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The Ambivalence of the Phenomenon: Cheering for Local Football Clubs among Male Youth

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THE AMBIVALENCE OF THE PHENOMENON: CHEERING FOR LOCAL FOOTBALL CLUBS AMONG MALE YOUTH

“Socialization is decency.
The most subtle social relations require
forms that realize them – they protect the appearances
which cover any ambiguity with the robe of honesty
and specify their worldliness.
Everything that is not a part of the form,
loses the right to exist in the world.”

Emmanuel Levinas¹

1. Introduction

Modern culture is like a set of boxes put one into another, which have to be opened numerous times to get access to what is inside, or like a collection of blocks that can be freely arranged. As a result, a social researcher that deals with the phenomena of today must refer to the ideas that have existed in culture for centuries, forgotten and brought back in history, as well as can he freely arrange them in agreement with the spirit of culturological constructivism to analyze them thoroughly. I faced a similar situation when I became interested in the phenomenon of cheering for local football clubs among the youth of vocational schools in Gdynia, and I intuitively reached for the works of Carl Gustav Jung, a psychologist, and a freethinker distant it would seem to modern pedagogical problems, both for the reason of time, since he lived and worked in the years 1875–1961, and of lack of direct interest in his teachings². At first, my project

¹ E. Levinas, *Istniejący i istnienie*, transl. J. Margański, Kraków 2006, p. 58.

² I discuss the issue of pedagogy from the perspective of Jung in the articles: P. Skuza, *O wychowaniu psychologicznym*, “Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny” 2005, no. 2(196), pp. 25–37 and idem, *Samokształtowanie w perspektywie psychologii analitycznej Junga*, “Albo albo. Problemy psychologii i kultury” 2004, no. 1, pp. 49–56.

faced a resistance on behalf of its first reviewers that are harnessed to deconstructive thought and busy with revealing the seemingly mono-logical neutrality of the structure of modernist thought³. However, the discovery of the society of Jung followers in Poland, centered around the quarterly “*Albo albo. Problemy psychologii i kultury*” and ENETEIA publishing house, allows me to proceed in this idea in the area of pedagogy contrary to the observed tendency in educational study. It is psychoanalysis that starts the procession of the plot makers that blow up – as put by Ewa Rodziewicz – the “super ideologies” that are strongly attached to the foundations of the modernist thinking matrix⁴, formerly known simply as culture.

2. The question of cheering in the study of education – an effort to evaluate the research

Cheering is inseparably connected with sports and sport competition, which originated in the history of Europe in the idea of the ancient Olympic games⁵, and was brought back to life in the nineteenth century. The beginnings of the idea of cheering are seemingly possible to find as early as in the ancient Egypt, and the modern form of this social phenomenon is over 120 years old and has its source in the nineteenth century Ireland⁶. Cheering reflects various stages of sport games, such as the Olympic games, world championships, football league competition, or local matches, e.g. in football, which causes various evaluation of such activity. An individual is perceived differently when participating as a spectator in the Olympic games, an event somewhat of the sphere of higher culture, accessible for rich people, and differently when cheering for a weak football team on a match in a small town. Football takes a special place among other sports as far as the number of spectators is concerned. The position of this discipline is so prominent that the “footballisation” of society becomes the expression of modern spirit. Still, there must be a differentiation between the proper cheering (in a narrower sense), which is the stadium cheer itself during any sports event, and cheering in the wide understanding, as a specific social phenomenon, a lifestyle, subculture or a “little culture”. The second aspect of cheering is the subject matter of the following analysis. In pedagogical and sociological writings, cheering is usually associated with fighting in the stadiums usually commenced by so-called pseudo-fans, or in Polish words “szalikowcy” [a group of hooligans wearing the scarfs of their team], who are identified with “dresiarze” [a group of hooligans usually wearing tracksuits] or “blok-

³ E. Rodziewicz, *Pedagogika: wyzwania i teorie (zapis dyskusji)* [in:] *Różnica, tożsamość, edukacja. Szkice z pogranicza*, (ed.) T. Szkudlarek, Kraków 1995, p. 243.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 243.

⁵ Comp. J. Szczepański, *Od Olimpii do Olimpiad*, Kraków 1980.

⁶ J. Andrzejczak, „Bóg wybacz, kibol nigdy”, “Tygodnik Powszechny”, <http://tygodnik.onet.pl/1547,1336843,dzial.html>.

ersi” [a group of hooligans from some block of flats residential areas]. Such a bundle of labels defines not only the social picture of the phenomenon consolidated by the media, which transmit various shocking actions of pseudo-fans, but it also determines a biased research area that is limited to the diagnosis of pathology among fans and to the creation of, undeniably necessary, prophylactics programmes. What the youth lovers of football admit themselves is that cheering is sometimes undoubtedly connected with antisocial behaviour. However, such a point of view does not fully present the research of the multi-aspect and ambivalent phenomenon, which remains a serious educational challenge, and whose pedagogical dimension should be thoroughly recognized.

