UNIVERSITY OF PELOPONNESE

FACULTY OF HUMAN MOVEMENT AND QUALITY OF LIFE

DEPARTMENT OF SPORTS ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT

GOOD GOVERNANCE IN FOOTBALL ORGANISATIONS FROM AN ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE AND A PROPOSAL FOR THE GREEK FOOTBALL'S REFORMATION

by

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A Dissertation submitted to the Department of Sports Organisation and Management of University of Peloponnese in Partial Fulfilment of Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Sparta

2022

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Konstantinos Georgiadis for the completion of this endeavour and also for being a mentor and a friend for almost my entire student's life. Special thanks to Professor Jim Parry whose lectures in Olympia inspired me to study philosophy more thoroughly and also for giving me the opportunity to start a PhD study.

Thanks to my family for their ongoing support and to my friend (bro) Vassilis Angelidis for being a true supporter and a fan of my writings. This accomplishment belongs also to you. Additionally, I would like to thank all those persons with whom I interacted all these years and who helped me in one way or another. Even the ones who said that I wouldn't finish this PhD, gave me motivation to do so. For those who believed in me, but they are not still part of my life, I wish to express my gratitude, even if they never see this.

Last but not least, thanks to the University of Peloponnese staff in Sparta for keeping the department of Sports Management alive. For the love of sports and our country, we all need to give our best and make this institution even better.

ABSTRACT

Theofilos Pouliopoulos: Good Governance in Football Organisations from an ethical perspective and a proposal for the Greek football's reformation
(with the supervision of Professor Konstantinos Georgiadis)

The social, cultural and moral significance of sport renders sports organisations accountable for their operation and impact, both in the world of sport and the wider society. Therefore, ethics appear to be a key concept and little research into the governance of football organisations has taken place until now, in particular regarding the value of ethics in the good governance of these organisations. This thesis has examined and evaluated governance from an ethical perspective. For the scope of this study a case study approach has been adopted; investigating three football organisations: FIFA, UEFA and the Hellenic Football Federation (HFF), together with the wider Greek football system. For the analysis of the cases, Institutional Theory has been used to identify the institutional context of the organisations. Additionally, MacIntyre's virtue-goods-practice-institutions conceptual framework has been used to identify and assess the ethical dimension of the organisations. By reviewing the recent history of the three organisations, we have identified the role of institutional context, agents and ethics. Our analysis shows that while FIFA and UEFA have both developed significantly, UEFA has been operating within a stricter institutional context and its major agents appear to be less corrupted. In contrast, FIFA despite its great power and influence, has allowed a culture of corruption to become a dominant tenet. Similarly, the HFF and the Greek football system can be characterised as deeply corrupted, since the big clubs dominate Greek football in order to serve their own interests. The study concludes by arguing that Institutional Theory and an ethical conceptual framework like that of MacIntyre, can assess the governance of football organisations from an ethical perspective. Finally, a proposal for the Greek football includes some major shifts in the institutional level and the implementation of a nationwide plan to infuse good governance and principles of virtue ethics into all the regional football associations, which are the grassroots of the Greek football system.

Key words: Good governance, Ethics, Football Organisations, Corruption

Περίληψη

Θεόφιλος Πουλιόπουλος: Η καλή διακυβέρνηση στους ποδοσφαιρικούς οργανισμούς από την σκοπιά της ηθικής και μια πρόταση για το ελληνικό ποδόσφαιρο
(Επιβλέπων: Καθηγητής Κωνσταντίνος Γεωργιάδης)

