2	1
Szabályozottabb lenne	5	4	3	2	1
A szabadság nagyobb lenne	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

12. Mit gondol milyen módon változna meg a szakmai élete ha külföldön játszana?

Több edzés	5	4	3	2	1
Kevesebb edzés	5	4	3	2	1
Nagyobb kihívás lenne	5	4	3	2	1
Szabályozottabb lenne	5	4	3	2	1
A szabadság nagyobb lenne	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

13. Beszél idegen nyelveket? (Kérem X-elje a megfelelő választ)

Igen ☐ Nem ☐ Ha **igen**, kérem sorolja fel:.....

14. Figyelemmel követi a külföldi labdarúgást? (Kérem X-elje a megfelelő választ)

Igen ☐ Nem ☐

15. Melyek a fő információ forrásai a külföldi labdarúgást illetően?

Televízió	5	4	3	2	1
Újságok	5	4	3	2	1
Internet	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldön élő rokonok	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldi labdarúgók Magyarországon	5	4	3	2	1
Hazatérő magyar labdarúgók	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

A 15. kérdés befejzése után, kérem folytassa III. rész 42-es kérdésével a 8. oldalon!

II. Magyar játékosok külföldi tapasztalattal

16. Miért ment külföldre profi labdarúgóként dolgozni? Kérem rangsorolja az alábbi állításokat 1-től 5-ig: 5=legfontosabb, 1=legkevésbé fontos.

Pályafutásom fokozása céljából	5	4	3	2	1
Pályafutásom meghosszabítása céljából	5	4	3	2	1
A magasabb fizetés miatt	5	4	3	2	1
A magasabb társadalmi elismerés miatt	5	4	3	2	1
Hogy megismerjek egy másik kultúrát	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

17. Miért választotta az adott országot és csapatát?

A külföldi labdarúgás színvonala miatt	5	4	3	2	1
A csapat hírneve miatt	5	4	3	2	1
A csapat keresett meg	5	4	3	2	1
Érdekelt az ország kultúrája	5	4	3	2	1
Más játékosok ajánlása miatt	5	4	3	2	1
Ügynököm ajánlása miatt	5	4	3	2	1
Mert barátok/rokonok élnek abban az országban	5	4	3	2	1
Az életszínvonal miatt	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

18. Elegendő volt-e az átigazolásáról kapott információ jellege és mennyisége?

Elegendő információt kaptam az átigazolásomat illetően	5	4	3	2	1

19. Jólszervezett volt-e a külföldre költözése, a szerződési tárgyalásokat is beleértve?

A külföldre költözésem jólszervezett volt	5	4	3	2	1
A szerződési tárgyalások jólszervezettek voltak	5	4	3	2	1

20. Melyek voltak a fő információ forrásai a külföldi csapatot illetően?

Televízió	5	4	3	2	1
Újságok	5	4	3	2	1
Internet	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldön élő rokonok	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldi játékosok Magyarországon	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldről visszatérő játékosok	5	4	3	2	1
Ügynök	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

21. Úgy érezte hogy ura volt a saját életének? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

Tökéletesen Majdnem tökéletesen Nagyjából Nem igazán Egyáltalán nem

22. Magabiztos volt a szerződését illetően? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

Tökéletesen Majdnem tökéletesen Nagyjából Nem igazán Egyáltalán nem

23. Milyen módon változott meg a magánélete a külföldi tartózkodása alatt?

Jobb minőségű élet	5	4	3	2	1
Magasabb társadalmi elismerés	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb emberi kapcsolatok a hétköznapi életben	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

24. Milyen módon változott meg a szakmai élete a külföldi tartózkodása alatt?

Több edzés	5	4	3	2	1
Más játék stílus	5	4	3	2	1
Más edzői stílus	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb kapcsolat a csapattársakkal	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb kapcsolat a vezetőséggel	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb kapcsolat a médiával	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

25. Ki segített abban, hogy külföldi munkájának nehézségeivel megbirkózzon?

Az otthon maradt család	5	4	3	2	1
Család külföldön	5	4	3	2	1
Az otthon maradt barátok	5	4	3	2	1
A külföldi barátok	5	4	3	2	1
Csapattársak	5	4	3	2	1
A csapat vezetősége	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

26. Mit gondol?! A külföldi klubbok miért alkalmaznak játékosokat más országokból?

Jobb teljesítmény	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb munka morál	5	4	3	2	1
Jobban vonzák a média és a szurkolók figyelmét	5	4	3	2	1
Olcsóbb anyagi feltételek	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

27. Elmondható, hogy külföldi klubjánál megfelelően fogadták a(z):

Idősebb labdarúgók	5	4	3	2	1
Fiatalabb labdarúgók	5	4	3	2	1
Szurkolók	5	4	3	2	1
Média	5	4	3	2	1
Edzők	5	4	3	2	1
Club vezetők	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

28. Milyen fogadtatásban részesült külföldön a labdarúgó környezeten kívül?

Az új szomszédaim jól fogadtak	5	4	3	2	1
A helyi közösség jól fogadott	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

29. Melyek voltak a legfőbb eltérések Ön és a külföldi labdarúgók között?

.....

.....