Jerzy Dudała, the author of a recently published book *Fani – Chuligani. Rzecz o polskich kibolach. Studium socjologiczne* [*Fans-Hooligans: On Polish Hooligans: A Sociological Study*], points at a few areas of the potential interest of pedagogists. Namely, the reason of stadium aggression is found in boredom that the young experience. What is interesting, this category belongs to the important pedagogical terms that are placed in the sphere of the so-called category negligence discussed by Lech Witkowski⁷. Boredom is the expression of, or is linked with the youth helplessness towards themselves and their future. Moreover, it is an outcome of lack of proper stimulation which should be performed by education. The lack of stimulation on the emotional and intellectual levels appears to be a frustrating situation, and perhaps this is the reason why one of the conclusions from the study of sports fans by Jerzy Dudała is the claim that “the majority of fans that cause stadium fights are young, poorly educated”⁸. The most obvious conclusion would be: the more education the less violence. Of course, a question can be asked: what education, and, generally, if education eliminates or considerably lessens the destructive tendency of a person.

A common social perception of the analyzed issue associates a sport event with youth, and thus with expressive emotion of the people involved, even if the spectators are middle-aged. It is possible that the regressive strength of libido of the cheering individuals becomes exposed in cheering. They suspend for some time the behaviour that results from their social roles and reveal their anthropoid soul⁹. Possibly, the frenetic stadium experience, based on passive submission to regression and on the identification of an individual with a sports club that is very strongly idealized in the minds of its fans,

⁷ L. Witkowski, *O zaniedbaniach kategorialnych i teoretycznych pedagogiki w Polsce*, [in:] *Pedagogika u progu trzeciego tysiąclecia – materiały pokonferencyjne*, (eds.) A. Nalaskowski and K. Rubacha, Toruń 2001, p. 272.

⁸ J. Dudała, *Fani-Chuligani. Rzecz o polskich kibolach. Studium socjologiczne*, Warszawa 2004, p. 218.

⁹ “It is this anthropoid soul that does not enter, or enters very reluctantly into not entirely rational cultural forms, and as much as it is possible, opposes the development of culture. Here, we deal with a situation in which libido as if still misses this original, unconscious state of unlimited wilderness. The way back, which is regression, leads back to childhood, and finally, somewhat to the body of mother”. C.G. Jung, *Symbole przemiany. Analiza preludium do schizofrenii*, transl. R. Reszke, Warszawa 1998, p. 421.

is addictive and discourages from activity that is based on the progressive mental strength of an individual. Perhaps cheering is an expression of the myth of male community, which is based on a homo-social desire¹⁰, or could it be a kind of a rite of passage to adulthood, especially manhood¹¹? Undoubtedly, it plays an important role in the strengthening of regional identity.

From the eighties of the twentieth century, modern times in Poland have been characterised with an expansion of youth subcultures, and the fans of local football teams constitute a clearly recognizable by whole society social category in the kaleidoscope of the roles and “faces” that are appointed by young men and women¹². It must be stated here that in the cultural scenery of modern western civilization there are noticeable three competitive cultural currents: 1) the cosmopolitan culture of the elites, an outcome of which is the type of a postmodern man, 2) next, a current based on national norms and 3) finally, the tribal subculture of the excluded¹³. The cheering for local football teams, with all its richness of ritual, suits the third cultural current, and can presumably be an expression of a new rebellion of the masses. The youth fan subculture is that important for pedagogy as long as its analysis can reveal the mechanisms of reproduction of subjects in the third, new-tribal, cultural current. Nevertheless, it seems that until now not many researchers have dealt with the phenomenon of cheering, if so, it was mostly from the point of view of violence and aggression, comparing groups of fans to radical religious sects, especially as far as fanaticism and extremity of judgment is concerned¹⁴. For this reason, youth is the subject of cultural study, an illustration of which is a book by Barbara Fatyga¹⁵. The following people have written on

¹⁰ Comp. E. Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, New York 1985; T. Basiuk, *Co ma gej do heteryka?*, “Res Publica Nowa” 2002, no. 9; B. Warkocki, *Szczeliny tożsamości. Męski podmiot i jego inny w prozie Andrzeja Stasiuka* [in:] *Parametry pożądania. Kultura odmieńców wobec homofobii*, (eds.) T. Basiuk, D. Ferens, T. Sikora, Kraków 2006, pp. 197–238. This idea is expressed by Maria Janion in a conversation with Jarosław Kurski, *Moje herezje antynarodowe*, “Gazeta Wyborcza”, of 27–28 May 2006, p. 19 by saying that “These relationships (homo social) are here strongly exposed – starting with “the nobility of brother-man”, through knights troops, the Filomats and the Filar-ets, nineteenth century conspirators, Pilsudski’s legionists, and of course modern football teams. All these groups, up to a wonderful male community of uhłans, are parts of the male national myth. These are homosocial relations, yet they contain an element of homosexual fascination”.

¹¹ The issue of masculinity from the point of view of pedagogy and cultural studies is included in: Z. Melosik, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej*, Poznań 2002.

¹² Even if a part of the fans consists of women, the surrounding “pals” ethos demands from them a specific behaviour and confirms the dominating role of men in these symbolic space.

¹³ H. Magnus Enzensberger, *Polacy, wpuście trochę życia do Europy* (a conversation with Adam Krzemiński), “Gazeta Wyborcza”, of 3–4 June 2006, p. 17.

¹⁴ P. Smoleński, *Mordercza wojna na stadionach*, “Gazeta Wyborcza”, of 15–17 April 2006, pp. 21–22.

¹⁵ B. Fatyga, *Dzicy z naszej ulicy. Antropologia kultury młodzieżowej*, Warszawa 1999.

the subject of fans: Przemysław Piotrowski and Radosław Kowalski¹⁶. Of foremost attention worthy is the aforementioned work by Jerzy Dudała and works quoted by him of Czesław Matusiewicz, as well as the works of Stanisław Wanat¹⁷. O wcześniejszych badaniach nad kibicowaniem w odniesieniu do przemocy i agresji świadczy praca np. G. Schillinga¹⁸.