Η κοινωνική, πολιτιστική και ηθική σημασία του αθλητισμού καθιστά τους αθλητικούς οργανισμούς υπόλογους για την δραστηριότητα και τον αντίκτυπο τους, όχι μόνο στον αθλητικό κόσμο αλλά και στην ευρύτερη κοινωνία. Για τον λόγο αυτό, η ηθική αποτελεί ένα βασικό στοιχείο και η έρευνα δεν έχει αναδείξει επαρκώς ως τώρα την αξία της ηθικής στην καλή διακυβέρνηση των αθλητικών οργανισμών. Η συγκεκριμένη εργασία ερεύνησε και αξιολόγησε ποδοσφαιρικούς οργανισμούς από την σκοπιά της ηθικής. Για τον σκοπό της έρευνας υιοθετήθηκε η μέθοδος της μελέτης περίπτωσης και συγκεκριμένα ερευνήθηκαν η FIFA, η UEFA και η Ελληνική Ποδοσφαιρική Ομοσπονδία, μαζί με το ευρύτερο ελληνικό ποδοσφαιρικό σύστημα. Για την ανάλυση χρησιμοποιήθηκε σαν μεθοδολογία η Θεσμική Θεωρία (Institutional Theory) με σκοπό να ερευνηθεί το θεσμικό πλαίσιο των οργανισμών. Επιπρόσθετα, το φιλοσοφικό σχήμα «αρετή-αγαθά-πρακτική-θεσμός» του MacIntyre μας βοήθησε να αξιολογήσουμε την ηθική ταυτότητα των οργανισμών. Αναλύοντας την σύγχρονη ιστορία των οργανισμών, ταυτοποιήσαμε τον ρόλο του θεσμικού πλαισίου, των προσώπων-κλειδιά και της ηθικής. Η ανάλυση μας κατέδειξε την «κουλτούρα της διαφθοράς» που επικράτησε στην FIFA, παρά τη μεγάλη ανάπτυξη του οργανισμού. Από την άλλη, η UEFA αναπτύχθηκε σε ένα πιο αυστηρό θεσμικό πλαίσιο με αποτέλεσμα να μην έχει εκτεταμένη διαφθορά, ενώ οι βασικοί της παράγοντες αποδείχτηκαν λιγότερο επιρρεπείς στη διαφθορά. Το ελληνικό ποδόσφαιρο μπορεί επίσης να χαρακτηριστεί ως βαθιά διεφθαρμένο, μιας και οι μεγάλες ομάδες κυριαρχούν με σκοπό να εξυπηρετήσουν τα δικά τους συμφέροντα. Η συγκεκριμένη έρευνα κατέδειξε ότι η Θεσμική θεωρία και ένα φιλοσοφικό σχήμα σαν αυτό του MacIntyre μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν στην αξιολόγηση της διακυβέρνησης των ποδοσφαιρικών οργανισμών από την σκοπιά της ηθικής. Τέλος, μια πρόταση για την αναμόρφωση του ελληνικού ποδοσφαίρου περιλαμβάνει κάποιες βασικές θεσμικές αλλαγές και επίσης την υλοποίηση ενός πανεθνικού σχεδίου όπου οι αρχές της καλής διακυβέρνησης και της ηθικής θα διαχυθούν στις τοπικές ποδοσφαιρικές ενώσεις, που αποτελούν το θεμελιώδες κύτταρο του ελληνικού ποδοσφαίρου.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Καλή Διακυβέρνηση, Ηθική, Ποδοσφαιρικοί Οργανισμοί, Διαφθορά

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Chapter One: Introduction - football and the world

A brief history of Football

The historians of the future, who will write about the significant social phenomena of our time, will probably have to make a salient reference to football. Modern sport is one of the greatest social and cultural phenomena, but in particular football has managed to become the king of sports on a global scale. The power and significance of football can be examined through social, political, cultural, economic, philosophical and even spiritual terms. Football is central to the lives of many people. From the children who kick a ball in the playground, to the headquarters of FIFA, where the decision for the next World Cup can have an impact on nations, global businesses and even the geopolitical status.

Before looking at the global power of football, we will try to trace its origins. Like many other human innovations, a number of nations claim to be the 'forefathers' of modern football. In fact, some primal variations of football existed in many ancient civilizations. There was a Chinese game during the Han dynasty (206 BC - AC 220) named 'tsu' (kick ball), the Japanese 'kemari', the roman 'harpastum' and the Greek 'episkyros' (Dunning, 1999). According to Eduardo Galeano, ball games were played even by indigenous Amazonian tribes as early as 1500 BC (Giulianotti, 2000). It seems that a game of kicking something was a common theme in many ancient cultures; something that may explain why football is the most popular sport in most countries nowadays.