30. Kialakított-e kapcsolatot/barátságot magyar játékosokkal külföldön?

Igen ☐ Nem ☐

31. Előnyben részesítette a külföldi játékosok társaságát?

Igen ☐ Nem ☐ Ha **igen**, akkor miért? (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

32. Tapasztalta-e az alábbi problémákat amíg külföldön játszott?

Nyelvi nehézségek	5	4	3	2	1
Magány	5	4	3	2	1
Unalom	5	4	3	2	1

Barátkozási nehézségek	5	4	3	2	1
Lakás problémák	5	4	3	2	1
A csapattársak elfogadása	5	4	3	2	1
A szurkolók elfogadása	5	4	3	2	1

33. Elegendő figyelmet fordított-e az Ön futball teljesítményére a külföldi média?

Megfelelő figyelmet kaptam a médiától	5	4	3	2	1
Belföldi játékosok többet szerepeltek a médiában	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldi játékosok többet szerepeltek a médiában	5	4	3	2	1

34. Népszerű volt külföldön?

Igen, én népszerű voltam külföldön	5	4	3	2	1
Én a társadalmi elismerés miatt mentem külföldre	5	4	3	2	1

35. Miért jött vissza Magyarországra?

Lejárt a szerződés	5	4	3	2	1
Nem volt más ajánlat	5	4	3	2	1
A külföldi játékosok viselkedése miatt	5	4	3	2	1
Kultúrális eltérések miatt	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

36. Hogyan befolyásolja a labdarúgók vándorlása a magyar labdarúgást és a válogatott teljesítményét?

Növeli a futball minőségét	5	4	3	2	1
Csökkenti a futball minőségét	5	4	3	2	1
Növeli a válogatott nemzetközi elismerését	5	4	3	2	1
Növeli a futball klubbok nemzetközi elismerését	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

37. Volt-e lehetősége a külföldön szerzett tapasztalatainak hazai hasznosítására?

Igen, volt lehetőségem a tapasztalataim hasznosítására	5	4	3	2	1

38. Hogyan válltozott a nemzeti érzése és a kultúrális azonosulása (identitása) Magyarország iránt? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

Erősödött Gyöngült Nem válltozott

39. Mi jelentette az „Otthon"-t?

Magyarország	5	4	3	2	1
A külföldi ország	5	4	3	2	1
Nem éreztem otthon magam sehol	5	4	3	2	1

40. Mondaná-e hogy Ön csapatának és külföldi lakóközösségének egy szerves része volt?

Én úgy éreztem, hogy a csapatomhoz és a lakóközösséghez tartoztam	5	4	3	2	1

41. Megtalálta-e a számítását külföldön és a külföldi futballban?

Én elégedett voltam a külföldi tapasztalatokkal és a külföldi futballal	5	4	3	2	1

III. Kapcsolat a külföldi játékosokkal

42. Mit gondol a külföldi játékosok jelenlétéről a magyar futballban? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

Nagyon jó Jó Rossz Nagyon rossz Nem jelentős

43. Tapasztalt már kommunikációs nehézséget a külföldi játékosokkal? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

Mindig Gyakran Néha Ritkán Soha

44. Próbálja a külföldi játékosok szükségleteit figyelemben tartani?

Próbálok segíteni amennyit tudok	5	4	3	2	1
Nem igazán törödöm velük	5	4	3	2	1
A külföldi játékosok nem igényelnek külön elbánást	5	4	3	2	1

45. Hogyan hat a külföldi játékosok bevándorlása a magyar futballra és a válogatottra? (Kérem karikázza be a megfelelő választ)

	Nagyon jó	Jó	Rossz	Nagyon rossz	Nem jelentős

46. Mondaná-e hogy a magyar labdarúgók kultúrálisan eltérnek a külföldiektől?

A magyar labdarúgók agresszívabbak	5	4	3	2	1
A magyar labdarúgók többet taktikáznak	5	4	3	2	1
A magyar labdarúgók többet edzenek	5	4	3	2	1
A magyar labdarúgók kevésbé agresszívek	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldi játékosok többet edzenek	5	4	3	2	1
Külföldi játékosok többet taktikáznak	5	4	3	2	1

IV. Magyar labdarúgás

47. Az Ön véleménye szerint van-e valami probléma a magyar futballal?

Igen ☐ Nem ☐ Ha a válasz **nem**, kérem folytassa az **50-es** kérdéssel.

Az Ön véleménye szerint mi jelenti a legnagyobb problémát?

.....

.....

48. Mit gondol mi szükséges a változás eléréséhez?

Több pénz	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb létesítmények	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb vezetőség	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb edzők	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb/több szurkoló	5	4	3	2	1
Jobb utánpótlás	5	4	3	2	1
Több külföldi játékos	5	4	3	2	1

Más (Kérem részletezze).....

.....

49. Gondolja hogy a labdarúgók nemzetközi vándorlása segíthet a magyar futballon?

A külföldi játékosok jelenléte jó a magyar futballnak	5	4	3	2	1
A külföldi játékosok csökkentik a hazai futballisták játék lehetőségeit	5	4	3	2	1
A külföldi játékosok jelenléte csökkenti az utánpótlás szükségességét	5	4	3	2	1

50. Magyarország Európai Uniós csatlakozása fokozni fogja a magyar labdarúgók vándorlását?

Több magyar labdarúgó fog külföldön játszani	5	4	3	2	1
Semmi nem fog változni	5	4	3	2	1

51. Ismeri a kivándorlási törvényt amely akkor lép életbe mikor Magyarország hivatalosan csatlakozik az Európai Unióhoz?

Igen, ismerem az Európai Uniós törvényt	5	4	3	2	1

Amennyiben további hozzáfűznivalója van a témához vagy a kérdőívhez, kérem az alábbi vonalakra írja le!

.....

.....

Köszönöm az idejét és segítségét!! Sok sikert kívánok a jövőjéhez!!

Appendix 13. Interview Questions Schedule

Hungarian Officials

1. Foreign Matters

- What do you think of the presence of foreign players in Hungarian football?
- Why do you think foreign players come to Hungary to play football?
- Do foreign players provide better quality for the same or less money?
- Have you experienced communication difficulties with foreign players?
- Do you try to accommodate the needs of foreign players?
- Do foreign players have cultural, and adjustment difficulties? How do you cope with them?
- How has the immigration of footballers affected Hungary's football and national team?
- Would you say that Hungarian football and footballers are more civilised than the players coming from foreign countries?

