Climate change Catastrophe chapter

Football as an island of hope in a warming sea of despair.

> The catastrophic extent and damaging consequences of anthropogenic climate change are well documented (IPCC 2021). Sports in general, and football in particular, are contributing to the problem. Football has already been dramatically impacted by the affects of climate change. Goldblatt (2020) has highlighted that football is already being severely impacted through flooded pitches, match cancellations and the negative impact on training and grassroots facilities. Against this background, climate change is not only an environmental but a social problem and truly tackling it requires deeper societal transformations and the public's acceptance and support for those. Football fans constitute one aspect of the public, but a sizable aspect. Indeed, they represent one of the largest collectives within contemporary society. This chapter will argue that communicating climate change based on fans' values and identities is one way to address the catastrophe. Mobilising football fans is a way of pushing governing bodies and clubs to do more, and for them to push for structural change.

It's the hope that kills you. Football is full of cliches, maxims and truisms that help us explain the game. More importantly, they help us explain our relationship to the game and the feelings we experience before, during, and after a match. Wisdom often comes after the event, but the never-ending narrative of football has a tried and tested stock of phrases that give football fans a readymade answer to what they are feeling. As fans approach an important match, suggesting that having hope is a negative response to the potential loss that's coming your way. In fact, it's a way of managing one's own feelings before the match, and giving the individual fan some control in an otherwise uncontrollable situation. How you, as a fan, feel about the upcoming game can all be destroyed by a defensive error, poor refereeing decision or tactical misstep by the manager. And yet fans still have hope. There's always the chance that the odds can be upset, or the miracle can happen. The history of football is littered with miracles, 90th minute goals, and last-gasp victories. It is why fans love the game.

It is hard to open a chapter about climate change, in a book about catastrophes, with the promise of hope. It's even harder to do so when at the time of writing this chapter there is a climate emergency, after a two-year covid pandemic, and just after Russia has invaded Ukraine. Millions of people are displaced in Ukraine, as well as Afghanistan, Congo, Myanmar,

Syria, Yemen, and others, all of which follows on from the so-called 'refugee crisis' of 2015. These occurred in a period of intense division in European and North American countries, where the far-right has been normalised. In Britain, Brexit has exposed and sustained wide social and political divisions. And just over a decade ago there was a global financial crisis that led to worldwide recession. Financial crisis, 'refugee crisis', and climate crisis are all added to war, disease and growing inequalities. In this 'age of crisis' (Saad-Filho, 2021), it's hard to have hope. But to overcome the impending catastrophe of climate change, we have to have hope, even if it proves to be disappointing. Hope allows us to build networks of solidarity and give ourselves some control over something that can seem so overwhelming (Clarke, Rogaly and Senker 2021). And hope can be built and shared through working with existing communities, like football fans. This chapter argues that football fans are an important and sizeable collective that could be engaged on climate change through collaborative communication. In this way, pro-environmental action could be provoked that creates acceptance for necessary deeper societal transformations. Communication should be as local, interactive and social as possible and align with fans' identities and values. By linking climate change with these values and identities, we can hope that part of the damage can be mitigated or reversed.

The catastrophic extent and damaging consequences of anthropogenic climate change are well documented (IPCC 2021). Sports in general, and football in particular, are contributing to the problem. The football industry is a problematic ally in the fight against climate catastrophe. Governing bodies pay lip service to the problem and their actions to not match their words. The FIFA men's world cup in Qatar is an excellent example of the disconnect between the rhetoric and practice of governing bodies. The men's world cup has already been moved to December in order to minimise the impact of the heat on players. Despite this, the temperature will still be touching 40 degrees Celsius. And it is not just the physiological impact of the heat on players and fans, it's the environmental impact of maintaining high-quality turf for the competition. Qatar flies, on climate-controlled aircraft, 140 tonnes of grass seed from the US and use 10,000 litres of desalinated water daily in winter and 50,000 litres in the summer on the pitches (Mills 2022). As with every tournament, including national leagues, the environmental impact is significant.

And football has already been dramatically impacted by the affects of climate change. Most notably, Carlisle United's stadium was submerged when the North West of England was flooded in 2015. Goldblatt (2020) has highlighted that football is already being severely impacted through flooded pitches, match cancellations and the negative impact on training and grassroots facilities. Against this background, climate change is not only an environmental but a social problem and truly tackling it requires deeper societal transformations and the public's acceptance and support for those. Football fans constitute one aspect of the public, but a sizable aspect. Indeed, they represent one of the largest collectives within contemporary society. As this chapter will argue, communicating climate change based on fans' values and identities is one way to address the catastrophe. Despite this, fans have fought back on a number of issues, including racism, governance and policing. There are some emerging campaigns originating from football fans that seek to tackle climate change, such as Pledgeball, Kick Fossil Fuels Out of Football, Zukunft Profifußball and some club specific campaigns like Huddersfield Town Supporters Association's Sustainable Stadiums campaign.

