

## **Sport Supporters and Playful Behaviour at Events: Ski Flying In Planica**


Elsa Kristiansen<sup>1</sup>, Therese Dille<sup>1</sup> and Manuel Romero-Hernández<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Business, Strategy and Political Science, USN School of Business,  
University of South-Eastern Norway, Drammen, Norway

<sup>2</sup>Department of Applied Economic Analysis, University of Las Palmas de Gran  
Canaria, Gran Canaria, Spain

### **Author Note**

Elsa Kristiansen  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9294-8592>

Therese Dille  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6149-3580>

Manuel Romero-Hernández  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8100-3806>

We have no conflict of interest to disclose

Acknowledgements: We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the anonymous reviewers. Their comments, suggestions, and persistence greatly contributed to the improvement and clarification of this manuscript.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Elsa Kristiansen, School of Business, University of South-Eastern Norway, Grønland 58, 3045 Drammen, Norway. Email: [elsa.kristiansen@usn.no](mailto:elsa.kristiansen@usn.no)

### Abstract

In this study, we investigate the playful behaviour among ski flying supporters at the World Cup final in Planica, Slovenia, in 2022. Collected data consisted of interviews and observations as we travelled with a group of Norwegian supporters. In addition, we also interviewed supporters from four other European countries together with numerous informal talks with people attending the event. Using Bakhtin's framework of the carnivalesque, findings show three major themes: transgressions from everyday life; the location of the support activities; and the suppression of structure. Together, these themes of playful behaviour and break away from the daily routines together with friends, shed light on how attending sport events contribute to supporter well-being at an individual level, which in turn can serve as catalyst for social cohesion and inclusion, with a larger societal impact.

*Keywords:* sport events; playfulness; carnivalesque; supporters; social cohesion

### **Sport Supporters and Playful Behaviour at Events: Ski Flying in Planica**

#### **Introduction**

Ski flying is an extreme, almost mythical sport. The exclusiveness surrounding the sport is partly due to the limited number of ski flying hills in the world<sup>1</sup>: Obersdorf (Germany), Kulm (Austria), Planica (Slovenia), Harrachov (Czech Republic), and Vikersund (Norway). Elite athletes have limited opportunities to train and 'fly' in the aforementioned sport venues due to regulations. As a result, when the ski jumpers fly, supporters travel to see them compete, and hard-core supporters are known to attend all annual events in all the countries creating their own community. It is these supporters' behaviour we will explore by using Bakhtin's framework of the carnivalesque as a lens to investigate the human experience of a sport event. We argue that the supporter's behaviour is joyful compared to their usual everyday life behaviour, and that this event – or events – provides them with a recharging of batteries due to the relaxed atmosphere and inclusion experienced labelled as *communitas* by Chalip (2006). *Communitas* is sensed, hard to transcribe and something that transcends sports and that is related to the shared energy created by the event.

While the main reason for the travelling supporters is to watch the ski flying World Cup, there are many 'local happenings' where people meet for food, drinks, and music planned by domestic entrepreneurs. Many of these are located along the hiking track from the ski jump venue and down to the city, and these happenings may be considered 'community events' that Planica also has become famous for

---

<sup>1</sup> There is also on ski flying hill located in the USA, more precisely Copper Peak, near Ironwood in Michigan, which is under reconstruction. The hill has hosted 10 ski flying events between 1970-1994.

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

hosting. In contrast to mega and major events and the definition of them (Gratton et al., 2006; Müller, 2015), “community events are often supported by relatively flexible, temporary, and informal structures, with different coalitions of people working together and then disbanding when the event is over” (Stevenson, 2021, p. 1778). These community based events, or ‘supplemental events’ (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2020), occur at the same time as the main event, the World Cup, and they can be sport- or culture-related. In the case of Planica, family-day activities and activities at the local pubs and restaurants are example of these type of events where people from different countries gather and spend money. While enjoying these other offers, they generate benefits for the host-society, which in return offer them an opportunity for social networking – and building social capital by developing social cohesion and common identity. These events also share similarities with ‘fan zones’, built around mega events by private and public stakeholders, which attract international tourist also outside of the sport venue (for an extensive discussion, see Lee Ludvigsen, 2021). Fan zones usually have giant screens and spectators watch the events together rather than at home and alone. The zones can be located inside or outside the sports ground, and they can offer a variety of activities in addition to watching the competition. The investigated World Cup also had some fan zones tailored to different stakeholder groups such as music for young people, which may build a sense of community among the supporters.

The focus in the present study is on community events that take place before and after the actual sports events. These community or supplemental events are also important to consider regarding the impacts of event. Chalip (2006) differentiated between early studies that examined immediate impact, and later studies that focused on long-term benefits for society. The community events may

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

have an impact for the host society as they strengthen the local economy, increase social capital, expand economic development, and foster well-being and social cohesion (Chalip, 2006; Lee, 2013; Putnam et al., 1993; Taks, 2013). That means that the social benefits may have a long-term affect. The effects of the Planica event may have a scope on the formation of social capital of the type described by Bourdieu (1986) and credited in similar events by Lockstone-Binney et al. (2020) and by Zhou and Kaplanidou (2018) who consider social capital as ties and connections that facilitate cooperation and cohesion among attendees.

This study explores the behaviour adopted by supporters when they travel abroad to cheer and support their skiers, and we also add the experiences of supporters from other countries that gather due to their interest in ski flying. We want to study their personal benefits of attending the event and view their benefits in a larger societal perspective.

### **Context: Ski Flying**

A normal ski jump has a hill size of 85–109 m (FIS, 2013), while a ski flying hill has a hill size of over 185 meters. The difference between ski jumping and ski flying is the inrun and the pitch –the ski jump gives athletes an opportunity to ‘glide’ or fly longer, which makes the sport both spectacular and dangerous. Every second year, the International Ski Federation (FIS) hosts a World Championship in ski flying in one of the five countries with a venue. Since 2004, FIS has also hosted a team event in ski flying (with only two jumps each), which gives athletes more opportunities to fly every year. There tends to be no regular training in a ski flying hill due to the limited number of hills; those living close to a venue have the advantage. This makes competitions spectacular and unique and also rather exclusive, for both athletes and supporters.

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

Ski flying is extremely popular in both Norway and Slovenia, and in Slovenia there can be as many as 30,000 visitors. Previous research into ski flying has looked into the role of the volunteers (e.g., Kristiansen et al., 2015; Skirstad & Kristiansen, 2017). The Norwegian ski flying hill in Vikersund depends on the work of volunteers, and one third of the community's population of approximately 3000, volunteers at every event (Kristiansen et al., 2015). Some of them are also part of the group of supporters travelling Europe to see the different events every year around Europe.