2. Domestic Matters

- Why do Hungarian clubs recruit foreign players?
- What do Hungarian players think about foreign ones?
- What are the main concerns of Hungarian soccer players regarding playing abroad?
- Have any of the Hungarian players or coaches asked for consultation regarding problems with foreign players?
- Have any of the foreign players asked for consultation regarding xenophobia or maltreatment?
- Have you ever received any positive or negative feedback from the fans regarding the presence of foreign players in Hungarian football?
- Do you encourage Hungarian players to go abroad and improve their skills there?
-Why do you think Hungarian players migrate to foreign countries?
- Why do you think foreign players migrate to Hungary?
- Does the presence of foreign players influence Hungarian player development?
- Does the presence of foreign players reduce the employment opportunities of Hungarian players?

3. EU Accession

- Do you think that Hungary's joining the EU will stimulate the migration of Hungarian footballers? If so, in what ways?
- Is there any difference regarding sport labour migration between capitol and rural teams?
- Will the EU membership of Hungary change the current pattern regarding the migration of Hungarian soccer players?

4. Hungarian Football

- Do you think there is any problem with Hungarian football? If so, what?
- What do you think needs to be done to achieve change?
- What would you personally do?
- Do you think migration of Hungarian footballers could help Hungarian football?
- Were you involved in football during communism?
- Could you describe some of the differences and similarities between these to eras in terms of football?

Appendix 14. Interview Questions Schedule in Hungarian

Magyar futball vezetoseg

1. Kulfoldi ugyek

- Mit gondol a kulfoldi labdarugok jelenleterol a magyar labdarugasban?
- Mit gondol miert jonnek a kulfoldi labdarugok magyarorszagra?
- Lehet-e mondani hogy a kulfoldi labdarugok jobb teljesitmenyt nyujtanak kevesebb penzert?
- Tapasztalt mar kommunikacios nehezseget a kuloldi jatekosokkal?
- Problaja figyelmebe venni a kulfoldi jatekosok szuksegeleteit?
- A kulfoldi jatekosok gyakran szmbesulnek kulturalis es alkalmazkodasi nehezsegekkel? Hogyan kezeli oket?
- Befolyasolja-e magyart futballt es a valogatott teljesitmenyet a kulfoldi labdarugok bearamlasa?
- Mondana hogy a Magyar labdarugok kulturalisan elternek a kulfoldiektol?

2. Hazai ugyek

- A magyar klubbok miert toboroznak kulfoldi jatekosokat?
- Mit gondolnak a magyar focistak a kulfoldi jatekosok jelenleterol?
- Mi a fo problemajuk a kulfoldi focistakat illetoen?
- Megkerestek-e mar Ont magyar jatekosok vagy edzok a kulfoldi jatekosokkal adodo problemaik miatt?
- Megkeresetek-e mar Ont kulfoldi jatekosok rossz banasmod ill. Idegengyulolet miatt?
- Kapott-e mar negative vagy pozitive visszajelzest a szurkoloktol a kulfoldi jatekosokat illetoen?
- Tamogatja a magyar jatekosok kulfoldre vandorlasat?
- A kulfoldi jatekosok jelenlete befolyasolja a magyar utanpotlas fejlodeset?
- A kulfoldi jatekosok csokkentik a magyar jatekosok munkavallalasi lehetosegit Magyarorszagon?

3. EU csatlakozas

- Gondolja hogy az EU csatlakozas osztonozni fogja a magyar jatekosok kivandorlasat? Ha igen, miert?
- Van valami kulonbseg a videki es fovarosi labdarugok kozott a kivandorlast illetoen?
- Az EU tagsag megfogja valtoztatni a jelenlegi kivandorlasi szokasokat? Hogyan?

4. Magyar labdarugas

- Gondolja hogy van valami problema a magyar labdarugassal? Mi?
- Mit gondol mit kellene csinalni hogy valtozast erjunk el?
- On szemelyesen mit tenne?
- Gondolja hogy a magyar labdarugok kivandorlasa esetleg segithet?

Appendix 15. Interview Questions Schedule

Foreign Football Players in Hungary

1. Motivational objectives
- Why did you decide to work abroad as a professional player?
- Why did you choose Hungary and your club?
- How much information did you receive regarding your transfer?

2. Employment conditions
- How organised was your move to Hungary including contract negotiations?
- Do you feel in control of your own life?
- How confident are you in your employment position?

3. Personal and professional adjustments
- In what ways has your personal life changed and why?
- What constitutes 'home'?
- In what ways has your professional life changed and why?
- What kind of support and advice has been provided to help with change and who provided it?

4. Reception and impact in Hungary
- Why are your employers motivated to recruit foreign players and what specific expectations do they have of you?
- What has been your reception inside Hungarian football?
- What has been your reception in Hungary outside of the football context?
- What do you think of the impact of the foreign players in Hungarian football?
- Why do you think Hungarian clubs recruit foreign players?
- What are the main differences between the foreign and Hungarian players?
- Have you developed links with other foreign players in Hungary?

5. Attitudes of donor country
- What kind of attitudes and expectations exist in your home country regarding you playing in Hungary?
- Is there much media coverage of your achievements in Hungary?
- Are you popular at home?
- How has the out-migration of footballers affected your home country's football and national team?
- Will you be able to use your Hungarian experience back home?

6. National and cultural identity
- How has your sense of national and cultural identity been affected?
- Do you identify yourself with your Hungarian club and locality?
- Would you say that Hungarian football and footballers are more civilised than the players in your home country?

7. The realisation of objectives
- To what degree have your objectives and expectations of your move been met?
- What are your future plans?
- Would you consider becoming a foreign player in another country and why?
- What would be your main message for anyone who would be considering moving to Hungary to play football?