Mobilising football fans is a way of pushing governing bodies and clubs to do more, and for them to push for structural change.

Climate Catastrophe

The science identifying the impact and causes of anthropogenic climate change is well documented (IPCC, 2021). There has been some government action to implement ambitious targets to reduce CO2 emissions, particularly to keep increases in global temperatures under 1.5°C (UNFCCC, 2017; European Commission 2014). Yet there is political and economic resistance to the science and the measures. In November 2020, President Donald Trump withdrew the US from the Paris Agreement. There is a well-oiled 'denial machine' (Dunlap 2013) that fuels scepticism and denialism. Which reminds us that ignorance is not always down to individuals, but is manufactured (Bacevic 2019; McGoey 2020). This chapter understands climate change as both an environmental and social issue, hence tackling it "requires challenging mindsets, norms, rules, institutions, and policies that support unsustainable resource use and practices" (Leichenko and O'Brien 2019: 43) in addition to rather technical solutions focused on humans' carbon-intensive behaviours.

Whilst recognising the macro, structural factors that help shape people's worldviews and values, particularly on climate change, we are also caught in a web of populist governments who won't enact policies that they think will be unpopular with their voters. Consequently, solutions need to be found that circumvent the buck-passing; voters look to politicians to make changes who don't want to do anything that will make them unpopular. Even the threat of an impending climate catastrophe is not enough to change consumer behaviour. Being aware of major world issues does not automatically translate into action (Cohen 2000; Meštrović 1996). As many (eg Bacevic 2019; McGoey 2020) have argued, ignorance is politically and socially produced; what is focused upon leaves blind spots that are ignored. The 'denial machine' (Dunlap 2013) also helps to provide extensive visibility and oxygen to those who seek to minimalise or deny anthropogenic climate change, namely think tanks, politicians, lobbyists and media companies (Begley 2007; Dunlap and McCright 2011; Dunlap 2013).

Within this socio-political climate individuals will align their understanding of the 'science' with their own values and beliefs. There is extensive literature analysing perceptions of climate change in individuals. Often rooted in psychology, these studies suggest that there is a broad pattern of beliefs about climate change across different demographics (Poortinga et al 2019). Yet we also need to take into account the structural factors that impact on these patterns of belief. Views on climate change often align to the world view and politics of individuals (Poortinga et al 2019). In particular, the research demonstrates that climate sceptics tend to be male, older and with less formal education (Poortinga et al 2011). Often these align to the 'white male effect' (Finucane et al 2000), where perceptions of risk are underplayed, impacts doubted, and scepticism is higher (Hayes 2001; Finucane et al 2000). This is often aligned politically, particularly in the US, with the 'conservative male effect' (Kahan et al., 2007; McCright and Dunlap, 2011) which align with the prevailing political and social structures (Jylhä and Akrami, 2015; Jylhä et al., 2016). There are similar analyses for older, more conservative, people who may seek to preserve their socio-political status

(Cornelis et al 2009). People are also unwilling to enact more pro-environmental behaviours because change is often seen as something unpleasant, uncomfortable or difficult (O'Brien et al 2019). Consequently, gender, age and status are important factors, but so are world views and beliefs. Even environmentally aware people do not necessarily take action. New ways of engagement are required, and whilst many football fans fit into these categories, finding a way to connect and communicate with them could help shift their narrative around climate change, as this chapter will argue.

In addition to socio-political context, the role that place plays in understanding reactions to the catastrophic consequences of climate change is important. There have been widespread studies that analyse recovery after catastrophes (eg Cutter et al 2014; Rumbach et al. 2016). In this context, place is important for a number of reasons, including economic opportunity (Hayward and Swanstrom 2011), social networks and social capital (Putnam 2007), and local government (Dreier et al 2001; Hayward and Swanstrom 2011; Olshanksy et al 2006). What is missing from these analyses is how individuals identify with their locality. These feelings of *topophilia* (Bale 1993) locate the individual to their home town and are often aligned with feelings of belonging or a sense of being 'home'. As Bale (1999) argued, football stadiums generate a sense of topophilia amongst fans. The rituals of football – the regular match attendance, familiar faces, and emotional effervescence – all heighten these feelings (Doidge et al 2020). For this reason, football clubs are seen as symbols of the local community, even if this is mainly for the majority white male fans that attend. Working with these symbols of the locality, like the stadium, badge and colours, will help connect climate change to football.