The peculiarities of the sport make it a special event, and another interesting aspect of the sport is that it is currently a man only sport, one of the last bastions. However, in 2022, FIS was on the move to include women in ski flying when the FIS sub-committee voted in favour of women (FIS, 2022, para. 2), despite concerns about female athletes' safety and ability to fly. Vikersund hosted the first ski flying competition for women in 2023, and in 2024 women were allowed to compete in the World Cup for the first time.

### **Literature Review**

The terms supporters, fans, and spectators are sometimes used interchangeably (e.g., Cocieru et al., 2019), but they have been conceptualised in different ways. Fans have an abiding interest and spectators "actually consume sporting events either directly by attending or indirectly through some medium" (Wann et al., 2001, pp. 2–3). Being a spectator can then be more of a distant activity, while fan might be considered a more radical label than a supporter. Giulianotti (2002) on the other hand, created a taxonomy for football where he identified four-ideal-type categories of spectators as the overarching term, which he labelled supporter, fan, follower, and flaneur. In his taxonomy, the difference between supporter and fan lies on a continuum from traditional to consumer, whereas

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

supporter is in the traditional end. According to Giulianotti, supporters (i.e., traditional/hot spectators) “will have a longer, more local and popular cultural identification with the club” (2002, p. 31). Peitersen (2009) argues that implied in being a ‘fan’ is a lived experience or identity, and he alternates between the concepts ‘fan’ and ‘supporter’ in his research. In our context, which is a sport and not a club, a supporter tends to be a more accurate term (Osborne & Coombs, 2013). We acknowledge the conceptual overlapping and differences between the term’s supporter, fan, and spectator, and we will continue to use the ‘supporters’ in the following due to the focus on the playfulness and lasting dedication that characterizes the supporters of ski flying. Naturally, supporter behaviours vary by sport (Newland & Aicher, 2018), and different sports and events have different supporters (Gerke, 2018).

Our knowledge on supporters comes from major sports, and sport supporters have mainly been investigated from a sociological perspective (Cottingham, 2012) with a main focus on violence and hooliganism (e.g., Poulton, 2008). To move beyond this limited focus, Cottingham (2012) used Collins’ (2004) theory of interaction ritual chains to illustrate fans’ experiences of emotion-based rituals. Other perspectives have also been used to look into supporter behaviour such as fan activism (Cleland et al., 2018), supporters as consumers of cultural commodities (Hughson & Free, 2006), fandom without geographic boundaries and loyalty to a sponsor or a sports-person, e.g., a driver in the NASCAR context (Hugenberg & Hugenberg, 2008); and also how supporters use new technologies to challenge controversial decisions of media outlets (Vimieiro, 2017). Moreover, from a management perspective, scholars have looked into supporters as team owners

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

(e.g., Cocieru et al., 2019) and sport supporters as consumers and market segmentation (Bouchet et al., 2011).

However, supporters of sports other than football have received less attention, and more needs to be known about their support behaviour. Ski flying supporters are less powerful than football supporters who, in some circumstances, can try to have a stake and become owners (Cocieru et al., 2019). As research into hooliganism has revealed (e.g., Poulton, 2008), sport supporters often behave differently than in their regular life. Their usual awareness of social norms diminishes, and Ravenscroft and Gilchrist argue that a carnivalesque inversions may offer the supporters a liminality, a space where they can experience social reversal without “transgressing the wider social structure they encounter in everyday life” (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009, p. 36). For example, football hooliganism may classify as deviant behaviour due to excessive violence and loud behaviour, however, research into this phenomenon has been conducted “at the expense of our understanding of the culture of the ‘normal’ (i.e., non-violent) fan” (Jones, 2007, p. 147). Next, we discuss how the concept of carnivalesque can be used to explore sport supporters’ playful behaviour when visiting Planica.

### **Supporter Behaviour as Carnavalesque**

One framework available to analyse “deviant activities performed in times and spaces conventionally associated with leisure” (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009, p. 35) is Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1984) work on medieval festivals and the concept of the *carnavalesque*. Through humour the dominant social order is subverted through inversion of hierarchies, reduction of barriers between social groups, greater acceptance for social behaviour and profanation for example by flouting conventional standards of dress and behavior. As everything is subjected to change, you see the



## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

world from a different perspective. This is also relevant for contemporary festivals as the spirit of the carnivalesque often involve settings where people can dress up and express themselves, temporarily forget upon social norms and interact with everyone present (for a longer discussion, see Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009). Carnival is:

a process of social production and reproduction; it is not staged, nor performed as a spectacle. Rather, it is a part of social life just like any other, apart from the fact that it happens in proscribed places and times and according to a modified social code of conduct. It thus bears little resemblance to contemporary spectacle, nor to the staged (in)authenticity of the interpretive festival so beloved of many leisure and tourism studies. (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009, p. 42)

The concept of carnivalesque stems from Bakhtin's (1984) work on Rabelais and the festivals of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, typically characterized by suppression of hierarchical structure such as time and space of the event. Bakhtin explored festival life and how festivals afford a liminality for 'deviant' practice (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009), or 'playful deviance' (e.g., Redmon, 2003), without transgressing everyday social codes. According to Redmon, playful deviance "occurs most often when small groups of tourists travel to symbolic spaces of leisure to participate in temporary forms of transgressions that they will not perform in places where they live" (Redmon, 2003, p. 27). In the actual carnival context of Mardi Gras, Redmon (2003) found that participants, in their playful deviance, would flash breasts, penises, buttocks, masturbate, perform or receive oral sex, or have sex in public. In his study, he used Goffman's (1963) concept of 'backspace' as a place where the transgression of norms and playful deviance could take place. While the carnival setting may offer a space where people can present their 'secret self', we assume

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

that this is not a main driver in the sport setting as people come to the event to watch their team or athlete perform. Events offer liminality where people can engage in practices they cannot commit to in everyday life, though the playfulness may take other forms than Mardi Gras (Redmon, 2003).

### **Rabelais's Carnival in A Sport Setting**

Carnival is the opposite of conformity, and transgression is often related to everyday life. In the same way, as the Medieval hierarchies were dissolved at the marketplace, the modern hierarchies at the sport stadium with VIP seats and hospitality boxes are dissolved at the supplemental events after the competition where everyone partakes. While Medieval festivals were controlled by seasons (Bakhtin, 1984), sports spectacles are controlled by leagues and champions calendars.

For Bakhtin, the essence of carnival contains a utopian promise, and a carnival challenges social boundaries and offers a recognition that they are not absolute. An inversion of social order may for supporters mean that the usual seriousness can be replaced by a more childlike approach to behaviours and routines, and the temporary inversion of social order becomes a meaningful leisure activity for travellers. Chalip's (2006) concept of liminality refers to the atmosphere that makes it fun (i.e., energy, excitement and *communitas*) for participants. In consonance with the carnivalesque, Chalip argues when looking at sport events, that social rules are less important or even suspended and liminality "can provide a safe place and time to explore otherwise contentious social concerns" (2006, p. 111). As such, the liminal space may foster and open dialogue with behaviour and social norms. The event setting may also provide community spirit (*communitas*), which can break down barriers and create unity. In a study on Scottish football fans,

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

Giulianotti emphasized that carnival is coloured by “an abandonment to hedonistic excesses, and the psycho-social jouissance of eating, drinking, singing, joking, swearing, wearing of stylized attire and costumes, engaging in elaborate social interplay” (Giulianotti, 1995, p. 196).