Appendix 16. Interview Questions Schedule in Hungarian

Külföldi jatekosok

1. Motivacios kerdesek
- Miert dontott ugy, hogy kulfoldre szerzodik?
- Miert valasztotta Magyarorszagot es a jelenlegi klubjat?
- Menny informaciot kapott az atigazolasarol?

2. Munkavallaloi feltetelek
- Mennyire volt szervezett a Magyarorszagra koltozese es a szerzodesi targyalasok?
- Ugy erzi, hogy ura a sajat eletenek?
- Mennyire biztos a mostani poziciojaban?

3. Szemelyes es szakmai valltozasok
- Milyen modon valtozott meg a maganelete itt Magyarorszagon es miert?
- Mi jelenti az Otthont?
- Milyen modon valtozott meg a szakmai elete itt Magyarorszagon es miert?
- Milyen fajta segitseget es tamogatast kapott ahhoz, hogy a jelen korulmenyeihez hozzaszokjon es ki szolgaltatta?

4. Befogadas es magyar hatas
- A munkaltatoi miert toboroznak kulfoldi jatekosokat es milyen elvarasaik vannak Onnel szemben?
- Hogyan fogadtak a magyar labdarugasban?
- Hogyan fogadtak a kozeletben?
- Mit gondol miert toboroznak a magyar klubbok kulfoldi jatekosokat?
- Melyek a legjellmezobb kulonbsegek a magyar es a kulfoldi jatekosok kozott?
- Kiepitett kapcsolatot mas kulfoldi jatekosokkal amiota Magyarorszagon van?

5. A donor orszag attitudjei
- Mit gondolnak az emberek a hazadban arrol, hogy Magyarorszagon jatszol?
- Az On football sikerei kapnak megfelelo media kozvetitiest?
- Nepszeru a hazajaban?
- A hazajabol kiaramlo labdarugok hogyan befojasoltak az orszaga labdarugasat?
- Lesz alkalma a Magyarorszagon szerzett tapasztalatait otthon kamatoztatni?

6. Nemzeti identitas
- Amiota Magyarorszagon van valtozott a nemzeti es kulturalis identitasa?
- Azonositja magat a jelenlegi kulbjaval es Magyarorszaggal?
- Mondana hogy a Magyar labdarugok kulturalisan elternek a kulfoldiektol?

7. Targyilagossagi eszrevetelek
- Az atigazolasahoz fuzott remenyei milyen mertekben elegultek ki?
- Milyen tervei vannak a jovore nezve?
- Tovabbkoltozne egy masik kulfoldi orszagba? Miert?
- Mi lenne a fo uzenete azoknak a labdarugoknak akik Magyarorszagra szandekoznak jonni jatszani?

Appendix 17. Interview Questions Schedule

Hungarian Football Players in Hungary with Foreign Experience

1. Motivational objectives
- Why did you decide to work abroad as a professional player?
- Why did you choose your host country and club?
- How much information did you receive regarding your transfer?

2. Employment conditions
- Why did you come back to Hungary?
- How organised was your move to that country including contract negotiations?
- Did you feel in control of your own life?
- How confident were you in your employment position?

3. Personal and professional adjustments
- In what ways did your personal life change and why?
- What constituted 'home'?
- In what ways did your professional life change and why?
- What kind of support and advice was provided to help with change?

4. Reception and impact in the host country
- Why were your employers motivated to recruit foreign players and what specific expectations did they have of you?
- What was your reception inside the host country's football?
- What was your reception in the host country outside of the football context?
- What were the main differences between the foreign players and you?
- Did you develop links with other Hungarian players in the host country?

5. Attitudes in donor country
- What kind of attitudes and expectations existed in Hungary regarding you playing abroad?
- Was there much media coverage of your achievements in the host country?
- Were you popular in the host country?
- How has the out-migration of footballers affected Hungary's football and national team?
- Have you been able to use your foreign experience in Hungary?

6. National and cultural identity
- How has your sense of national and cultural identity been affected?
- Did you identify yourself with your foreign club and locality?
- Would you say that Hungarian football and footballer are more civilised than the players in your host country?

7. The realisation of objectiveness and future plans
- To what degree were your objectives and expectations of your move met?
- What are your future plans?
- Would you consider playing aboard again?
- Do you think that Hungary's joining the EU will stimulate the migration of Hungarian footballers?
- Are you familiar with the new migration related regulations that will have to be taken into consideration as soon as Hungary joins the EU?
- What would be your main message for anyone who would be considering moving to another country to play football?

8. Interaction with foreign players in Hungary
- What do you think of the presence of foreign players in Hungarian football?
- Have you experienced communication difficulties with foreign players?
- Do you try to accommodate the needs of foreign players?
- How has the immigration of footballers affected Hungary's football and national team?
- Do you think that Hungarian footballers are culturally different from the players coming from foreign countries?
- Do you prefer foreign players coming from a certain country to other foreign players? If so, why?

Appendix 18. Interview Questions Schedule in Hungarian

Magyar jatekosok kulfoldi tapasztalattal

1. Motivacios kerdesek
- Miert dontott ugy, hogy kulfoldre szerzodik?
- Miert valasztotta a kulfoldi orszagot es a klubjat?
- Menny informaciot kapott az atigazolasarol?

2. Munkavallaloi feltetelek
- Miert jott vissza Magyarorszagra?
- Mennyire volt szervezett a kulfoldre koltozese es a szerzodesi targyalasok?
- Ugy erzte, hogy ura a sajat eletenek?
- Mennyire volt biztos a poziciojaban?