Whilst football fans are heterogenous, and come from all walks of life, there are many who will see football as a white male sport. Arguably, this is the demographic that is most resistant to climate change. But equally, there are many other football fans, who are not just older white male climate deniers. Indeed, many of those who trying to tackle climate change through football fit into this demographic. To engage most football fans with climate change, it is important to connect the culture and language around football through the values and beliefs fan groups hold. Engaging fans, whilst linking the narrative to their local community, club and collective sense of self could be an important approach to bringing about social and political change. Tying the global issue of climate change to the local community associated with football #could help communicate the issue, and effecting change. The issue of communication is not simple, but we have to have hope. In order to do this, we need to build on the extensive analysis on climate change communication in order to locate football fans within this, and then help them build hope.

Climate change communication – apocalypse now

Many stories about climate change centre on the catastrophe. Indeed, Goldblatt's (2020) excellent report on the impact of climate change in sport is entitled *Playing Against The Clock*; the underlying argument is that sport has to change now otherwise there will be catastrophe; sport will cease to exist as we know it. Whilst the climate change science is unequivocal (IPCC, 2021), knowledge is not a precursor for action. Part of this is due to the 'denial machine' outlined in the previous section. To counteract this, some campaigns have tried to effect behaviour change in the general public. These have predominantly focused on individual action and have had limited or short-term effects (Abrahamse et al., 2005; Rees and Bamberg,

2014). Initial campaigns worked on an 'information-deficit model' by providing more information (Moser and Dilling, 2011). Lack of knowledge is not the main issue. In fact, climate change sceptics and deniers are often as knowledgeable as those who are arguing for social and political change (Hornsey et al 2016). Other tactics have tried to shock the public into action through apocalyptic messaging (O'Neill and Nicholson-Cole, 2009). Recent analysis recognises that the public are generally concerned about climate change, yet this has not translated into action (Bouman et al., 2020; Gifford, Lacroix, and Chen, 2018; Whitmarsh, Seyfang, and O'Neill, 2011). Indeed, messages relying solely on emphasising the urgency of climate change do not increase policy support (Fesenfeld and Rinscheid, 2021).

As apocalyptic communication generates more existential anxiety in the general public, which results in inaction, new strategies are required. Stoknes (2015, 107) emphasises that these new strategies need to be "as social, interactive, and local as possible". When engaging with existing groups, like football fans, equal dialogue and participatory processes is essential (Gramberger et al. 2015; O'Brien, Hochachka, and Gram-Hanssen 2019; Poulter et al. 2009). Football as an industry has historically not been willing to listen to the voices of fans; engaging on climate change could be a way for football clubs and governing bodies to see fans as equals. As fans, clubs and governing bodies are on this journey together, they will face similar barriers and challenges, but also come up with solutions together. In order to engage existing groups, it's important to understand their worldviews, values and beliefs (Abrahamse and Matthies 2018; Moser 2016; Moser and Dilling 2011). Worldviews are people's "general way of viewing themselves and the world around them" which is shaped by "[g]enetic tendencies, religion, culture, and geographic region, together with all the experiences people have both internally and in relationship to their environments" (Schlitz et al., 2010: 18). In focusing on these larger macro factors that shape individual's worldviews, Schlitz overlooks the subcultural and how different groups, like fans, generate and sustain their own worldviews and outlooks that shape the norms and rules of behaviour. Engaging with the norms and worldviews of fans can help shape the communication about climate change.

Emotional engagement is also important (Chapman, Lickel, and Markowitz 2017; Taufik and Venhoeven 2018; Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor 2009; Veland et al. 2018). Emotions are an important part of football fandom, as the next section illustrates, but they are also important part of communicating climate change. This has to be carefully considered. Apocalyptic messaging does not lead to action (Fesenfeld and Rinscheid, 2021) as it can stoke feelings of hopelessness and despair and that can stifle action (Adams, 2016). Indeed, it can lead to transference as Adams (2016: 152) identifies,

> Transference idealization is a way of disavowing individual and collective responsibility and the need for changes in everyday life and social order that threaten ontological security. It splits off feelings of guilt, anger, hope and responsibility, projecting them onto valorized others.