The intrinsic value behind this phenomenon is also complicated and probably untraceable. From the perspective of anthropology, the origins of football might come from a pagan fertility rite. The globular object (the ball) could symbolize the sun, bringer and supporter of life (Marples, 1954). Another theory claims that football symbolically represented the head of a sacrificial beast, or of an enemy. There is a myth claiming that the game played in Surrey each 'Shrove Tuesday' was a tradition from the time of Saxons, who kicked the head of the defeated enemy to celebrate their victory (Dunning, 1999). But those stories are considered to be myths, because they lack historical accuracy, so the pagan or the ritual origin of football will most probably remain a mystery.

In more recent times, in the 16th century Italians developed a game called 'calcio', played by noble Florentine youngsters. In spite of the above, the most 'accurate' and 'official' mother of modern football is found in Great Britain. As is shown more extensively below, Britain is the cradle of modern sports. During the Victorian era and the previous centuries, the different sociological and cultural circumstances paved the way for new social initiatives and innovations.

In this context, first pieces of evidence for a game called 'football' begun in the fourteenth century (Dunning, 1999). Of course, the nature of the game was rather primitive and different from the football of today. The kind of 'football' back then, was more or less a cruel folk game, in a form of group combat, which was most likely played on religious days and was closer to fighting than to modern football (Magoun, 1938). This was the reason why the state authorities in medieval Britain tried to suppress and prohibit these folk games, as they judged them to be a waste of time and a threat to public order (Dunning, 1999). In addition, authorities were giving priority to games suitable for military training, such as archery and they saw that the waste of energy and time people spend playing folk games only for recreation, was a bad idea back then.

Social conditions and values in England changed throughout the centuries and the folk games began to be marginalized. In post Victorian Britain, industrialization, urbanization, the state formation and public schools were the main conditions that led to a complete social transformation, with sports and football as parts of this process. Dunning describes the two significant processes which took place simultaneously and played the key role in this transformation of football.

Firstly, the cultural marginalization of folk football, a process that began in the middle of the 18th century and gathered pace in the 19th; and secondly, the development of newer forms of football in the public schools and universities from about the 1840s onwards (Dunning, 1999, pg.90).

The marginalization of folk football, according to Dunning, was because they '*have fallen foul of the 'civilizing' and 'state-formation' processes*'(ibid). Together with the fact that football was a part of a whole process of modernisation, where rules and organised activities started to appear in many social activities. There is also a connection between the abandonment of folk football with the secularization theory of

Max Weber, based on the fact that football was transformed from an uncivilized folk activity to a more secular form, closer to the modern game (Guttmann, 1994).

Another key concept of that time according to Szymanski was 'associativity'. "*Associativity may loosely be defined as the tendency of individuals to create social networks and organisations outside of the family…A key characteristic of an association is the capacity to write its own rules and oblige members to abide by them*" (Szymanski, 2006, pg.1). In the same way as coffee houses, public societies and the press, sport clubs also became a trend of this new public sphere.

In this context, the cradle of modern football can be considered to be the public schools of eighteenth-century Britain. The brand-new social conditions of that time in Great Britain, allowed public school gentlemen to develop soccer and rugby in new, more civilized and rule-governed forms. More specifically, in 1828, Thomas Arnold, the headmaster of Rugby school, connected the moral development of the young wealthy gentlemen, with the character-building power of sports (Giulianotti, 2000). In 1846 the first rules of football were written at Rugby school and some years later the complete separation of soccer from Rugby occurred. In 1863 at Cambridge University, were established the first official rules of the game of soccer, where the handling of the ball was to be forbidden (Murray & Murray, 1994). This was the starting point for the formation of modern football and in the same year (1863) eleven football clubs and schools in London gave birth to the Football Association (FA).

From that point, growth and expansion of the new game was inevitable and football spread rapidly through Great Britain and later to the rest of the world. In 1871, the FA consisted of 50 members and the first FA cup competition was organised. Football gained more and more fans across Great Britain. In the meantime, the Scottish FA was founded in 1873, the FA of Wales in1875 and the Irish FA in 1880)and by 1888 the first league championship was under way. Within this context, the first international match, England versus Scotland, took place in 1987.