3. Szemelyes es szakmai valltozasok
- Milyen modon valtozott meg a maganelete kulfoldon es miert?
- Mi jelentette az Otthont?
- Milyen modon valtozott meg a szakmai elete kulfoldon es miert?
- Milyen fajta segitseget es tamogatast kapott ahhoz, hogy a kulfoldi korulmenyekhez hozzaszokjon es ki szolgaltatta?

4. Befogadas es kulfoldi hatas
- A munkaltatoi miert toboroznak kulfoldi jatekosokat es milyen elvarasaik voltak Onnel szemben?
- Hogyan fogadtak a kulfoldi labdarugasban?
- Hogyan fogadtak a kozeletben?
- Melyek voltak a legjellmezobb kulonbsegek On es a kulfoldi jatekosok kozott?
- Kiepitett kapcsolatot mas magyar jatekosokkal amig kulfoldon tartozkodott?

5. Magyarorszag attitudjei
- Mit gondolt a magyar kozvelemeny arrol, hogy On kulfoldon jatszott?
- Az On football sikerei kaptak megfelelo media kozvetitiest?
- Nepszeru volt kulfoldon?
- A Magyarorszagrol kiaramlo magyar labdarugok hogyan befojasoltak az orszag labdarugasat?
- Volt mar alkalma hasznalni a kulfoldon szerzett tapasztalatait?

6. Nemzeti es kulturalis identitas
- Hogyan valtozott a nemzeti es kulturalis identitasa amig kulfoldon volt?
- Azonositotta magat kulfoldi klubbjaval es lakokozossegevel?
- Mondana hogy a Magyar labdarugok kulturalisan elternek a kulfoldiektol?

7. Interakcio a kulfoldi jatekosokkal
- Mit gondol a kulfoldi jatekosok jelenleterol a magyar futballban?
- Tapasztalt mar kommunikacios nehezseget a kuloldi jatekosokkal?
- Problaja figyelmebe venni a kulfoldi jatekosok szuksegeleteit?
- Elonyben reszesiti a kulfoldi jatekosokat egy bizonyos orszagbol a tobbi kulfoldihez kepest? Ha igen, miert?

8. Targyilagossagi eszrevetelek and jovo tervek
- Az atigazolasahoz fuzott remenyei milyen mertekben elegultek ki?
- Milyen tervei vannak a jovore nezve?
- Ujra elfogadna egy labdarugoi allast kulfoldon?
- Ismeri az Europai Unio kivandorlasi torvenyet ami Magyarorszag csatlakozas utan lep ervenybe?
- Gondolja, hogy az uj torvenyek valtozast eredmenyezenek a magyar labdarugok kivandorlasaban?
- Mi lenne a fo uzenete azon magyar labdarugok szamara, akik kulfoldre szandekoznak menni?

Appendix 19. Sample Transcript

I: Why did you decide to play abroad?
ST: First of all...Everybody says something different, but economic situation is one of the most important things. Second, when I saw the city and the supporters. Now I feel some moral obligation to play because these people love me and I love these people. But, first of all, this is a nicer situation and it is normal in sport that you go wherever it is better for you.
I: You mentioned 'moral obligation' and my question is: Do you feel that you are a part of this team?
ST: Yes, in every way. First two months was difficult because I did not understand the Magyar language and spoke only English but some people, especially players form the club, were helping me and when I started to play, my performance was good and I immediately became a part of the team. Normal player, like everybody else. I do not see any kind of discrimination.
I: Who did really help you?
ST: First of all, the players. Second of all, the coach. He also speaks very good English. But I am not mentioning some people from the club who work in the management. They are also nice people and I appreciate their helping me!
I: Why did you choose Hungary?
ST: I will be honest with you. I had invitations from Switzerland, Austria and Malta. These were serious jobs. But I should have waited. I lost my patience and when the Debrecen called me, it was immediate. I had to go there in 2 days and hat to perform the best I could do. Ok...and I took it because it was immediate. For example, for Malta I should have waited for 1 more week and 2 more weeks for Austria. This is the main reason. They were fast and I am very happy about it now.
I: How much information did you receive regarding your transfer?
ST: My transfer was clear. My contract was over in Croatia so I could come here as a free player by the Bosman regulation. My transfer was clear. [interview was interrupted for a couple minutes by the waiter]
I: How organised was your move to Hungary and your contract negotiations?
ST: I went to the training camp for 2 days and people thought that it was satisfactory what I showed and we started to negotiate. They offered me what they thought they could offer me and I took it because at that time it was good for me. The only difficult problem was the reaction of my family because it is a new country, new language, new things and my son has to go to school. It was a bit difficult for him. The first 2-3 months was difficult but I think that now we are very happy.
I: How about your move for Croatia? I guess you brought along a lot of things.
ST: No. We brought only our computer and personal things.
I: Did you have a house waiting for you?
ST: Yes, the club found me an apartment near the stadium. They did everything. They organised the school. They told the school that a foreign student would be coming to the first grade. They also did a good job and helped me a lot.
I: Do you feel in control of your life in Hungary?
ST: I control my life around my family. Without my family it is difficult. But when my family is here I have a normal life like I had in Croatia. The most important thing is my family around me and I know that everything will be ok.
I: How certain are you about your present position at this team?
ST: I had a good last year. This year is very good but I know that I can do better. I think that I play very good but the most important thing is how the team plays. If the team plays good I play good. If the team play bad I may play bad. This is not only about the person. But I think that after Ferencvaros' defeat we will go up.
I: How has your personal life changed since you moved to Hungary?
ST: Not too much. I basically have the same life I had in Croatia because I also have my family here. But what has changed is stress. In Croatia and in Ukraine you play and you