One way of engaging with emotion is through hope; hope that we can bring about change. Football fandom is full of feelings of despair, but also feelings of hope. Hope can be a way of engaging people, but this can also be an indicator or pre-existing beliefs and values (Stevenson and Peterson, 2016). Narratives and stories need to be woven into the worldviews

and emotions of the audience in order to communicate climate change appropriately (O'Brien, Hochachka, and Gram-Hanssen 2019; Stoknes 2015; Veland et al. 2018). What is meant by appropriately, is that it results in people taking enacting pro-environmental lifestyle changes. This process is dialectical, as making changes could be seen as easy (Amann and Doidge, forthcoming), but also raising acceptance for socio-political transformations, and taking action.

The difficulty with climate change communication is getting acceptance from the public. Research into the perceptions of potential victims of catastrophic weather linked to climate change is inconclusive, but suggests that even for those that have experienced droughts or floods, climate change isn't seen as the cause (Dessai and Sims, 2010; Spence et al., 2011; Adams, 2016). Indeed, pre-existing environmental awareness is often the precursor for seeing events like wildfires or droughts as caused by climate change (Wong-Parodi and Rubin, 2022) or for seeing hope in possible solutions (Stevenson and Peterson, 2016). It's important to reiterate that football fans are heterogenous, but they are a sizeable existing collective. There are some common factors that unite fans and engaging with fan culture is an important way of engaging them (Amann and Doidge, forthcoming). One way, as the next section illustrates, is to connect to the numerous existing fan movements.

Football as hope

As the research starts to identify the disconnect between the science and the necessary action, new strategies are required. Hope allows us try new strategies, test them and hope they bring about the changes required. One area of hope could be football fans. Across the world, billions of people regularly gather to organise, play and watch football. For fans in particular, football can be a significant part of their identity. As Doidge et al. (2020: 22) identify, "ontologically, the team becomes an extension of the individual." The individual doesn't just identify with the team, their emotions and feelings are shaped by the way the team plays and their results. It's for this reason that fans will manage their feelings of hope to allay themselves of the negative feelings they feel during the bad times. This emotional attachment to the team structures their interactions with others and influences their word view. Brown et al. (2008: 308) reiterate that "being a supporter is a key part of their [fans] 'real' lives: a regular, structuring part of their existence that enables them to feel belonging in the relative disorder of contemporary social formations". Football is not just played over ninety minutes on a weekend, but is replayed throughout the week in conversations, social media posts and news stories (Doidge 2015). In this way, football plays a key role in people's everyday lives away from the pitch (Stone 2007). Football can be what Taussig (2002:60–61) calls "islands of hope". Football is an island of hope in a daily (warming) sea of despair. For many fans, football operates as a liminal space that operates away from their daily life. Football is an escape; a space to vent frustrations and get away from the vicissitudes of everyday life. For others, football can be a space to assert control and affect change (Cleland et al 2018; Doidge et al 2020). Football can operate as a space to reassert ones feeling of loss of agency and take control of the game the fans love (Doidge et al 2020).

As football means so much to fans, it has seen many mobilise politically to transform their sport. Football fans are a new social movement (Melucci 1980; Touraine 1981). They are

mobilising over their form of consumption to fight for a voice in the decision-making and bring about changes (Cleland et al., 2018; Numerato, 2018; Doidge et al., 2020; Millward 2012; King, 2003). These can include campaigning about ticket prices, racism or club ownership. In this way football fandom has become a sizable social movement, and one that can mobilise quickly on issues that affect the fans (Millward and Poulton 2014; Cleland et al 2018). Indeed, Millward and Poulton (2014) surmised that the protests against the clubs owners by Manchester United fans would have been one of the largest social movements in the world. When we combine all the various fans engaged in protests and collective action, football fans are one of the largest social movement populations in the world.