The behaviour of youth which is the subject of our interest constitutes the source of discussion mainly in social pedagogy and re-socialisation, an example of which is the section entitled “*Aggressive behaviour of pseudo-fans from the point of view of sociological and psychological theories and pedagogical prophylactics*” which is a part of a book entitled “*Social pedagogy: Achievements – modern times – perspectives*”¹⁹ and constitutes a piece of a chapter devoted to development disturbances in children and youth. Stanisław Kawula relates the issues of cheering as pathology. He uses the metaphor of “bulldozer mentality” in reference to the blind aggression of youth visible on the stadiums and in the streets of cities. The author mentions also the ways of prophylactics, which should refer to dealing with anger and aggression, enhancing human communication and experiencing *katharsis* without reaching for destructive behaviour.

Moreover, in pedagogy, the phenomenon of cheering is important from the point of view of the issue of youth leisure time. According to Józef Kargul, this problem has been an underestimated area of interest of pedagogues from the beginning of the nineties of the twentieth century²⁰. The author connects this negligence with another one, namely with the discourse over cultural activity of youth. Józef Kargul treats marginally the phenomenon of cheering itself, and of course as pathology. Nevertheless, he points at an important issue of the so-called external directiveness of many young people, anomie in development, and reminds of the destructiveness of leisure time. A similar view can be found in the work by Piotr Potejko *Dewiacyjne zachowania kibiców sportowych jako zjawisko patologii społecznej* [*Deviation in the Behaviour of Sports Fans as an Instance of Social Pathology*]²¹ and in a chapter “*Subkultura szal-*

¹⁶ P. Piotrowski, *Szalikowcy: o zachowaniach dewiacyjnych kibiców sportowych*, Toruń 2000; R. Kowalski, *Szalikowcy – potomkowie hooligana: społeczno-kulturowe źródła agresji widowni*, Toruń 2002.

¹⁷ J. Dudała, op.cit.; Cz. Matusiewicz, *Widowisko sportowe. Analiza psychospołeczna*, Warszawa 1990; Cz. Matusiewicz, *Naruszenia porządku towarzyszące imprezom sportowym*, (ed.) A.J. Szwarc, Poznań 1995; S. Wanat, *Naruszenia porządku towarzyszące imprezom sportowym – aspekty socjologiczne*, ibidem; S. Wanata, *Socjologia zachowań chuligańskich w sporcie*, “Kultura Fizyczna” 1992, nr 7–8.

¹⁸ G. Schilling, *Agresja i przemoc w sporcie*, Wrocław 1976.

¹⁹ *Pedagogika społeczna. Dokonania – aktualność – perspektywy*, (ed.) S. Kawula, Toruń 2004, pp. 385–395.

²⁰ J. Kargul, *Problematyka czasu wolnego młodzieży – wątek godny przypomnienia* [in:] *Pedagogika u progu trzeciego tysiąclecia – materiały pokonferencyjne*, (eds.) A. Nałaskowski and K. Rubacha, Toruń 2001, pp. 173–179.

²¹ P. Potejko, *Dewiacyjne zachowania kibiców sportowych jako zjawisko patologii społecznej* [in:] *Dewiacyjne aspekty współczesnego świata. Przejawy – zapobieganie – terapia*, (ed.) M. Prokosz, Toruń 2004, pp. 255–263.

ikowców” [“*The Subculture of “Szalikowcy” Hooligans*”] included in a book by Marek Jędrzejewski²². Foreign publications, on the other hand, reflect the poorly exposed in Poland current concerning the involvement of fans in nationalist movements, an illustration of which is a wide range of articles in English language writings²³.

3. The place of the theory of Jung in pedagogical analyzes

Basically, the phenomenon of young sports fans enters the space of pedagogical study known as parallel education or informal one, and constitutes an example of education outside school. Despite the various ways of dealing with the problem, still reduced to stadium aggression, there is some methodological deficit in the pedagogical thought developed in such a way, closed in a specific circle of explanation: fans – aggression – pathology – prophylactics. For this reason, it is time to refer to other methodology, inspired by intuitive epistemology²⁴, poorly explored by pedagogues, and by the category of unconsciousness²⁵. Referring to the German thought of system pedagogy, of Niklas Luhmann, we can thus talk about a methodology deficit in pedagogy, or about a deficit in the understanding of youth²⁶. This results in a situation, when a pedagogical thought is closed in a auto-referential circle, and resistant to relations with some circles of the living environment²⁷ of youth, i.e. associations and groups of fans, sports clubs, etc. A step towards the filling of such a gap can be, among others, using in this area the category of educational partnership. Since cheering is a heterogeneous phenomenon²⁸, as well as carrying various aspects, which can be studied from many points of view, depending on the determiners, i.e. who cheers and whom, in which sports, which sportsmen, when and where. Moreover, cheering is an encoded symbolic domain, this is why any research, either sociological or pedagogical, requires a decoding of (sub)cultural meaning and a translation from the language used by the circle of people connected with cheering into the language of description and scientific explana-

²² M. Jędrzejewski, *Subkultura szalikowców* [in:] idem, *Subkultury a przemoc w perspektywie psychoedukacji, socjalizacji i samorealizacji dzieci i młodzieży*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 48–52.