practice but you do not get your money for that. Here it is different in Hungary. What you have in your contract you get it. It is more peaceful here. In Croatia my salary could be 5-6 months late and it could be a problem when you could not pay your bills.
I: So your personal life is more balanced in Hungary?
ST: Yes, I think it is.
I: So you can focus on football?
ST: Yes, only on football! My wife is pregnant and she focuses on the son and the school and she takes care of a lot of things and so I can focus on football and my performance on the field. In Croatia it was not the case. There was a problem with finances and I became stressed.
I: What does constitute home for you?
ST: My home is in Croatia. It is normal. Because I did not expect form Debrecen what I am getting now. I did not know anything about Debrecen. But I can see now that I can live here. I feel very good here. I feel all right. But normally my home is in Croatia.
[his wife interrupts the conversation and says that to her it was not the hardest move to move to Hungary. When they moved to another city within Croatia and lost the support of their parents and they were alone they had a very hard year however they were in Croatia. Now it is only the foreign language, otherwise she feels home.]
ST: [husband joins in] Now we have a lot more experience and feel more secure.
I: So you did not have to go through a lot of cultural change when you moved to Hungary?
ST: No. Croatia is close to Hungary and so the life is similar. There is not much difference between two lives.
I: How has your professional life changed since you moved to Hungary?
ST: For the better. Because, finally I have the team that can make something good. Also the supporters. At every match we have 5-6000 supporters, which, considering that this is Hungary is really good. In Croatia it was not the case. But I feel peaceful and I think about only football and nothing else.
I: And how is it in Croatia in terms of the fans?
ST: Between Hajduk and Dinamo Zagreb, this is the big derby. This is two towns who hate each other like Debrecen and Ferencvaros, Debrecen – Budapest. But, for example, one time you have 50-60 thousand people and in another match you have 1 thousand people. Only when Hajduk plays Dinamo. That is a full house.
I: Do you have better facilities in Croatia?
ST: I think it is the same. The team was in Varadin and everybody was surprised that the field was good and stadium was good. I think it is the same level. It is the same infrastructure. It is not like Western Europe. It is the same level as Hungary.
I: Why do you think Hungarian teams recruit foreign players?
ST: I do not know. First when I cam here I noticed that Hungarian players think that they are big stars and they ask for lots of money, and for some clubs it was cheaper to bring players form former Yugoslavia than give some more money to Hungarian players. But now I think it is not true. I can see the situation now and I think it is not true. Every team has 20 players and every team wants to have 20 quality players. There is not enough players in countries, especially in Hungary. You cannot afford 20 quality players in every team. It is a professional first division team. It is 240 players what you must have, but it is hard to find. Therefore, they turn to the Eastern market, former Yugoslavia, Serbia, Croatia, Romania, Slovakia and maybe Czech. Hungarian football will be great when they can buy players form Western countries such as Holland, Belgium and then we can talk about progress of Hungarian football. I say that everybody must show himself. When a foreign player goes to a foreign country, for example I, I told myself: 'Ok Sandro. You must be 50% better than any other goalkeepers and this way you will survive.' First of all, it is a different mentality. Second, when you are in this position you must be better if you want to play. If you are at the same level with the Hungarian players you should not be here.
I: So you are saying that the only way to survive is...
ST: In every country in Europe it is the only way. No one invites you or buys you because you are a nice guy or because you have nice eyes. The only thing which matters is your

performance on the field. If you are at the same level with the domestic players you will not play, if you are better you will play.
I: What does this team expect from you?
ST: Debrecen expects from me that to save everything I came to save for. I think that people in the club and my team mates support me. They trust me. For me the most important thing is that they know that when they make mistakes I will save them. This is the most important to me. There are matches when I save the team and there are matches when the team saves me. This is the normal team work.
I: How were you received in the Hungarian football by players and fans?
ST: I must tell you this. When I started playing nobody knew me. Everyone was asking: 'Who is this Sandro Tomic?' And After 2-3 games we played home and the fans brought a Croatian flag and a great transparent. Did you see how big the tribune was?
I: Yes, I did.
ST: On this tribune there was only one big transparent in Croatian language and it said: 'Finally we have a goalkeeper!' I know that Debrecen always had problems with goalkeepers. I know that this is a good team but the goalkeepers always made mistakes and they have not had a good result for a long time. I do not know what it is! Maybe it is luck but when I started playing we did not lose 17 matches in a row. I must say that here in Debrecen, without being too confident, that people love me and I reward them with good performance.
I: So the fans made you that big transparent in Croatian?
ST: Yes. I do not know who helped them but when I arrived to the field the transparent was already on the tribune. I think we played against Bekescsaba. My goalkeeper coach asked me about the meaning of that transparent. I told him. The second goalkeeper also asked me about the meaning and I told him: 'It is better not to tell you!' I have very good relationships with everyone. I want to be friendly with everyone. It is difficult. I am a good man, a good person. If someone do some harm to me I do not want to take revenge. Sometimes I say something stupid, but in general no... I like to think about my career here as I did in Croatia. Here and Croatia is the same. I am this kind of man. This is my opinion.
I: How about outside of football? In your private life?
ST: In private life I have lots of Hungarian friend who are not in football. They are supporters, but we meet once or twice a week in some kind of restaurant or cafeteria and we talk. We have 2-3 persons who really help us. My son has friends in the school who come to our house and our son goes to their house. I think we have a solid life.
I: How about your neighbours? Do you have any problem?
ST: No... No. Yes. There was one problem but I think I have cleared it. When we wanted to install a satellite dish one of the neighbours said that I could not put it there. I told him that I was going to keep it there only for one year and then he said ok. That is the only problem I had. But generally we are ok.
I: You have not experienced anything negative regarding your nationality?
ST: No. Hungarian people seem to like Croatians. They do not like Serbs but like Croatians. I do not know why. Maybe because some part of Croatia used to belong to Hungary, and also Croatia has a strong nationalism like Hungary. Hungarians are some kind of nationalistic people. I appreciate this. Also in Croatia we have lots of people who love Croatia and who would die for it. It can be but may not be the reason. Maybe fans also know that Serbia attacked Croatia and Croatia fought against Serbia during the war. This might be it. I do not know.
I: How could you describe the main differences between you and the Hungarian players?
ST: I hate to lose even when it is only training. I hate to lose. But when I lose I congratulate you because you were better. I think to go forward. I look at the past how I did in the past, but it is not the way how it should be. What important is what is going to happen! You must think about what will happen! I think Hungarian people... when things are good then things are very good. When things are bad then things are very bad. There is this big difference between good and bad. There is no middle. I try to stay in the middle. When we win I show my emotions but when we lose I do not. Why should someone form the other team see how I feel after the match?! I think this is the main difference. My mentality is different. In Croatia we