Whilst there are numerous examples of fans mobilising economically and politically to fight for their club, or the sport in general, there are fewer examples of fans mobilising for social issues outside of football. This is slowly changing in the 21st Century as some fans are operating for their local community or for global issues. There is a long history of ultras in Italy engaging in local community work. When devastating floods hit the coastal Italian city of Livorno in September 2019, ultras of the eponymous team led the clean-up operation. They were joined by ultras of their arch-rivals Pisa in a show of solidarity to the tragedy. Ultras of both clubs have long campaigned for justice after 140 people died in the Moby Prince ferry disaster in 1991. Similarly, ultras from Genoa and Sampdoria joined forces after the Morandi bridge collapsed in Genova in 2018. They held minute's silences for victims and helped with the clear up. Members of the ultras group *Coloniacs,* fans of German club FC Köln, helped clear up after floods in the Rhineland (Ford, Brady and Krause 2021). Indeed, fan friendship networks have been developed between groups for Germany, Italy and Greece because they all helped after localised flooding. These transnational networks will be important for solidarity and hope. Elsewhere, German ultras have co-ordinated numerous activities and collections for refugees, first from Syria and then from Ukraine. These activities aren't restricted to Europe. When Orlando City opened their new stadium, supporters unfurled a tribute to the 49 LGBT+ people who were killed in a mass shooting in the city (Critchley 2017). And after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, football fans across Europe displayed the Ukrainian flag in solidarity. What this shows is that some fans will protest, commemorate and politically mobilise for issues that exist outside of football. Part of the key is to show that climate change is not just something that is happening outside of football, but will also significantly affect football. Fans need to mobilise in order to preserve the sport they love.

It may feel trite to say it, but football can provide the space to engage with catastrophe. Football provides strong and weak networks who can mobilise quickly and effectively (Millward and Poulton 2014; Cleland et al 2018). It provides social and sociable relationships that allow individuals to feel that they belong to something bigger than themselves. The club becomes an ontological extension of the self where the individual becomes subsumed within the collective (Doidge et al 2020). Individuals live vicariously through the emotions of events on the pitch, and the activities of the collective. When catastrophe hits, the wider network provides a space to moan, critique and praise. There are many physical and virtual spaces where fans deconstruct and reconstruct events in order for them to take control of the feelings they feel after a game. For some venting their frustrations online gives them a feeling of action. For others, they wish to take alternative actions, including protests or clean ups.

Football fandom is a wide network of weak ties (Granovetter 1973) that provides a space for support, contestation and resolution.

The key is to utilise these various elements in the fight against climate change. Fans are a collective operating to a well-publicised timetable in a prominent public space; football provides regularity. Fans perpetually live in hope that things will change. Few fans expect to win competitions as the vast majority never will. But they still attend the matches, watch the game and engage on social media in order to believe they have some form of control over the activities of the team. Fans will see themselves as the '12th man' in order to have influence. As a collective, individuals are transformed into something greater than themselves; a chorus of voices exalting their team (and themselves). Whilst there is some evidence that home advantage (and therefore the home fans) have some impact on the team's performance, in reality, the fans are taking control of the a situation that is wildly out of their control. Even if the fans' songs, banners and taunts have an effect, they are marginal compared to the tactics, coaching and skills of the players and their coaches. Yet the collective ritual of football fandom allows fans to assert their own control and give them a feeling of influence over the events on the pitch. With climate change, accruing all the individual actions of fans can help demonstrate their collective action. The organisation Pledgeball does this though accumulating the CO_2 savings that have been pledged to be removed by fans (Amann and Doidge, forthcoming). These are then presented in a league table to help motivate fans that their individual efforts are working together for a common goal.

Climate change can feel like an existential crisis that is too big for the individual to have control over. It may lead to a loss of hope – of despair – and feelings of hopelessness. Taussig (2002: 45) argues that "There does seem to be at the level of popular culture, within intellectual culture, this strong temptation to bind lack of hope with being profound". For critical sociologists, there is an ease with which to be pessimistic. To criticise and lament are virtues that provide a disciplinary and professional security; an 'I told you so' to the few who may engage with our work. This fatalism is evident within football fandom. We all know a fan who will say 'I told you so' when the goal goes in from a free kick, the manager eventually gets sacked and results improve, or when the player they constantly criticise is substituted. Even with this pessimism, the individual is taking control of their emotions. By expecting the worst then they are not going to get hurt as much as if they assume that the team will win handsomely. Here football is the metaphor for climate change. The existential crisis of climate change is so mindbogglingly difficult and confusing that for some it feels easier to dismiss or ignore it.