The concept of carnival is closely connected to folk culture (Lachmann et al., 1988), and the rites and symbols of folk culture also constitute a temporary culture of laughter. The carnival’s collective laughter is directed at a shift in world order and change (Eichberg, 2009), and in the sport setting this can be revealed in shared camaraderie. For example, everyone involved, from athletes to supporters, celebrating the sport together in a positive way by laughing and drinking after the sports event is very different from football hooligans/ultras, who have so often been researched (Gerke, 2018; Giulianotti, 1995; Peitersen, 2009). Additionally, individual sports may not lead to conflictual factions in the same way as team sports. We have more knowledge about the latter.

Planica offers a unique opportunity to investigate the carnivalesque, as opposed to the more modern spatial-limited mass-carnival. The entire city, which is slightly larger than a marketplace, seems to be less concerned with ‘the rules’ (Eco, 1984), and people come together to celebrate and share the camaraderie of the sport (Chalip, 2006). As such, the town of Planica fosters relationships. Furthermore, the city offers, in contrast to investigated football supporters, regulated areas for carnivalesque behaviour (see Brottman, 2005, for a longer discussion); an interesting case for supporters ‘rebellion’ before going back to their lives.

### **Methodology**

The empirical investigation was conducted during the FIS World Cup Ski Flying in Planica, which took place on 24–27 March 2022. Planica is a small and

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

picturesque alpine valley located northwest in Slovenia. The city is a popular tourist destination and the centre of it all is the ski jumping hill (Bloudkova Velikanka) constructed in the 1930s (Ski jumping hill archive, n.d.). The current ski jumping hill (Velikanka bratov Gorišek) was opened in 1969. When opened, the ski jumping hill attracted 90,000 visitors in three days (Ski jumping hill archive, n.d.), and in 1972 Planica hosted the first World Championship. The ski jumping venue has been expanded over the years, and the weekend when Matti Nykänen flew 191 meters in the mid-80s, a record of 150,000 visitors was set. The world record at the time of writing was 253.5 meters (i.e., 277 yards) set by Stefan Kraft in Vikersund, Norway.

In addition to its beauty, Planica offers the supporters food and alcohol at modest prices compared to many European countries. Additionally, excellent logistics make the travel between the venue and hotels easy. Thus, the destination has several attributes (scenery, places, culture, and location) that serve as a pull factor for supporters (Kaplanidou & Vogt, 2010).

### **Data Collection**

In this qualitative investigation, data was conducted by means of observations and qualitative open-ended interviews with supporters. More precisely, two of the three authors travelled with a group of Norwegian supporters, meeting them at the airport in Norway and sharing flights and bus-trips. This access gave us an opportunity to conduct numerous informal talks with people attending the event, we saw these group all day as we stayed at the same hotel and travelled in the same busses. We were accepted into their community of supporters as researchers with an interest in the sport.

The naturalist observation took place in the field (Patton, 2014). We had explained, early on, on the bus, that we were researchers, and we had also

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

explained the purpose of our stay. As they became familiar with us, they were keen to explain why they travel and what the experience of being there meant to them. We used several ways of recording our observations such as field notes, where personal impressions were written down alongside reflective notes written together every evening. We never wrote long reports, instead the focus was on incidents we felt stood out and were worth discussing. The observations were valuable in the understanding of the joyful atmosphere of the supporters and were helpful to contextualize and finalize the interview guide. We discussed daily what we observed as we stayed well-aware of that fact that “value-free interpretive research is impossible” (Denzin, 1989, p. 23). We constantly questioned our objectivity and understanding of the supporters’ experiences, this also added to our interest in the phenomenon under investigation.

The observations influenced the final outline of the interview guide as we had learnt things by observing before we started interviewing. The interview guide consisted of three main sections. The first section included a few questions about background (nationality, age, occupation, and gender) and how they had become ski flying supporters. The second section of the interview guide included questions about supporter behaviour and number of trips to support their favourite athletes. In the third section, the experience of being a supporter was touched upon with questions such as ‘what is the best part of being a ski flying supporter?’. The interview guide was flexible to allow change in the order of questions in order to fully explore supporters’ perspectives and experiences (Patton, 2014).

Altogether, 19 supporters were interviewed (18 men and 1 woman). They were from Slovenia (n=7), Austria (n=6), and Norway (n=7). The international interviewees did not belong to the supporter group we travelled with, and the

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

occupation among interviewees varied. In the sport they also had different roles such as former coach, manager of logistics, parents, and volunteers. We also varied between a mixture of individual (n=2) and focus-groups interviews (n=5), as we approached them when in groups. Three of the focus groups consisted of three people, while the other two consisted of four people. The latter were the majority as we wanted to generate new ideas, and focus groups also helped encouraged participants in sharing their opinions (Greenbaum, 1998). This approach is a means to acquire a more complete understanding of complex phenomena (Kristiansen et al., 2012). Finally, some were also more comfortable when being interviewed in a group setting.

The groups interviewed consisted of different nationalities, and yet it was constantly emphasized that they were 'one big happy family'. We conducted the interviews together at the different sites where we ran into supporters. For example, having coffee at a café and talking to the people at the next table was a way to find people willing to share their experiences. The supporters we recruited were eager to share their views on the topic, even though not all of them were fluent in English. The length of the interviews ranged from 20- 45 minutes, and at the beginning of the interviews, participants were informed that the information they provided would remain confidential, and that they could terminate the discussion at any time.

A generic qualitative driven approach was conducted for the analyses (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2017). Question-focused analyses were used as the starting point when organizing the raw data (Patton, 2014), and segments that had similar themes were grouped together. The answers were grouped under the heading's transgression, location, suppression of hierarchical structure, and language.

Anonymity has been kept, and in-depth quotes are included in the presentation and

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

interpretation of the data. Rigor was demonstrated by use of *member reflection* to generate additional data and insight (Smith & McGannon, 2018). We discussed preliminary findings with participants of the event to obtain a reflexive elaboration (Braun & Clarke, 2013, 2019) rather than a validation of our findings (Cavallerio et al., 2020). As we constantly discussed comments made by previous interviewees as we went along conducting interviews, this helped us refine and understand supporter behaviour in relation to playful behaviour. We chose to use a disciplinary reflexive stance and focused on critical consideration of our assumptions and expectations from discipline perspectives (Gemignani, 2017). As our interpretations were influenced by values and assumptions, we added a third author to represent an objective voice to the travelling authors' engagement, control for the insider bias, and increase trustworthiness (Patton, 2014). Additionally, findings were discussed with colleagues in research groups to improve the organization of themes, add to the richness of reflections, and obtain critical feedback.