like to say that we derive form 'the stone'. I had everything in my childhood but we were not rich, and the poorness made us to do something further. Do you understand?
I: Yes, I do. So what you describe as the main difference between you and the Hungarian players is mentality?
ST: Yes, but I must clarify myself because our coach is good and the team is good. He is trying to do some German-style football because Hungarian people are working people. He wants to change the style. He does not care about what happened in the past he looks into the future. I like here in Debrecen because I think that the team is on the right track. Because when we lose a match we can take it. And this is the most important thing in sport that when you lose you can take it. And this is mentality! Players often tell me: 'Man a couple months ago we always lost. It was 2-3 or 1-0 but always lost. Now it is different.' This is good thinking. There is a change.
I: I think I know what you mean because I watched the match yesterday and after 2 or 3 goals you guys did not stop.
ST: No, we did not! This is the coach! I have heard it lots of times when it was 1-0: 'Come on! Close yourselves!!' Not here. We go to get another goal. Here in Debrecen there are lots of players who have played outside Hungary. I came form a foreign country, so did Habi, Sandor Tamas, Dombi Tibor, Szekeres, Kis Zoli etc... We have 8-9 experienced players who have played aboard or have come form abroad. They represent another way of thinking.
I: What do the Croatian people think about you playing in Hungary?
ST: Not so much. Nothing special. I played for Zagreb for 6 years. They know me form there. When you leave Croatia for an attractive country that is ok, but when you go to Poland, Romania or Hungary that is not so attractive. But what is good now we play against a Croatian team in UEFA and Zagreb plays against MTK. Because of this everyone, all the journalists in Croatia call me and want me to tell them information about this and that. So, now I am all over the news. But generally I am not. My family is happy that I found a club and that I have a place where I can play normally and I do not care what other people think about it.
I: Do the Hungarian media pay enough attention to your performance?
ST: Look! I am really the man, cross my heart, who likes to be in the media and also likes to read about himself but not too much. I do not like to show myself. But I get pissed off when I play good and I get bad evaluation and the Hungarian goalkeeper get good evaluation regardless of his worse performance. This is the only thing. But generally I am satisfied.
I: Were you popular in Croatia?
ST: Yes, I was. I was the member of the national team in '97-98. People know who I am but I am not a big name. People know who I am but nothing is easier for me. I still have to wait in line in McDonald's.
I: How do the migrant footballers influence Croatian football?
ST: Every national association wants to have a good championship and lots of players go abroad, which is not good for the national championship. Now this trading is going on in the world. Young players go however you can barely see their talent. They go because of economic conditions and they think that abroad they can arrange a better life for their families. So, for Croatian football it was not good because it weakened the quality of football. Like here in Hungary. If someone is good he will go. When they come back to play here for 1-2 more years they are usually close to finish their careers, and that is not good for the football because those players are not that strong.
I: If you went back to Croatia would you have a chance to use your Hungarian experiences?
ST: Yes. Normally. Because I learn different things, for example, a different kind of language and everyday is a different language for me. So if I went back I could tell them that when I played in Hungary it was like this and that. If I stayed in Croatia, what could I have said? Even if you play for different teams in Croatia, that is still the same level.
I: Do you think that they would listen to you?
ST: I think they would but I do not know who, because I do not know who cares.
I: Sometimes Hungarian players complain about not having a chance to introduce their foreign experiences.

ST: You must have a good presentation. You have to speak well. If you do not have these nobody will listen to you. But if someone is interested in Croatia about Hungarian football and life style I will tell them. I will tell them without any problem what I have learned, seen and experienced. There is this journalist who calls me all the time. He knows the Hungarian situation very well and he calls me and he is interested and his wife is Hungarian. He asks my opinion about many things. But in general in Croatia people are not interested in anything but how to earn money.
I: I guess it is a bit same everywhere in this regard. How has your sense of national and cultural identity been affected?
ST: Non. I feel a part of the team and that I represent Hungarian not Croatian football but in Hungary I represent Croatia. When people look at me they see a good Croatian footballer.
I: To what degree have your objectives and expectations of your move been met?
ST: To be honest...No. When I was in the national team my expectations were bigger. I had offers from Germany, but I do not know why did not work out. But now I am very happy and very satisfied. But I must say that earlier I had bigger hopes. When I was younger. It is normal. Everyone wants to play in an attractive country where football is a holiday. When people come to see you and drink Coca-Cola and they enjoy those 90 minutes and the live for those 90 minutes. Wow!!
I: And you have not seen this in Hungary?
ST: Only in Debrecen.
I: Is this a special city?
ST: Debrecen is the most sport loving city in Hungary, especially football. I see it and I am very happy about it. People are very happy when we play good and win. Also they are tolerant to losing.
I: So you feel comfortable in Debrecen?
ST: Very!! No problems at all!
I: Do you have any future plans?
ST: I have contract till next summer. Maybe I stay here in Debrecen, maybe I will go somewhere else. You never know!
I: What would you like to do?
ST: My dream is to go and play in England. But for me it is impossible because I am not in the national team anymore. When I was younger I thought I would go to England because to me the English style is the best.
I: Have you ever thought about getting a Hungarian citizenship?
ST: No. I do not think about it. Because in order to do this I must stay in Hungary for at least 5 years. So... I do not know. If somebody offered it to me I would take it. But I do not think that it would happen.
I: What would be your main message for anyone who would be considering moving to Hungary to play football?
ST: My main message is this: You must respect Hungarian football and Hungarian people. You will come to a good country with good people and good players. If you are arrogant you will fail, but if you are normal you will succeed. This is my message and I think it says everything.
I: So be modest and work hard?
ST: Yes. This is the way to enter everywhere.
I: If there is anything you would like to add to this interview or there is something I have not asked you and you think it is important to talk about please do not hesitate to tell me!
ST: I think I have told you about everything. I have told you about myself, my family, the team and the football.
I: Then thank you very much for the interview!