²³ A. King, *Football fandom and post-national identity in the New Europe*, “British Journal of Sociology” 2000, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 419–442; T. Smith, *‘Bataille’s boys’: postmodernity, Fascists and football fans*, “British Journal of Sociology” 2000, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 443–460; L. Back, T. Crabbe, J. Solomos, *Beyond the racist/hooligan couplet: race, social theory and football culture*, “British Journal of Sociology” 1999, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 419–442.

²⁴ A. Motycka, *Rozum i intuicja. Zbiór rozpraw i szkiców filozoficznych*, Warszawa 2005.

²⁵ A. Motycka, *Nauka a nieświadomość. Filozofia nauki wobec kontekstu tworzenia*, Wrocław 1998.

²⁶ H.-H. Krüger, *Wprowadzenie w teorie i metody badawcze nauk o wychowaniu*, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 104–107.

²⁷ E. Marynowicz-Hetka, *Pedagogika społeczna*, vol. 1, Warszawa 2006, pp. 58–59.

²⁸ The following authors write about the basic pedagogical terms: K. Rubacha, *Edukacja jako przedmiot pedagogiki i jej subdyscyplin* [in:] *Pedagogika*. Podręcznik akademicki, vol. 1, (eds.) Z. Kwieciński, B. Sliwerski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 21–33.

tion. Such research can be preceded with neutral protoacademic description: phenomenological or ethnographic. Similarly, pedagogical action (educational intervention) also needs double preparatory work. It must follow the recognition of places where manifestations of this symbolic domain are hidden, just as the reconstruction of fans fanaticism to operate successfully with the representation of this phenomenon. Moreover, there is a need to conduct a kind of phantasmal criticism in a journalist text, if as such can be concerned the texts included in fanzines, i.e. magazines edited by fans. The niche press seems to be a medium of a lower sort than the main current press, since it gives space to the voice (voices) of the emancipating fan²⁹.

What is more, the pedagogical view of the phenomenon should take cheering into consideration both subjectively and objectively, and in methodology, postmodern optics should be borne in mind (epistemological relativism)³⁰. An academic, pedagogical view cannot be blind to cheering in various discourses, e.g. in a conservative one, neo-liberal one, emancipating one or one of alternative fractions. The genetically – historical interpretation of this phenomenon will surely uncover the process of “pseudo-fan” construction, the main actor of a media transmission, as well as can it reveal the mechanisms of knowledge / power (M. Foucault) and youth taming. The historical origin of cheering as games that satisfy the instincts of fighting should be intertwined with psychological and cultural genealogy. Psychoanalytical genealogy will probably lead to the hypothesis of cheering as a structure of double meaning by referring to subject archeology, i.e. to the regressive, identifying and projective tendencies of psyche. Cheering, on the background of other social activity, can reveal its double face: both destructive and educational. Following C.G. Jung, it can be referred to what the psychologist calls an anthropoid soul, or cheering can be interpreted as an example of devouring by maternity *imago* or even follow the old culture-study vision of Levy – Bruhl who talks about the so-called mystical participation.

The post-structural approach, which in the area of pedagogy takes the lead in numerous academic circles (pedagogical), neglects individualism, and can only reveal the social backstage of the entanglement of a so-called little subject³¹ into a socializing system which is a commercialized sports machine that produces claqueurs (the helpless

²⁹ A phantasmal critique and an analysis of personal texts directed to the niche press was performed towards another category of people, i.e. Towards homosexual men in the analysis of readers' letters sent to gay magazines and in the phantasmal critique included in the book by Jacek Kochanowski, *Fantazmat zróżnicowany. Socjologiczne studium przemian tożsamości gejów*, Kraków 2004, where the most worthy of attention is chapter VI. entitled: *Fantazmatyczny świat 'innych' – dekonstrukcyjna analiza listów gejów opublikowanych w czasopiśmie gejowskich (I)*, pp. 211–256 as well as chapter VII. entitled: *Fantazmat zróżnicowany – dekonstrukcyjna analiza listów gejów opublikowanych w czasopiśmie gejowskich (II)*, pp. 257–300. This analysis can be a clue in the reconstruction of fans' phantasm.

³⁰ M. Buchowski, *Zrozumieć Innego. Antropologia racjonalności*, Kraków 2004, pp. 51–60.

³¹ Comp. A. Męczkowska, *Podmiot i pedagogika. Od oświeceniowej utopii ku pokrytycznej dekonstrukcji*, Wrocław 2006, p. 199 and next.

and passive as far as their biography is concerned), thus showing the mechanisms that eliminate from the main current culture. Consequently, meaningless cannot be for the research of cheering the analysis of philosophical or view-of-the-world bases of a sports spectacle and its social functions³². Cheering, as a part of a sports event, seems to be different in quality from a participation in sports; even contrary to the noble idea of sports competition, treated as a phenomenon from the very edge or margin of sports. On the other hand, sport does not always have to be contrary to cheering itself because it is a part of the entertaining business, and fans and their emotions are a condition of the existence of a sports spectacle.

According to a particular understanding of pedagogy, it is a specific branch of knowledge which not only describes fragments or some chosen aspects of the world, but has the ambition to provide tools to transform it consciously³³. Yet, which world is it about: an experienced world, an objective one, a social one, an “internal world” or a subjective one, or maybe the world of the life of socialized subjects³⁴. It must be remembered that traditionally, it is a child or a young person that constitutes the subject of pedagogy, which is today being abolished in favour of a wider term – “subject”? A pedagogue, endeavoring to analyze fans, faces not only the fact of the multiplicity of the ways of thinking about subjectivity, but also the resolutions and measuring the golden means between individualism and collectivism, i.e. the pressure of society on an individual and the influence of an individual on society.