Similarly, in close continental Europe, the first football clubs started to appear in the late 19th century and also the formation of the national Football Associations. 'La Fédération Internationale de Football Associations' (FIFA) was formed in Paris in 1904 by delegates from Belgium, Denmark, France, The Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland (for more information see Case study a). British delegates were absent,

probably from a sense of superiority and maybe fear of losing control of a golden egg, which they regarded as exclusively their own (Dunning, 1999).

Outside Europe, the success of the British Empire, growth in world trade and the flow of people across the world, were key elements for the global expansion of football. The ports were the main areas where the Englishmen introduced the game to the local people. Argentina formed its Football Association in 1893, Chile in 1895 and Uruguay in 1900. The international football community grew strongly and by the first world cup in 1930, FIFA consisted of 41 country members.

After the Second World War and the formation of new global conditions, football managed to become the most popular sport in almost every corner of the world; hence the term global sport. FIFA nowadays has 211 members, even more than the United Nations. Although the game has changed during the years, as has the world, the popularity of football continues to grow every day.

According to Elias and Dunning, football has emerged as the world's most popular sport because it does not require much equipment and is comparatively cheap to play. It has simple rules that allow fast and open play and the game belongs between extremes, such as physical strength and skill, individual and team work, aggressiveness and temperance. In addition, another key characteristic that makes this game unique is the satisfaction from the recurrent generations of levels of excitement both for players and spectators and also the fact that although the matches are physical struggles between two groups, the rules and the nature of the game allows it to be considered as 'civilized' (Elias and Dunning, 1986).

Apart from these characteristics that make football unique, there is a whole mythology behind the nature, power and the impact of football on people. The power of football is so great that one wonders how strong it is and how far it reaches into the hearts and minds of people. Is it only the excitement and the entertainment that football gives to us? Or "*a profoundly significant game is being played out on the field, which intensifies and enacts the fundamental values of contemporary life*" (Bromberger, 1995, pg.2).

A brief overview of the sociology of modern sports

Sociology is a rather hard scientific discipline to deal with. If sometimes it is difficult even in physics to find certainty (for instance check the uncertainty principle of Heisenberg), consider how difficult it is to find the absolute truth in the complicated and multi-dimensional context of social reality. In our case, the appearance and evolution of modern sport is a rather controversial issue. An issue where play, games, rules, means, ends, freedom and necessity are combined and struggle, leaving us with the hard task of finding some 'truth' and a possible explanation of all these matters.

To begin with, Johan Huizinga (1955) argues that play is the creator of culture; a free activity, a necessary and generative feature of social existence. He believes in the transcendental and spiritual nature of sport, which liberates humans from necessity. "*Huizinga views play as primary and original, not in the acceptable sense that it is more important to the very act of human self-creation, but in the more abstract sense of play as the motor of history*" (Gruneau, 1983, pg.10). In the same vein, Michael Novak (1976) goes even further and argues that sport is a civil religion, a faith without explanation.

Allen Guttmann (1978), in his famous book 'From ritual to record' and from a Weberian perspective identified seven characteristics that formed modern sports: secularism, equality of opportunity, specialization, rationalization, bureaucratic organization, quantification and quest for records. Guttmann's approach is that play is non-utilitarian and belongs to the realm of freedom. He sanctifies the primitive forms of sport because they were close to religious rituals and the 'pure' meaning of sports. Nevertheless, he claims that modern sports are secular, meritocratic and antagonistic, allowing though a gleam of hope, that "*despite imperfections and false emphases, modern sports hold forth the possibility of a realm of relative if not absolute freedom*" (Guttmann, 1978, pg. 157). The distinction between play and modern sport is vital. Many scholars praise the phenomenon of play, while they deny any meaning and actual significance in the institution of modern sports.

For example, the neo-Marxist approach declares that modern sport is an exceptional product of the industrial era and carries all the negative consequences of capitalism. Brohm (1978) argues that sport "*reproduces bourgeois social relations such as selection and hierarchy, subservience, obedience etc; and…transmits on a huge scale*

the general themes of ruling bourgeois ideology like the myth of the superman, individualism, social advancement, success, efficiency etc." (Brohm, 1978, pg.77).