Despite the fatalism of some football fans, they still attend and watch their team. It would take a particular kind of masochist to not hope for victory for their team. As a football player and fan, maybe Albert Camus would see otherwise. He argued that "I know no more stirring symbol; for, contrary to the general belief, hope equals resignation. And to live is not to resign oneself" (Camus 2005:14). Whilst Camus famously declared that he owed football his insights into morality and obligations, he didn't share how his love of the game of football did or didn't provide hope, or equally how it didn't highlight the absurdity of life. Yet, for many people, football is important. Bill Shankly, the former manager of Liverpool, famously suggested that football was more than a matter of life and death. The covid pandemic suggests otherwise, when we realise that people dying was more important. But football continued in order to

give distraction to the difficulties of everyday life. The former Real Madrid player Jorge Valdano observed that "Football is an excuse to feel good about something". Arrigo Sacchi, the former Parma and AC Milan coach declared football is "the most important of the unimportant things in life". Here, we reassert the need for hope over despair. bell hooks (2003: xiv-xv) argues that "Hopefulness empowers us to continue our work for justice even as the forces of injustice may gain power for a time. To live by hope is to believe that it is worth taking the next step". Even if someone hates football, they will know someone who does like it; and acknowledging this passion and commitment is important. We have to hope that climate change can be averted. As with football, hope is the way fans manage their feelings and take control of the situation. Fans care about football, take control and try to effect change; the same things that need to occur with climate change.

There needs to be an active way of engaging and empowering fans, rather than passively assume that fans will simply start doing this, or that policymakers will start listening. People need to feel that what they are doing matters, and that what they are doing is not just a waste of time. This starts with giving fans a democratic voice over their club on all matters, regardless of climate change. Back (2021: 5) argued that "hope is better conceived as a worldly attentiveness to what is emerging in the conditions of the present as they are carried into the future" (Back 2021: 5). Many fans are already hugely attentive to the world around them, in particular their local communities. Campaigns need to engage with values and worldview of individual fan groups, engage with the culture of football, and in this way they can push clubs and leagues to make changes (Amann and Doidge, forthcoming). And the more that fans can see their actions operating collectively, they can hope that they are not alone. Their individual actions matter and collectively can have a huge impact.

Conclusion

The other side of the catastrophe coin is hope. Sociology can analyse these acts and collectives of solidarity to understand how communities can mobilise in times of catastrophe. Indeed, local community collectives are illuminating spaces of hope and solidarity (Clarke, Rogaly and Senker 2021). Football is one of these spaces. Football is always full of hope – there is always the next goal, the next game or the next season. The football calendar provides structure to the ritual and places markers for fans to anticipate and prepare themselves for the next opportunity to have hope. As Back (2021: 5) puts it 'Hope is a powerful illusion that people hold onto.' Hope is the way that individual fans translate existential feelings of powerlessness into action; and with football, there is a collective doing similar actions that accumulate into something more powerful that individuals.

Tackling climate change requires collective action; hope could be the mechanism that connects the rituals and culture of football to the collective action required to tackle climate change. Football fandom is one of the few occasions in contemporary society in many countries worldwide where people from the most diverse backgrounds still come together on a regular basis to collectively unite behind their team. What is inherent to football fandom is people's high level of identification and emotional attachment to a team (and their fellow fans). These characteristics have been also identified to be crucial in terms of people's potential to participate in collective climate action (Jans and Fielding 2018; Rees and Bamberg 2014). There is also internal group dynamics and relationships where fans follow other fans,

or even follow the respected individuals within the group. In addition, football fans have already proved to be areas of political mobilisation demanding change in the past (campaigns on policing, safe standing, ticket prices, homophobia, racism, foodbanks, etc.). Also, more and more players are starting to speak up and leverage their platform on a variety of social matters (like Marcus Rashford on child food poverty and Morten Thorsby and Katie Rood on climate change). Even when a global pandemic was fundamentally changing the way we lived our lives, fan groups and players took the opportunity to mobilise around climate change to demand (more) climate action. Due to the heterogeneity of football fans, there will be fans out there who care about climate change, but maybe haven't thought they could enact change through football. Indeed, the Football Supporters Association in England passed a motion to tackle climate change in 2020. Zukunft Profifußball was formed in Germany to reform football, including environmental sustainability. Most recently, more than 80 football fans united to create a video showing their support for climate action which has been streamed at COP26.

This chapter has argued that football fans are an important social movement to try and engage with climate change. They are a collective who meet regularly thanks to the structure of the football calendar. There are numerous spaces to engage fans, where public and football-related issues are discussed and debated. Moreover, fans are used to dealing with feelings of catastrophe. The language of catastrophe is used when a club is relegated, lose heavily, or sell their best player. In relation to climate change, these feelings are relative, but still keenly felt. Yet the next game can wash those feelings away if there's a win, or a spectacular goal. Most importantly, fans have hope; there is always hope that next season we can get promoted, we can win the next game or unearth the next star player. Even the most pessimistic of fans will secretly hope that fortunes change.

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