Appendix 20. Interview dates and locations

	Interviewees	Nationality	Duration	Date	Location
1	Hungarian FA Media Representative (1)	Hungarian	0h48m42s	15/09/03	Hungary, Budapest, Hungarian FA
2	Hungarian FA Media Representative (2)	Hungarian	0h46m21s	18/09/03	Hungary, Budapest, Hungarian FA
3	Hungarian FA President	Hungarian	0h39m19s	18/09/03	Hungary, Budapest, Hungarian FA
4	Hungarian FA General Secretary	Hungarian	1h14m39s	18/09/03	Hungary, Budapest, Hungarian FA
5	Eex-footballer/coach, Member of the Team of 'Magic Magyars'	Hungarian	1h50m40s	20/09/03	Hungary, Dorog, Interviewee's Home
6	Club FTC Media Representative	Hungarian	0h48m13s	22/09/03	Hungary, Budapest, FTC Ground
7	Club FTC Head Coach	Hungarian	0h29m03s	26/09/03	Hungary, Budapest, FTC Ground
8	Club Sopron Manager	Hungarian	0h41m32s	27/09/03	Hungary, Szombathely, Football Ground
9	Club Sopron Head Coach	Hungarian	0h19m23s	28/09/03	Hungary, Sopron, Manager's Office
10	Club Sopron Player (1)	Hungarian	1h05m36s	28/09/03	Hungary, Sopron, Manager's Office
11	Club Sopron Player (2)	Hungarian	0h34m27s	28/09/03	Hungary, Sopron, Manager's Office
12	Club FTC Playe[r (1)	Foreign	0h48m26s	01/10/03	Hungary, Budapest, FTC Ground
13	Club FTC Player (2)	Foreign	0h38m26s	01/10/03	Hungary, Budapest, FTC Ground
14	Club FTC Manager	Hungarian	0h44m31s	02/10/03	Hungary, Budapest, FTC Ground
15	Club FTC Player (3)	Hungarian	0h36m41s	02/10/03	Hungary, Budapest, FTC Ground
16	Club DVSC Player (1)	Hungarian	1h10m37s	05/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, A Restaurant
17	Club DVSC Manager	Hungarian	0h43m33s	06/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, Honda Dealership
18	Club DVSC Player (2)	Foreign	0h40m07s	06/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, A Restaurant
19	Club DVSC Player (3)	Hungarian	0h55m04s	07/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, A Restaurant
20	Club DVSC Player (4)	Hungarian	0h55m04s	07/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, Football Ground
21	Club DVSC Player (5)	Hungarian	0h54m07s	08/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, Sport Hotel
22	Club DVSC Player (6)	Foreign	0h21m09s	08/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, A Restaurant
23	Club DVSC Head Coach	Hungarian	0h40m37s	09/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, Sport Hotel
24	Club DVSC Player (7)	Hungarian	0h40m10s	09/10/03	Hungary, Debrecen, A Restaurant
25	Club Hertha Players (1-2)	Hungarian	0h54m08s	10/10/03	Hungary, Budapest, Margit Island
26	Club Videoton Ex-Executive / Ex-Agent	Hungarian	1h24m14s	13/06/04	Hungary, Siofok, A Friend's Flat

Appendix 21. Sample Interview Coding Sheet

Hungarian Officials			
Foreign Matters			
Presence of foreign players	Why moving to Hungary	Foreigners provide better quality	Communication difficulties
Igazsag szerint egy szuksegszeru dolognak tartom...Nem hiszem, hogy nagy oromot kelt a dolog 1-1p a magyar jatekosok is jatszhatnanak a magyar bajnoksagban, de mivel, hogy keves a magyar utanpotlaslabdarugo, ezert tartom szuksegszerunek. Es, amennyiben plusz szint hoznak a magyar labdarugasba, mert azert erre is van pelda, akkor pedig oromteli 1-1p	Ok profi labdarugok. Vegul is, nyilvan azt az...azt a...ajanlatot fogadjak el, ahol a legjobb korulmenyek kozott, a legtobb penzt kereshetik. 1-1p	Azt nem gondolom, hogy jobb teljesitmenyt nyujtanak, mint a magyarok 1-2p	Tehat ugye van egy ilyen specialis dolog is, es ezt az elobb kihagytam, hogy kulfoldi allampolgar, de Magyar. Tehat akik hataron tuliak. Tudnek ilyen jatekosokat sorolni, akik.. monduk a Szabo Tibor vagy a...vagy a... Szkukalek Igor, akinek a nevebol nem hallatszik, de abszolut magyar anyanyelvuek. Na most az O helyzetuk nyilvan teljesen mas, peldaul a Pinte Attila, aki Szlovak valogatott igaz, dehat a nevebol is hangzik, meg Mi tudjuk is, hogy magyar. Tehat az O helyzetuk egeszen mas, mint egy olyan romane aki nem tud egy szot sem magyarul. 1-4p