Through the centuries and during the era of modernity, sport appears to be a place where excitement can be found, in a secular and bureaucratic society where people with sedentary and boring lives search for an escape from everyday routine (Elias & Dunning, 1986). In this vein, Brohm (1978) again defined sports as 'a prison of measured time' and Adorno believed that "*modern sports belong to the realm of unfreedom, no matter where they are organized*" (Adorno, 1981, p. 56). A positive aspect from a Marxist perspective can be found in the words of Antonio Gramsci, who believed that although "*football is a model of individualistic society…it is regulated by the unwritten rule of fair play*" (quoted in Giulianotti, 2004, pg.5)

In contrast, Bourdieu believes that "*the history of sports is relatively autonomous history which, even marked by major events of economic and social history, has its own tempo, its own evolutionary laws, its crises, in short, its specific chronology*" (Bourdieu, 1978, pg.45). In the same vein, Coakley insists that "*sports are more than mere reflections of society…sports have never been developed in a neatly ordered, rational manner and there are no simple or general rules for explaining sports as social phenomena*" (Coakley & Donnelly, 2009, pg.44).

Even if the above points are well-explained but still contradictory, we need to find a pattern regarding the social shifts that led to modern sports. According to Norbert Elias (1981) a 'civilizing process' began in the western societies from the Middle Ages. In brief, Elias claimed that the everyday habits and manners of people, their relationships and their institutions were being gradually 'civilized'. Especially in England, "*the cycle of violence between different political factions 'calmed down'. Groups increasingly settled differences by non-violent means. Parliament became the symbolic battleground where conflicts of interest were resolved and defused*" (Maguire, 1999, pg.79).

In this context, Elias places the appearance and growth of modern sports, particularly in this pacification process of social affairs, where sport emerged as a relatively non-violent or at least non-fatal physical combat. Elias' theory, as every theory, cannot be considered as having a general applicability. For example, the atrocities of the 20th century's World Wars are not compatible with the theory of the 'civilizing process'. In

this vein, the French philosopher, Michel Foucault (2012) defied the idea that history and progress are following a linear line, but rather they are full of twists and turns.

The theory of Norbert Elias significantly influenced the Leicester school of football sociology, which searched for the roots and the background of the serious social problem of football hooliganism. Eric Dunning (1999, 2014) and his colleagues explained the world phenomenon of hooliganism in the context of British society by using the theory of Elias. In brief, the cause of hooliganism is the difficulty of rough young working-class men to either conform to modern society, or else to follow the pace of the civilizing process.

According to that school of thought, this is an outcome of the "*urban perpetuation of the old folk football tradition*" or of "*the general observation that all males in a patriarchal society, independently of social class, will be expected to fight under certain circumstances*" (Dunning in Giulianotti, Bonney & Hepworth., 1994, pg.143). The work of Leicester school is highly influential in the relevant academic circles. However, as Eric Dunning admitted himself, their work is not faultless (Ibid) and in general football hooliganism "*is a complex, heterogeneous, and dynamic phenomenon that should be studied in its different social and historical contexts*" (Spaaij, 2008, pg. 370).

From the multiple theories of modern sports and the social phenomena that has to do with sports, we can hold on to those which try to describe an aspect of reality. To stand with or against each one of them would be futile, because the 'ultimate' theory might not be traceable. If we need to make a distinction as Gruneau (1983) does, some of them view sport from an idealistic perspective, while others examine it merely from a materialistic (Marxist) view point. A more holistic approach would enable us to be more critical about the true nature and the essence of sports. For example, freedom is not a prerequisite of sports, but depends on the context and the circumstances. "*The rules, traditions and organizations which define sports may be both enabling and constraining*" (Gruenau, 1983, pg.28). Nevertheless, the study of sport, no matter the methodology or theoretical background, allows us to shed light on this multidimensional and complex phenomenon. To sum up,

"*Despite their weaknesses, social theories are helpful as we explore issues and controversies in sports and assess research and ideas about sports in society. We do*

not have to be theorists to use theory as we organize our thoughts and become more informed citizens in our social worlds" (Coakley & Donnely, 2009, pg. 46).