First of all, *situs* of pedagogical knowledge should be specified, which is the location, local relations with philosophical and psychological or sociological knowledge. Since *situs* also means sloppiness, negligence, filth, rust, mould, withering and passivity, this term accurately reflects the state of pedagogical knowledge, constantly prone to expiry more than other reconstructive study. For this reason, a pedagogue should passionately look for a *furor pedagogicus*, i.e. an inspiration, but of a kind that would radicalize the pedagogical discourse, namely that would tear away from passiveness and withering. *Furor* also means madness, fury, blind passion, love lust. Such a description of an academic study is possible due to the narrative character of pedagogical knowledge, that can even refer to *passionate scholarship*³⁵, a study that engages the researcher into the world of the studied individuals. For this reason, I have referred to the thought of C.G. Jung to search for the appropriate reviving inspiration to analyze the phenom-

³² Por. M. Lewicka, *Aktor czy obserwator. Psychologiczne mechanizmy odchyień od racjonalności w myśleniu potocznym*, Warszawa–Olsztyn 1993; G. Debord, *Spółczesność spektaklu*, transl. A. Ptaszkowska and L. Brogowski, Gdańsk 1998.

³³ J. Lipiec, *Filozofia i pedagogika* [in:] *Pogranicza pedagogiki i nauk pomocniczych*, (ed.) S. Palka, Kraków 2004, p. 14.

³⁴ J. Habermas, *Działanie komunikacyjne i detranscendentalizacja rozumu*, transl. W. Lipnik, Warszawa 2004, pp. 19–34.

³⁵ M. Humm, *Słownik teorii feminizmu*, transl. B. Umińska and J. Mikos, Warszawa 1993, p. 241.

enon of cheering. Looking through the selected works³⁶ of the Swiss thinker, I aimed at finding the proper tools to the hermeneutics of the collective phantasm of young fans, existent in school environment and the space of public education, which constitutes a kind of little appreciated *locus pedagogicus*.

Studying the works of the Swiss psychologist, it is possible to pose the question: does pedagogy gain inspiration from analytical psychology, known also as complex and why does it need such an old-fashioned thought? The works of Jung presented in twenty volumes of *Collected Works, Pantheon Books, New York 1953* or *Gesammelte Werke, Rascher Verlag, Zürich 1960*, for many years thoroughly translated and published in Poland, constitutes a treasury of thought. It is an inspiration for specialists in many areas. The works of Jung are so intensively commented upon that we can talk about a sort of intellectual movement, called Jungizm. C.G. Jung did not *explicitely* point out a new theory of education³⁷. It must be remembered that psychoanalytic pedagogy, even more so the kind of one based on Jung, is absent in the sphere of educational study in Poland, contrary to e.g. German pedagogy. An illustration of the above is the recently published work by Heinz-Herman Krüger, *Wprowadzenie w teorie i metody badawcze nauk o wychowaniu [An Introduction into the Theories and Research Methods of Educational Study]*, where the author, presenting the so-called “other directions” in completion to the three basic currents of educational study: humanist, empirical, and critical, enumerates the psychoanalytical pedagogy itself. It is true that in the Polish appendix to this book there are Polish classifications of pedagogical currents³⁸, though this direction appears only in the collection by Ludwik Chmaj as a part of a therapeutic current, or in the work of Kazimierz Sośnicki as depth pedagogy. However, it is not represented in the classification of Bogusław Śliwerski and Zbigniew Kwieciński. It suggests of a somewhat dead area which currently Hanna Stępniewska – Gębik³⁹ tries to revive by a new reception of Lacan psychoanalysis in the poststructural spirit.

It is interesting that Krüger precedes the chapter on psychoanalytical pedagogy with a presentation of historically-materialist pedagogy, which according to the idea of Hans Jochen Gamm is supposed to “reveal social relations, including pedagogical relations, and takes a look at the backstage of phenomena”⁴⁰. This collection is *nomen omen* a thread that connects both currents in pedagogy, extremely important taking into

³⁶ According to the idea of regress worked out in academic philosophy by Alina Motycka in the times of chaos. I think it can be used on a micro scale, i.e. If the theories so far has not explained enough a particular phenomenon. Comp. A. Motycka, *Nauka a nieświadomość...*, Wrocław 1998, pp. 55–80.

³⁷ J. Jacobi, *Psychologia C.G. Junga*, transl. S. Łypacewicz, Warszawa 2001, p. 15. Comp. P. Skuza, *O wychowaniu psychologicznym*, “Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny” 2005, no. 2(196), pp. 25–37.

³⁸ H.-H. Krüger, *Wprowadzenie w teorie i metody badawcze nauk o wychowaniu*, transl. D. Sztobryn, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 197–202.

³⁹ H. Stępniewska-Gębik, *Pedagogika i psychoanaliza. Potrzeba – Pragnienie – Inny. Konteksty epistemologiczne dla pedagogiki w świetle psychoanalitycznej koncepcji Jacques'a Lacana*, Kraków 2004.