### **Findings**

Based on our research with ski flying supporters' experiences and behaviour during the World Cup final in Planica, Slovenia, we found that supporters adopt a playful style – “playful deviance” (see Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009, p. 36). Their playful behaviour is different compared to their normal everyday life behaviour, and we will elaborate upon this by describing the transgression from everyday life observed. Next, we describe the location and how the interviewees describe it, before discussing observations and interviews about how the everyday hierarchies are subverted through playful deviance.

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

### **Transgression From Everyday Life**

If we consider this supporter trip as a carnival, i.e., a leisure activity out of the ordinary taking place at a liminal event (Shrum & Kilburn, 1996), then this started for many of the Norwegian supporters at the bus stop outside their homes in Norway. The transgression or 'party', i.e., drinking and sharing stories about previous trips to Planica or about ski flyers, had already started when we first met the group at the airport and continued during the flight and bus to Planica. They were playful and loud, many of them dressed in knee breeches (knickers used for skiing), knitted jumpers, and rucksacks and carrying Norwegian flags. Planica is a small town, and upon arrival and check-in, the carnival officially started at the town centre where they met up with other ski flying supporters for drinks and socializing, typical carnival activities (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009). Though the more 'sacred centre' of the event is the ski flying hill, the carnival takes place in their trips up and down to the venue as well with 'ritual stops' for laughing, drinking, and talking about ski flying in the present and 'back in the day'. The place is also 'sacred' in being different from the secular 'normal' and working hours (Brottman, 2005), though this festive time also has its regulations. Supporters wore outdoor clothing, preferably in national colours or with national symbols. To show who you cheer for is important, and people display flags at all times. Those who came from the same country as the winner were in the end cheered for a little extra.

Another observable issue concerning the participants at this event was the highly uneven gender ratio among supporters, in particular among those who travelled to Planica. One Norwegian supporter tried to explain the history of this to us in an interview:



## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

We have been here in Planica since 2016, the first years there were several ladies. In 2018, there were 78 men and two women, and the two men who had their wives with them would probably have preferred to go out with us than being with their wives! We have more fun without our wives.

It became obvious to us that at the heart of this transgression was the fact that this was a 'boy's trip'. To them, this meant no wives, no responsibility, and being young and irresponsible again. Some also argued that this was due to the fact that "ski flying is one of the last men's sports only", while others also pointed to the fact that due to COVID-19, it was nice to finally spend some time alone too:

This is a trip for 'boys', [but] we did ask our wives for permission to go on this trip [laughter]. Of course, it would be more fun if more women went as well. Usually there are more women, many couples tend to be part of this group. Maybe 2022 is different because of COVID-19, that more men than women went this year?

After this rather contradictory statement, the supporter pointed to a married couple at the end of the bus; "he is here with his wife, he is not having as much fun as us (with a laughter from all of the men around)". Obviously, after the pandemic where people were 'forced' to be more at home, this group of Norwegian supporters enjoyed a trip with the boys. The same COVID-19 argument was repeated by one of the Slovenian interviewees as well when explaining why there were so few women supporters on the bus: "There was only one woman with us on the bus... we used to take women and children, but this stopped with COVID-19, this year we are selfish and left them at home". Thus, it appears that being a supporter and transgression from their everyday life in many ways also meant transgressing from the role as husband and

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

father. After a pandemic, that seemed to be somehow a relief to many of the supporters we talked to. At least this related to the Saturday and Sunday, as we will discuss next.

### **Location: 'National Holiday' At A Sport Venue**

While for the international supporters the party was in focus, a ski flying event is considered a *national holiday* in Slovenia for everyone. This was repeatedly underlined by the Slovenian people when we talked with them: "It is a national holiday for Slovenia, ... it is the national sport, Planica is something special" (Slovenian supporter). They come on different days and take part in different activities. There is a children's day and a family day – and then there are the two major days (Saturday and Sunday) with competitions. As such, the event attracts women and children as well, at least on the first two days with less alcohol and party according to our interviewees. The activities for these groups tend to be concentrated around the sports venue, and we therefore observed less display of carnivalesque around them. As one local supporter elaborated to us on the Saturday:

Yesterday we met so many families with children at the venue, there are many young supporters also ... Thursday is the kids' event, Friday is family event, Saturday and Sunday are more party days ... The kids learn more about the sport and what sports is, my brother came with us on Friday – and on Thursday he brought his grandson. Each day is different.

The event is not just a national holiday for supporters, it is also a time and place where supporters can forget about differences when celebrating the ski flyers:

In Planica we forget all political differences, we become one nation under the game... We are now in a middle of an election, but we forget all about

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

it here. One politician came and wanted to take part in the event, he maybe wanted to swing some votes, but we do not want the competition to be about that ...

Clearly, the liminal space created by the event fosters an open dialogue where supporters unite despite their differences (Chalip, 2006). The contemporary carnival therefore share similarities with the political carnivals observed by Bakhtin (1984). In addition, people have a good time watching the competition, and because every jump has an element of danger to it, supporters cheer for all good jumps as this international supporter expressed it: “we cherish a good jump, whoever does it. But of course, we hope for one of ours to win in the end”. Thus, that wish will not result in any type of ultra-subculture such as in football (Gerke, 2018).

For the Norwegian supporters, the event also has elements of a national holiday – especially when a Norwegian ski flyer wins! In their clothes, knee breeches (knickers) and sweaters in red, blue and white – and proudly waving their flag, their behaviour is characterized by playful deviance. The deviant behaviour is controlled and organized, which creates a safe environment. Safeness has been accomplished by creating certain days during which different supporter groups can attend. As mentioned, families with children attend the first days where activities are tailored for the youngest with less alcohol and partying.

All interviewees agreed that Planica was the optimal city to see ski flying due to the additional offers created by the festive atmosphere. Food and drinks are reasonably priced which make the event more inclusive and diverse. There are also ‘waterholes’ between the venue and the city. On party days, many supporters walk from the ski flying venue back to Planica. This five-kilometre ‘national holiday parade’, mostly downhill, includes regular breaks to enjoy music, food, and drinks.

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

The scenic road is transformed into a happy place with colourful people acting out their playful and friendly. As a result, the trip down to Planica takes many hours, with supporters arriving in the late afternoon.