⁴⁰ H.-H. Krüger, *Wprowadzenie...*, p. 85.

consideration the dominance of Marxist philosophy and neomarksiem lasting for many decades in Polish pedagogical circles, and the hegemony of collective (sociological) look at education. Thus, there is a chance of counting psychoanalytic pedagogy into the educational studies in Poland. Though the followers of the historically-materialist movement strongly referred to the “idea of a reasoning subject”⁴¹, called by Alina Motycka a Cartesian *Ego Cogito*⁴², psychoanalysis questions such a vision of subjectivity. The psychoanalyst pedagogical current began to analyze the subconscious, thus breaking with the Cartesian paradigm which eliminates a subject from the world and turning it into a thinking substance, i.e. only and even a consciousness substance. The relation of pedagogy and psychoanalysis – which can be read in the aforementioned book by Krügera – is based on a distinct understanding of psychoanalysis and pedagogy itself. And so, psychoanalysis in the strictly medical understanding excludes the thought of pedagogues from its area, and understood as critical social study, an example of which is Georg Trescher, allows pedagogy to become a part of psychoanalysis. Consequently, once it was suggested that the two branches of knowledge should cooperate, or that psychoanalysis should be made a supporting study of pedagogy. According to Günter Bittner, pure and independent psychoanalytical pedagogy seems to be impossible. Lorenzer on the other hand, stands for psychoanalysis as a critically-hermeneutic social study, which places the so-called scenic understanding in the center of pedagogical activity. Notwithstanding the status of this part of academic study and the discipline called pedagogy or the relation between them, psychoanalysis can constitute, according to Bittner, an impulse for pedagogy if it is: 1) a theory of the understanding of the educated subject, 2) the starting point of pedagogical anthropology, 3) a piece of the pedagogical theory of relation or 4) an aspect of the theory of interaction. Given the enumeration, it is worth reminding the suggestion that psychoanalysis should be understood as a theory of educational processes, especially if education is interpreted as a communicative action. It deepens the understanding of communication and studies the “underground current of any action”⁴³ – as Jung writes about the unconsciousness – and the processes of projection and transfer play the main parts in a theory understood in such a way. Of course, pedagogy directed only to school or narrowly understood pedagogy, can naturally miss this valuable heritage of psychoanalysis. In case of the works of Jung and his contemporary reception, we can rather speak of culture studies than of psychoanalysis. For this reason the introduction of the theory by Jung to pedagogy should also, perhaps predominantly, refer to the pedagogy of culture, whose tradition is still alive in the study of education in Poland and the usage

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 87.

⁴² Comp. *Destrukcyjna paradygmatu kartezjańskiego* [in:] A. Motycka, *Rozum i intuicja...*, pp. 16–19.

⁴³ C.G. Jung, *O istocie psychiczności. Listy 1906–1961*, selected, transl. and described by R. Reszke, Warszawa 1996, p. 13.

of psychoanalysis in accordance with the spirit of culture-study constructivism should be revived in humanistic.

The psychology of C.G. Jung is considered by critics as a modern form of gnosis, i.e. as the underground of philosophy, as a knowledge of the soul. It is not an empirical psychology with operationalized terms. Neither is it, more specifically, a philosophy nor anthropology. Is it agogics or pedagogy? – the answer to this question requires a deeper study and resolutions. Moreover, a query arises if by any chance, as an example of a huge psychoanalyst movement, it does not deepen a biased approach to an individual? How is reality constructed by Jung? Does he not perform magical *ex nihilo* creation of the inside so wide spread that it exceeds the limits of an academic and critical analysis? An how does it refer to the need of rewriting the subject and to the fact of narrowing of the traditional understanding of the inside and to the imaginary hypostasy⁴⁴? The answers will be for a moment left without an answer, but I suspect that most probably the “affirmative” usage of the theory by Jung may happen within the borders of a particular paradigm that contradicts a linguistic term.

On the other hand, is pedagogy, on the basis of which I perform research and the analysis of the phenomenon, an academic study or art, if only the art of using not only academic knowledge? And finally, how is it possible to transfer an idea from such a distant period, i.e. from the beginning of the twentieth century, to modern phenomena? The issue is the more complicated the more collapsed is the universe of values and beliefs shared by Jung’s contemporaries. Thus, how should the categories of the doctrine be wisely applied, if the sole fact of its choice must be criticized and subject to defense, so that the assumed procedure takes place with a minimal dose of arbitrariness and maximum precision? The reason of the choice among numerous doctrines and psychological theories to analyze a particular phenomenon is especially difficult as far as the state of epistemic anomie is concerned, which is described by Jean Baudrillard as a game with leftovers⁴⁵. The mixture of the old with the new, and the weak with the strong is characteristic for the landscape of postmodern knowledge. However, sometimes the so-called old ways of creating knowledge have an unusual vitality and are somehow resistant to skepticism and minimalism of the modern knowledge, where the hierarchies have been questioned and judgment has been mixed with knowledge .

The procedures of regaining ideas, symbols and traditions were a recognizing strategy of C.G. Jung, who consciously turned back to the intellectual output of the former epochs. He also explored fine literature. Not without a reason, the Swiss master, referring to German romanticism in literature, claims, “Everybody wants today to come to

⁴⁴ P. Dybiel, *Hieroglify Innego w psychoanalizie Lacana* [in:] *Inny – Inna – Inne. O inności w kulturze*, (eds.) M. Janion, C. Snochowska-Gonzalez, K. Szczuka, Warszawa 2004, p. 21.

⁴⁵ *Gra resztkami*. An interview with Jean Baurillard performed by Salvatore Mele and Marks Titmarsh, transl. A. Szahaj [in:] *Postmodernizm a filozofia. Wybór tekstów*, (eds.) S. Czerniaka and A. Szahaja, Warszawa 1996, pp. 228– 229.

the Kingdom of Mothers, yet they do not have the key that once belonged to Faust. In my own way, I try to hold tightly to this key and to open the closed door that leads there"⁴⁶. These words refer to an important quotation that Jung mentions, namely from a fragment of the drama "Faust" by Johann Wolfgang Goethe and the words of Mephistopheles:

"Will you see now what blessing it bestows? The key will scent the right place from all others; Follow it down, 'twill lead you to the Mothers"⁴⁷.

Carl Gustav Jung paid much attention to the collective subconsciousness, i.e. doubled subjectivity. The hypothesis about collective subconsciousness and its archetypes, as well as theology and psyche dynamics characterize the psychoanalysis of the Swiss thinker. The subconsciousness is sometimes understood individually, while the differentiation into "I" and "ego" suggests that the category of hidden subjectivity plays an important role in the whole process of thinking about psyche. Subconsciousness is endowed with an enormous causative power in the words that "(...) subconsciousness (...) is an underground current of all action that cannot be stopped"⁴⁸. The second trait of analytical psychology is the process of individualization, which can be read pedagogically⁴⁹. C.G. Jung, defining the term of individualisation, puts it in the context of "psychological education". He writes that "By no means can individualization be the only aim of psychological education. Before individualization can be perceived as a goal, the goal of education must be reached, which is adjustment to the minimum of collective norms indispensable for existence: a plant that is to reach the maximum state of the development of its uniqueness must first root itself in the ground where it has been placed"⁵⁰. In such a manner, the Swiss scholar gives a kind of a lead for specific humanistic research, including pedagogical study.

The recognition of the pedagogical dimension as well as the educational challenges of the phenomenon of cheering seems to be an important research issue facing the growing interest in this phenomenon on the part of public opinion and a biased interpretation of this phenomenon by pedagogues and sociologists that associate it mostly with pathology and deviation. Pedagogy, notwithstanding its practical attitude to the solving of educational problems, cannot be blind to an individual and deeper perspective of explanation. What should be a challenge is such a way of analyzing the subject of cheering that endeavours to equalize the levels and exaggerated stress in the discourse of pedagogy set to a collective and sociological point of view, yet that looks at

⁴⁶ C.G. Jung, *Rozmowy, wywiady, spotkania*, (eds.) W. McGuire, R.F.C. Hull, transl. R. Reszke, Warszawa 1999, p. 236.

⁴⁷ C.G. Jung, *Symbole przemiany...*, p. 164 and 263 [from:] J.W. von Goethe, *Faust*, part 2. act. 1: "A dark gallery", lines 6272–6279, p. 260.

⁴⁸ C.G. Jung, *O istocie psychiczności...*, p. 13.

⁴⁹ Comp. P. Skuza, *O kształtowaniu psyche*, "Kultura i Edukacja" 2004, no. 2, pp. 31–41.

⁵⁰ C.G. Jung, *Typy psychologiczne*, transl. R. Reszke, Warszawa 1997, p. 88.

cheering also from the point of view of an individual, reproductive subject, since the Marxist assumption that social existence specifies consciousness is outwardly narrowing the cognitive horizon. Thus, it is not only the “socioanalysis of the andro-centric subconsciousness”⁵¹ that is supposed to support pedagogical theory, but psychoanalysis, as well⁵². Since the problem of cheering is neither solved as far as the danger and escalation of violence is concerned, nor explainable with the help of the offered theories (J. Dudala has presented six theories), all pedagogical activity, e.g. in the form of pedagogy prophylactics, should follow anthropological, hermeneutic and culture-study reflection, while a fan and his subjectivity or its defect should be verified by the category of subconsciousness or a “hidden mind”⁵³. As it can be noticed, in pedagogy it is not solely the general (collective) dimension, but also an individual one that matters in processes such as an educational biography, entering adult life, experiencing the development stage as an educational one, and finally, dealing with the future, professional and status aspirations, as well as using institutional stimulation, then the influence of its degree, effectiveness and occurrence as far as the active school education is concerned, on the life of a student.

The key issue that constitutes an antinomy in the pedagogical thought is the solution as to the meaning of childhood (youth). Namely, while a fan is the object of interest for pedagogy no matter if he is underage or adult (as long as he continues education), the pedagogues that study such a recognized object of analysis and design pedagogical action face antinomy between the need of free experience of youth by the educated object and the necessity of preparing the young for their social roles, if only to a role of a consumer of a sports spectacle. Another issue is the difficulty of the fact that fans constitute a net of groups that are seemingly separated from other groups or formal and informal institutions of society, while the border line is not entirely noticeable, thus the free experience of youth blends with some socialization. As a result, cheering, from a pedagogical point of view, can be described with the term of socialization. This term has been created in opposition to pedagogical simplifications and aimed at widening the meaning of such a word in relation to such terms as a “pedagogical relation” and others: pedagogical action and relation. Thus, the category of socialization is often used as a term wider in meaning in comparison to the “education” term, and

⁵¹ P. Bourdieu, *Męska dominacja*, transl. L. Kopciwicz, Warszawa 2004, p. 9 and 13.

⁵² On the role of psychoanalysis in pedagogy comp. H. Stępniewska-Gębik, *Pedagogika i psychoanaliza. Potrzeba – Pragnienie – Inny*, Kraków 2004.