### **Suppression Of Structures**

During the interviews, it was constantly reiterated that everyone in Planica is “family”, which indicates a suppression of “all hierarchical distinctions and barriers” so that “all were considered equal” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 15). In our case, it does not replicate a carnival in the sense of overcoming power inequalities. Instead, it appears that participating in the playful behaviour at many of the community events allows people from all walks of life to come together and cheer for all athletes. They have a collective identity (Bakhtin, 1984) as they are in Planica together, therefore there is no violence or fights between supporters as often mention when describing hooligans and football supporters (Bason, 2022; Crawford, 2003). In football, these ritualized acts of violence tend to be accepted (Brottman, 2005), but in the ski flying context the participants from the different nations merge, and stakeholders involved in the sport - whether as supporter, coach, former and present athletes, event organizers or even event researcher – is welcomed.

It is a festive atmosphere of “peace, abundance and friendship”, also typical for the old carnivals (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009, p. 37), and happiness is the best adjective to describe ski flying supporters. This was underlined in the interviews as well. One Norwegian supporter said the following when describing what it was like being a supporter:

It's the experience, sitting here with Slovenes and being happy on behalf of everyone, we cheer on everyone, we value good jumps, and it doesn't really matter how the competition goes – we just do not want any

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

Austrians to win [laughter]. We all agree on that here [more laughter].

Slovenians are a wonderful people; they are very nice.

Naturally supporters cheer the most for their 'own' ski jumpers. However, this is an extreme action sport where severe injury is a possibility, and supporters are united by respect for a great performance more than who did it, which is rather common in extreme sport subculture. Ski flying is all about margins, the finest margins are the difference between thrilling success and crumbling failure. One should cheer for all the successes and effort should be recognized. As one Norwegian supporter expressed it: "Supporters are aware of the risk of flying, it is not tennis, you need to be brave to do this, and all the athletes need our support".

The danger of the sport and the happiness when no one was injured, was a constant theme. That was not the case in 2021, when Norwegian ski jumper, Daniel A. Tande, fell and ended up with four cerebral haemorrhages, a punctured lung and two broken bones in the left collarbone. He was put into a coma to control his body temperature, and as he survived the brain injuries, he also had surgery on his shattered collarbone (Merrell, 2021). Eight months later he was back in sport, though 10 titanium screws created discomfort. He did not participate in Planica, but he came to thank everyone for the support he had received the year before.

The concern everyone showed for his injury, recovery, and return, took us by surprise. Just by mentioning that we were Norwegian, everyone we met mentioned the 2021 injury. We also talked to a local long-term volunteer who had helped out when the accident happened and truly appreciated that he was present as well this year:

We really appreciate that he came back this year to thank all of us, he probably does not know this, but even during the recovery I received

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

regular updates, we all took part in it because he is one of us. These ski flyers are not only sports men, but they are also like ... they are one of us, we keep in touch, we follow their recovery all the way, it is not like when a football player breaks something. This is not an ordinary sport, it is *family*, flying this far is crazy ... but we try to control as much as we can.

As this is a niche sport with a smaller community of supporters and athletes, the athletes are accessible and the boundaries between the two groups may be blurred as the case above emphasize. Tande is no 'out-of-reach'-celebrity; and many supporters feel that they know personally. Supporters revealed a deep interpersonal connection to him, and when they heard we were Norwegian the normal response was: "Tande is such a great guy, I am so glad he is back here this year". This obvious connection also includes caring for the athletes' health, and cheer extra when they, in this case Tande, start flying again. The supplemental events going-on after the actual ski-jumping event where the feeling of being family adds to the playful behaviour in the Planica case. This story also adds to the inclusion and really caring for each other taking place in the mingling of during community events.

The camaraderie in this sport carnival was noticeable in the language and tone among supporters in Planica: "It's strange to see how they change when they drink, they warm up and their faces and become happier" (Norwegian supporter). Also, when we interviewed them, often when they were drinking beer (it was hard to find a time of the day when they were not drinking), this playfulness was apparent when we tried to ask more serious questions about their view on themselves as supporters. There was so much laughter, warmth, that it was hard not to be smitten by the cheerfulness. According to Ravenscroft and Gilchrist (2009, p. 38), this is typical for a carnival:

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

Carnival is not a space filled with the language of revolution, or other political discourse, but with drunken laughter, curses, popular blazons and other forms of billingsgate. The 'we' may be invoked through shared jollity, but it serves as no basis for a new political order...

As the carnivals discussed by Bakhtin (1984), Planica plaza was filled with happy and cheerful people who appeared to have no distance between themselves – or with us for that matter. Also included in this carnival mixture were previous athletes and leaders of sport organizations who joined the laughter (Eichberg, 2009).

Everyone appeared to be welcome at any table, and the usual restrictions were not present. Who you are does not matter, as long as you care about the sport, then you are family. In this mixture, usual class hierarchies may be suppressed, what is discussed is not who you are but the competitions everyone observed. Previous ski flying events were compared with the present, there were so many stories. The athletes they talked about, such as Tande, were not placed on a pedestal and “one of them who actually came back to say hi”. Elite athletes are usually not accessible, they may even drop the obligatory mixed zone after events (Kristiansen et al., 2011). No one was left out, and people looked after each other – in particularly those who might drink too much. We observed people taking care of each other, if someone got too much to drink, without pointing fingers. They mentioned one novice in the company with an overcoming laughter and one commented “it is his first trip, as a novice he is not used to it”. It was liberating for us as researchers to observe, and it made it easy to meet supporters. It was harder, in all the laughter surrounding us, to obtain serious answers to some of our research questions though. This happiness also says something about increased well-being by belonging to a group that we

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

observed. Whatever everyday struggle that awaited them at home, joyful presence united the supporters.

### Discussion

Based on our research with ski flying supporter's experiences during the World Cup in Planica, Slovenia, we argue that supporters adopt behaviour that we termed playful deviance (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009; Redmon, 2003). The transgression starts for the Norwegian supporters when they leave home for Planica (on the bus and plane) and carried on in Planica where the supporters had clear routines or rituals for their behaviour. While Planica was the host community for this event (Hinch & Delamere, 1993), the supporters made no difference between them and Slovenians – or other Europeans present. They are *family* – and differences were suppressed (Bakhtin, 1984), including political differences as the liminal space opens up for dialogue by informal social opportunities, celebration and camaraderie (Chalip, 2006). The observable happiness was overwhelming, and it stemmed from more than just the event being free of accidents. The use of Bakhtin's carnivalesque as a festive atmosphere, helped us better understand this subcultures playful behavior on a supporter tour (Brottman, 2005)

When being together with the supporters, we often heard, "what happens in Planica, stays in Planica", which we interpreted as a form of protection; the playful deviance is permitted and protected from the 'outside' world. The playfulness was characterized by toying around while drinking for four days. The consequences of becoming too drunk in Planica are not necessarily the same if you happened to drink too much at a party at home. This sentiment also resembles what Bakhtin (1984, p. 7) argued in his work – that carnival offers a space where 'the footlights are off' – and where people can play dialogically oriented to each other (Marjanovic-Shane &



## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

White, 2014). The supporters also seemed to change and modify their moral compasses, and there was an ease on social expectations as people happily reduced social distancing. They would take care of each other and keep an eye on friends who had too much to drink. Adding the playfulness and politeness towards anyone, it reminds us of Falassi's concept of time out of time (1987). In that way, the events act as a release from social pressure and daily jobs, or as Ravenscroft and Gilchrist (2009, p. 37) argue, the temporary performative condition result in an atmosphere of doing things 'in their own way' organized and entertained simply by togetherness. For the Norwegian group we travelled with, being there had to do with quality of life (Sharma et al., 2017). As they argued in the interviews, the Planica-trip was an energy boost that kept them going for a long time upon their return. Or a year, as one said with a laugh.

### **Contribution To Events-Related Research**

The present study contributes to events-related research in many ways. The supporters derive *personal benefits* from their participation. Supporters come to Planica not only for the ski flying but also for community events (Stevenson, 2021) where playful deviance is accepted (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009; Redmon, 2003). Chalip (2006) suggested that sport events are more than entertainment. They hold social value and factors which may offer 'liminality' and *communitas* for the attending people, which in turn fosters social capital. It has been argued that engaging in activities different and meaningful from daily routines could add to quality of life for volunteers (Kristiansen et al., 2023). A similar argument may be easily argued for supporters attending a sport event such as highlighted by our interviewees (Piper et al., 2022; Ramchandani et al., 2022; Yu et al., 2021). Correspondingly, Taks (2013) has previously argued that small events benefit the host-communities. While these

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

events strengthen the local economy, the present research also emphasizes how they also create opportunities for enhancing the quality of life for supporters. The supporters are driven to this event by experiences (Getz, 2008). Liminality creates an atmosphere of fun and *communitas* (Chalip, 2006), consequently, the event adds to the soft aspects such as quality of life (Sharma et al., 2017) in addition to integration, cohesion, and social mixing at the individual supporter level.

Society could also benefit from the participants' experiences. Stevenson (2021) has argued for five aspects that can be developed through events; social capital, interaction, participation, sense of place, and wellbeing. Social capital is a way to expand economic development, well-being, and social cohesion (Lee, 2013; Putnam et al., 1993). Due to the scope of the event and the limitation of our data, we do not think that the possible formation of social capital derived from the event can have the same scope as those proposed by Putnam (1993). The effects of the Planica event may have a scope on the formation of social capital of the type described by Bourdieu (1986) and credited in similar events by Lockstone-Binney et al. (2020), Zhou and Kaplanidou (2018); and Kellett et al. (2008) consider social capital as ties and connections that facilitate cooperation and cohesion among attendees. These short-term impacts imply a sense of community derived from the environment generated around the event.

The perception of belonging to a group or a community can lead, in cases where they have been receiving benefits from the society, to increased trust and develop altruism (Herreros 2004; Klein, 2011). Thus, smaller events may provide good opportunities to implement some of the social sustainability aspects (Ryan, 2021). As our study illustrates, community events offer a unique opportunity to engage supporters in open dialogue, enjoyable activities, and create positive

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

emotions and increased well-being at an individual level. Furthermore, these emotions go beyond mere entertainment as they can act as a catalyst for social cohesion and inclusion in a best-case scenario. We are aware that events may be used to unite people and take focus away from real political issues, as one Slovenian interviewee mentioned. However, while they express that they feel united by the event experience, this should be further explored (Chalip, 2006; Misener & Mason, 2006; Taks, 2013). The impact of suspending or forgetting social tensions can be detrimental if it diverts participants' attention from the political and social challenges that require their engagement but are postponed, ignored, or forgotten in the wake of the event, which can be described as 'panem et circenses' (i.e., bread and circus). Such events can serve as a temporary outlet for pent-up frustration, preventing the emergence of social unrest.

From our interviews we derive that the event may lead to an exaltation of the feeling of national holiday in Slovenia and a feeling of social cohesion, suspension or forgetfulness of social tensions. We cannot comment on its extent over time.

### **Practical Implications**

The study has several implications for organizers and politicians. Both the World Cup and the minor 'supplemental' (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2020) events offer opportunities to develop social relationships that contribute to social capital, which in turn promotes social integration and short-term social benefits (Bakhtin, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986; Lee et al., 2016; Lockstone-Binney et al., 2020; Newton, 2001; Skinner et al., 2008). Positive participation in social networks can increase individuals' trust in society. When people expect benefits from society, their confidence grows, encouraging them to help others. Generosity and reciprocity build trust and enhance the sense of belonging to a group, fostering social cohesion and

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

integration (Sandefur & Laumann, 2000). Individual trust can therefore be transformed into societal trust by the participation of individual in civic social networks (Putnam et al., 1993).

Some of our data indicate that the sense of belonging and cohesion becomes more enduring for participants who repeatedly attend the event. This continuity is fostered through shared stories, such as the return of a previously injured jumper, and the evolving reputations of individuals, groups, or locations. The interviews highlighted not only their national identity but also their identity as supporters of ski flying. Many of the visiting supporters we talked to were involved as volunteer or organizers of ski flying events in their respective countries.

However, the available data do not provide evidence of social cohesion or community membership among event attendees beyond the event itself. For instance, we cannot determine their behaviour in their home communities or any changes in their family attachments. This suggests that while the event fosters a sense of inclusivity, it also maintains exclusivity. Bourdieu's concept of social capital helps explain these dynamics. The event promotes *communitas* and *camaraderie*, making participants feel equal and included. However, most Norwegian attendees were men who came alone, excluding wives and children, which paradoxically creates exclusion. Additionally, the event attracts a specific demographic with certain cultural capital and financial means, adding another layer of exclusion.

Finally, for organizers, it is vital to acknowledge that the atmosphere surrounding a major sport event is an important reason for travel. Supporters come in many different shapes, and activities should be organized so that one group's playfulness might not have a negative impact on the event experience of another supporter group. Even more interesting is that the seemingly 'all-inclusive'

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

atmosphere was maintained despite several exclusionary dynamics that gender and class often represent. As the different days of the event have different focus, this might be one reason for it, but it appears to also be linked to expectations and organization of the supplement events. Our study sheds light on how it is possible to include all these different groups of supporters, and that when they feel welcomed, the event becomes an annual highlight for many.