⁵³ *Nieświadomość jako kategoria filozoficzna*, (eds.) A. Motycka, W. Wrzosek, Warszawa 2000; I. Błocian, R. Saciuk, *O pojęciu nieświadomości – wstęp* [in:] *Nieświadomość to odrębne królestwo...*, (eds.) I. Błocian, R. Saciuk, Toruń 2003, p. 17.

reflects the general living conditions of a subject's development, not only the conscious and deliberate ones⁵⁴.

The traditional aim of pedagogy, even when it was only the pedagogy of philosophers, not a separate academic discipline, is to provide the methods to tame passion, i.e. the help in the creation of a personae (social roles), or in accordance with the idea of permissive pedagogy, or to give vent to instincts in controlled conditions⁵⁵. At the beginning of the twentieth century, psychoanalysis takes a part of its role. Thus, cheering can be a material object of pedagogical analysis, and its formal aspect refers to the quality of socialization of a young man in the area of the imagined community of fans. The pedagogical dimension of the studied field is very complex because it includes a number of components:

- 1) a diagnostic dimension, i.e. the recognition of social facts – here, of the behaviour of groups of fans and the recognition of psychological facts – here, what a fan experiences, and it all is based on some philosophical and ideological foundation and the recognition of this state concerns exactly the educational order that creates a specific social – psychological – cultural quality.
- 2) a normative dimension – in this case what is the ideal of a “real fan”, the argument here is between the vision of a fan-consumer tamed by normalizing mechanisms and a vision of a free member of a regional community;
- 3) a dimension that designs social action.

The mentioned here theory of C.G. Jung only refers to the part of this analysis that concerns the insight into the mental condition of an individual, i.e. what and why a fan experiences. It can only be done indirectly by an insight into the collective phantasm of fans. And the psychoanalysis itself is a theory that results from modern process of the formation of subjectivity, but also from the beginning of its transformation, about which postmodern pedagogues should be reminded. And a pedagogical analysis can be two-fold, either 1) minimalist, concentrating on the description of educational order, widened with socialization and emancipation, or 2) maximal – apart from that it is supposed to design action or at least general frameworks of future pedagogical action.

4. Conclusion

A postulate of the given study is to widen pedagogical analysis with Jung's genealogy of subjectivity and paying attention at what happens in collective subconsciousness of fans that results in the form of passionate fandom. An obvious starting thesis is that some examples of cheering can be archaic forms of being devoured by a picture of

⁵⁴ K.-J. Tillmann, *Teorie socjalizacji. Społeczność – instytucja – upodmiotowienie*, transl. G. Bluszczyk, B. Miracki, Warszawa 2005, pp. 11 and next.

⁵⁵ H. Stępniewska-Gębik, *Pedagogika i psychoanaliza. Potrzeba – Pragnienie – Inny. Konteksty epistemologiczne dla pedagogiki w świetle psychoanalitycznej koncepcji Jacques'a Lacana*, Kraków 2004, p. 44.

a femaly carer⁵⁶. Another starting hypothesis is that frenetic experience and sacral attitude towards the club⁵⁷ on behalf of a young fan testifies about the need for total, even stupefying participation, which might result in exclusion from society that is based on individualism, competition and information. It may be an exclusion from participation in the higher forms of culture and social life, if this cheering is not accompanied by autoirony, distance and the ability to smoothly come from one level of culture to the other. C.G. Jung writes, “The loss of the last achievements of the function of reality (or the function of adjustment) is replaced by an earlier form of adjustment, i.e. by a regressive revival of parental *imago*”⁵⁸.

The regressive instances of personality are embarrassing for subjects under pressure of competition and constant activity. While the mental (in the psychoanalytical understanding) background of numerous exclusions are, apart from social mechanisms, the inseparable mechanisms described as the loss of an adaptive function in favour of regression and touching of the mental picture of a parent, especially mother, carried inside (*imago*). This act of regression is considered by psychoanalysts as important in the theory of neurosis, and can be of key importance in the explanation of the behaviour of fans as frustrated people (a working thesis)⁵⁹.

The context, in which Jung writes about regression is different from the one of this article. The subject of concern of the Swiss scholar is “the other” of psychoanalysis, i.e. a schizophrenic or a neurotic. However, in a different context, (pedagogical), we have the right to ask if a young fan loses the ability to adjust to the given variable social reality? We have the right to worry and investigate whether the creation of male identity (E. Badinter)⁶⁰ by collective strengthening with instances of specific symbolism and “stadium” rituals does not lead to subordination, i.e. in the language of Jung to the evil face of Great Mother, or if he is allowed to do it as a part of a prolonged psychosocial moratorium (E.H. Erikson), and maybe it is a form of *katabasis* /replacement (R. Bly), which can be described by the term of retreat into the original forms of contact with the world (C.G. Jung)? The sketched methodological dilemmas of a researcher indicate that cheering is an ambivalent structure, which both pathologises and educates, where the emancipating or educational value of cheering is rarely visible.

⁵⁶ “Arka [a football club – transl.] is our life” – a writing on the wall.

⁵⁷ Illustrated by a writing on the wall: ARECZKA – a tender name for Arka Gdynia football club.

⁵⁸ C.G. Jung, *Symbole przemiany...*, pp. 181–182.

⁵⁹ The following words of a student-fan who quotes a rhyme shouted out during matches by a crowd of followers of Arka Gdynia illustrate the regressive role of involvement in cheering to a football club and its destructive function:

„Areczka, Areczka...

Dear Areczka!

We love you more than life.

For you we'll kill ourselves”.

⁶⁰ E. Badinter, *XX. Tożsamość mężczyzny*, transl. G. Przewłocki, Warszawa 1993.

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