### Conclusion

The carnivalesque laugh may be an important part of humans' well-being. Early on, Eco underlined the importance of the laugh by arguing that in order to enjoy carnivals, "[it] requires that rules and rituals be parodied, and that these rules and rituals already be recognized and respected" (1984, p. 6). The supporters present in Planica, and in particular the Norwegian group that we travelled with, were well aware of rules and rituals. Already in Norway they shared their perception of *communitas* (Chalip, 2006), and what they gained personally by being present at the event in Planica. The degree of parody is less supported in the findings; however, they enjoyed the transgression and being equal and gathered around their sport interest. The 'small-scale' and un-staged carnival seemed to bring them intense joy for the four days it lasted (Ravenscroft & Gilchrist, 2009; Redmon, 2003), and the important spots in Planica where it took place meant a lot to them. By using Bakhtin's (1984) framework, we found support in the data for playful behaviour of supporters and a transgression from a more structured and organized everyday life. Particularly, it is the supplemental events (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2020) that offer a space where people can present their 'secret self' and reveal playful deviance (Redmon, 2003). These events also contribute to social capital *facilitated* by short-term experiences at an event such as the world cup in Planica. Importantly, these

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

short-term experiences should also be acknowledged for their potential long-term effects on a societal level, as they can serve as catalyst for social cohesion and inclusion.

### References

- Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). *Rabelais and his world*. Indiana University Press.
- Bason, T. (2022). Follow, follow, follow: Analysing the motivations for attending small-scale events abroad. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 27(1), 1–14.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14775085.2022.2094992>
- Bouchet, P., Bodet, G., Bernache-Assollant, I., & Kada, F. (2011). Segmenting sport spectators: Construction and preliminary validation of the Sporting Event Experience Search (SEES) scale. *Sport Management Review*, 14(1), 42–53.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2010.02.001>
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood.
- Bradbury-Jones, C., Breckenridge, J., Clark, M. T., Herber, O. R., Wagstaff, C., & Taylor, J. (2017). The state of qualitative research in health and social science literature: A focused mapping review and synthesis. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 20(6), 627–645.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2016.1270583>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. Sage.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(4), 589–597.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806>

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

- Brottman, M. (2005). Joyful Mayhem: Bakhtin and football fans. In N. Brottman (Ed.), *High theory/low culture* (pp. 21–34). Palgrave MacMillan.
- Cavallerio, F., Wadey, R., & Wagstaff, C. R. D. (2020). Member reflections with elite coaches and gymnasts: Looking back to look forward. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 12(1), 48–62.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1625431>
- Chalip, L. (2006). Towards social leverage of sport events. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 11(2), 109–127. <https://doi-org/10.1080/14775080601155126>
- Cleland, J., Doidge, M., Millward, P., & Widdop, P. (2018). *Collective action and football fandom*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73141-4>
- Cocieru, O. C., Delia, E. B., & Katz, M. (2019). It's our club! From supporter psychological ownership to supporter formal ownership. *Sport Management Review*, 22, 322–334. <https://doi-org/10.1016/j.smr.2018.04.005>
- Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction ritual chains*. Princeton University Press.
- Cottingham, M. D. (2012). Interaction ritual theory and sports fans: Emotion, symbols, and solidarity. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 29(2), 168–185.  
<https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.29.2.168>
- Crawford, G. (2003). The career of the sport supporter: The case of the Manchester storm. *Sociology*, 37(2), 219–237.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038503037002001>
- Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive interactionism*. Sage.
- Eco, U. (1984). The frames of comic 'freedom'. In Eco, U., Ivanov, V. V., Rector, M., & Sebeok, T. (eds.), *Carnival!* (pp. 1–10). Mouton.

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

Eichberg, H. (2009). Sport and laughter: Phenomenology of the imperfect human being. *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*, 3(3), 286–304.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17511320902982469>

Falassi, A. (1987). *Time out of time: Essays on the festival* (First Edition). University of New Mexico Press.

FIS. (2013). *Hill-size*. FIS ski jumping. <http://www.fisskijumping.com/>

FIS. (2022, April 13). *Women shall get to ski fly*. <https://www.fis-ski.com/en/ski-jumping/ski-jumping-news-multimedia/news/2022-23/women-shall-get-to-ski-fly>

Gemignani, M. (2017). Toward a critical reflexivity in qualitative inquiry: Relational and posthumanist reflections on realism, researcher's centrality, and representationalism in reflexivity. *Qualitative Psychology*, 4(2), 185–198.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000070>

Gerke, M. (2018). 'Supporters, not consumers.' Grassroots supporters' culture and sports entertainment in the US. *Sport in Society*, 21(6), 932–945.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2017.1300393>

Getz, D. (2008). Event tourism: Definition, evolution, and research. *Tourism Management*, 29, 403–428. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2007.07.017>

Giulianotti, R. (1995). *Football and the politics of carnival: An ethnographic study of Scottish fans in Sweden*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/101269029503000205>

Giulianotti, R. (2002). Supporters, followers, fans, and flaneurs: A taxonomy of spectator identities in football. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 26(1), 25–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723502261003>

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma*. Prentice-Hall.



## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

- Gratton, C., Shibli, S., & Coleman, R. (2006). The economic impact of major sports events: A review of ten events in the UK. In J. Horne & W. Manzenreiter (Eds.), *Sports mega-events. Social scientific analyses of a global phenomenon*. Blackwell Publishing/The Sociological Review.
- Greenbaum, T. L. (1998). *The handbook for focus group research*. Sage.
- Herreros, F. (2004). *The Problem of Forming Social Capital*. Palgrave MacMillan.
- Hinch, T. D., & Delamere, T. A. (1993). Native festivals as tourist attractions: A community challenge. *Journal of Applied Recreation Research*, 18(2), 131–142.
- Hugenberg, L. W., & Hugenberg, B. S. (2008). If it ain't rubbin', it ain't racin': NASCAR, American values, and fandom. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 41(4), 635–657. <https://doi-org/10.1111/j.1540-5931.2008.00540.x>
- Hughson, J., & Free, M. (2006). Paul Willis, cultural commodities, and collective sport fandom. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 23(1), 72–85. <https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.23.1.72>
- Jones, I. (2007). Sport fans and spectators as sport tourists. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 12(2), 147–148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14775080701654812>
- Kaplanidou, K., & Vogt, C. (2010). The meaning and measurement of a sport event experience among active sport tourists. *Journal of Sport Management*, 24(5), 544–566. <https://doi.org/10.1123/jsm.24.5.544>
- Kellett, P., Hede, A.-M., & Chalip, L. (2008). Social policy for sport events: leveraging (relationships with) teams from other nations for community benefit. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 8(2), 101–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16184740802024344>

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

- Klein, C. (2011). *Social capital or social cohesion: What matters for subjective well-being (SWB)?* <https://liser.elsevierpure.com/en/publications/social-capital-or-social-cohesion-what-matters-for-subjective-wel-2>
- Kristiansen, E., Hanstad, D. V., & Roberts, G. C. (2011). Coping with the media at the Vancouver Winter Olympics: "We all make a living out of this." *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 23(4), Article 4.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1612197X.2011.623451>
- Kristiansen, E., Prebensen, N. K., & Chen, J. S. (2023). Benefits of volunteerism and quality of life: A Norwegian perspective. In M. Uysal & M. J. Sirgy (Eds.), *Handbook of Tourism and Quality-of-Life Research* (2nd ed.). Springer.
- Kristiansen, E., Skirstad, B., Parent, M. M., & Waddington, I. (2015). 'We can do it': Community, resistance, social solidarity, and long-term volunteering at a sport event. *Sport Management Review*, 18, 256–267.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2014.06.002>
- Kristiansen, E., Tomten, S. E., Hanstad, D. V., & Roberts, G. C. (2012). Coaching communication issues with elite female athletes: Two Norwegian case studies. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine & Science in Sports*, e156.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1600-0838.2012.01521.x>
- Lachmann, R., Eshelman, R., & Davis, M. (1988). Bakhtin and carnival: Culture as counter-culture. *Cultural Critique*, 11, 115–152.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1354246>
- Lee, D. (2013). How the arts generate social capital to foster intergroup social cohesion. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 43(1), 4–17.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2012.761167>

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

Lee Ludvigsen, J. A. (2021). Between security and festivity: The case of fan zones.

*International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 56(2), 233–251.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690219894888>

Lee, Y., Kim, M., & Koo, J. (2016). The impact of social interaction and team

member exchange on sport event volunteer management. *Sport Management*

*Review (Elsevier Science)*, 19(5). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2016.04.005>

Lockstone-Binney, L., Urwin, G., Bingley, S., & Burgess, S. (2020). Identifying social

impact from supplemental events: A research framework. *Leisure Studies*,

39(6), 877–892. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2020.1795227>

Marjanovic-Shane, A., & White, J. (2014). When the footlights are off: A Bakhtinian

interrogation of play as postupok. *International Journal of Play*, 3(2), 119–135.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/21594937.2014.931686>

Merrell, C. (2021, December 2). *Daniel-André Tande: Coming back against all odds*.

Olympics.Com. <https://olympics.com/en/featured-news/daniel-andre-tande-against-all-odds-ski-jumping>

Misener, L., & Mason, D. (2006). Creating community networks. Can sporting events

offer meaningful sources of social capital? *Managing Leisure*, 11(1).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13606710500445676>

Müller, M. (2015). What makes an event a mega-event? Definitions and sizes.

*Leisure Studies*, 34(6), 627–642.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2014.993333>

Newland, B. L., & Aicher, T. J. (2018). Exploring sport participants' event and

destination choices. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 22(2), 131–149.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14775085.2018.1436464>

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

- Newton, K. (2001). Trust, social capital, civil society, and democracy. *International Political Science Review*, 22(2), 201–214.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512101222004>
- Osborne, A. C., & Coombs, D. S. (2013). Performative sport fandom: An approach to retheorizing sport fans. *Sport in Society*, 16(5), 672–681.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2012.753523>
- Patton, M. Q. (2014). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods (4rd ed.)*. Sage Publications.
- Peitersen, B. (2009). Supporter culture in Denmark: The legacy of the 'world's best supporters.' *Soccer & Society*, 10(3–4), 374–385.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970902771431>
- Piper, K., Wainwright, N., Emanuel, L., & Williams, A. (2022). Well-being resources and mass participation sports events in Pembrokeshire. *Event Management*, 26(1), 59–72. <https://doi.org/10.3727/152599521X16192004803610>
- Poulton, E. (2008). Toward a cultural sociology of the consumption of “fantasy football hooliganism.” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 25, 331–349.  
<https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.25.3.331>
- Putnam, R., Leonardi, R., & Nanetti, R. (1993). *Making democracy work. Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton University Press.
- Ramchandani, G., Coleman, R., & Millar, R. (2022). The Perceived influence of sport event spectatorship on subjective wellbeing. *Journal of Global Sport Management*, 7(1), 226–241. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24704067.2019.1669066>
- Ravenscroft, N., & Gilchrist, P. (2009). Spaces of transgression: Governance, discipline and reworking the carnivalesque. *Leisure Studies*, 28(1), 35–49.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02614360802127243>

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

- Redmon, D. (2003). Playful deviance as an urban leisure activity: Secret selves, self-validation, and entertaining performances: *Deviant Behavior*: Vol 24, No 1. *Deviant Behavior*, 24(1), 27–51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10639620390117174>
- Ryan, W. G. (2021). *Managing international events*. Routledge.
- Sandefur, R., & Laumann, E. (2000). A paradigm for social capital. In *Rationality and Society*, Vol. 10, pp. 69–87). <https://doi.org/10.1177/104346398010004005>
- Sharma, S., Conduit, J., & Hill, S. R. (2017). Hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing outcomes from co-creation roles: A study of vulnerable customers. *Journal of Services Marketing*., 31(4/5), 397–411. <https://doi-org/10.1108/JSM-06-2016-0236>
- Shrum, W., & Kilburn, J. (1996). Ritual disrobement at Mardi Gras: Ceremonial exchange and moral order. *Social Forces*, 75(2), 423–458. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/75.2.423>
- Ski jumping hill archive. (n.d.). *Planica*. Ski Jumping Hill. <http://www.skisprungschanzen.com/EN/Ski+Jumps/SLO-Slovenia/Planica/0475-Letalnica/>
- Skinner, J., Dwight, H. Z., & Cowell, J. (2008). Development through sport: Building social capital in disadvantaged communities. *Sport Management Review*, 11(3), 253–275. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1441-3523\(08\)70112-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1441-3523(08)70112-8)
- Skirstad, B., & Kristiansen, E. (2017). Defining indirect volunteers and applying the volunteer cube framework. In A. Benson & N. Wise (Eds.), *International Sport Volunteering* (pp. 122–141). Routledge.
- Smith, B., & McGannon, K. R. (2018). Developing rigor in qualitative research: Problems and opportunities within sport and exercise psychology.

## SPORT SUPPORTERS AND PLAYFUL BEHAVIOUR

*International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 11(1).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984X.2017.1317357>

Stevenson, N. (2021). The contribution of community events to social sustainability in local neighbourhoods. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 29(11–12), 1776–1791. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1808664>

Taks, M. (2013). Social sustainability of non-mega sport events in a global world1. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, 10(2), 121–141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2013.11687915>

Vimieiro, A. C. (2017). Sports Journalism, Supporters and new Technologies. *Digital Journalism*, 5(5), 567–586. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1263161>

Wann, D. L., Melnick, M., Russel, G. W., & Pease, D. G. (2001). *Sport fans: The psychology and social impact of spectators*. Routledge.

Yu, N., Mair, J., Lee, A., & Ong, F. (2021). Subjective well-being and events. *Event Management*, 26. <https://doi.org/10.3727/152599521X16192004803584>

Zhou, R., & Kaplanidou, K. (2018). Building social capital from sport event participation: An exploration of the social impacts of participatory sport events on the community. *Sport Management Review*, 21(5), 491–503. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2017.11.001>