Football now, as the most exceptional example of modern sports, has been influenced significantly by all the great changes and transformations of the western society firstly and of global society in general. On the other hand, the intrinsic power of football, the unique characteristics and its influence in the hearts and minds of people have enabled this global game to play its own secondary role in the formation of the current global society. The examination and analysis of the true impact of football in society and the opposite is not an easy task. "*The social aspects of football only become meaningful when located within their historical and cultural context. Football is neither dependent upon nor isolated from the influences of that wider milieu; instead a relative autonomy exists in the relationship between the two*" (Giulianotti, 2000, pg. xv)

Football played and plays a significant role in the formation of individual and collective social identities. "*Modern football was a concomitant of a new industrial culture based upon radical reconceptualization of time, space and labour, generating new and rapidly expanding urban centres of fluid populations, often devoid of any anchorage in traditional sources of cultural identity*" (Sugden, 2002, pg. 62).

To clarify, the identity that football creates in individuals or in societies is highly dependent on the external social, political and economic environment. For example, football has been used from authoritarian states for purposes of suppression and manipulation of the masses[1], but also the game of football was present in some of the noblest moments of modern history (e.g. the Christmas truce football game in WWI[2]).

Consequently, football can be used for the best and for the worst and surely holds an unmeasured power. To conclude, "*its cultural centrality in most societies means that football carries a heavy political and symbolic significance, to the extent that the game can contribute fundamentally to the social actions, practical philosophies and cultural identities of many, many people*". (Giulianotti, 2000, pg.xii)

Football not only affects social life and people but equally or even more, is being affected by them. The conditions, tenets and values of modern society shaped football

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[1] See Martin, S. (2004). *Football and Fascism: The national game under Mussolini*. New York, NY: Berg.

[2] Check Weintraub, S. (2001). *Silent night: the story of the World War I Christmas truce*. Simon and Schuster.

in a way that shares many common characteristics with other social institutions of our time. Globalization, the market economy and the technological advancements changed football throughout the last decades. In this regard, we need to examine in what ways and how much football is affected by the constant shifts in the global context.

Football in the modern world

Sport and football have played their own, secondary role in this constant flow of global events, following and even sometimes creating history. The evolution of sports has passed through several stages. From the early 20th century amateur sport, nowadays there is a gigantic global sport industry with billions of dollars in revenues for corporations, agents and Global Sport Organisations. In this commercialization of global sport (Maguire, 1999) the media contribution and the internet afterwards, were catalysts. Television broadcasting and the commercial turn of the IOC in early 80's paved the way for the formation of a huge global sport industry through the media.

More specifically, "*institutions of television broadcasting and international sports had created an event and global access to an event that brought together viewers through sophisticated systems of technology, finance, scheduling and commodification*" (Real in Wenner, 1998, pg.15). The result of this was the formation of a new force with specific characteristics that significantly affected the very essence of sports. "*No force has played a more central role in the MediaSport complex than commercial television and its institutionalized value system—profit-seeking, sponsorship, expanded markets, commodification, and competition*" (Ibid, pg.17). Particularly in football, the UEFA Champions League final, every year captivates about 400 million spectators, while the interest on the internet and social networks are ever-growing. It is worth mentioning that football is the second most popular sport event in the world with 3,3 billion viewers, just a little behind the Tour de France, which is viewed by 3,5 billion people (goal.com, 2022).

According to Kearney (n.d), the global sports industry is worth up to $620 billion nowadays, with growth that is faster than global GDP. This includes infrastructure construction, sporting goods, licensed products and sports events. Regarding the

different sport markets, football holds the lion's share, since it has the 43% share of the global market (Ibid). According to Deloitte's annual review of football finance, the total European football market is estimated to be around 29 billion euro for the season 2018-2019 (Deloitte, 2021).

One of the most profitable and challenging branches of the sport and football industry is betting. Sport betting industry raises great controversy and issues in sports, while regulated betting is estimated to be worth 70 billion dollars in 2017. Nevertheless, *"the unregulated global betting sector...is understood to be many times larger than the regulated sector…it is believed that, excluding horse racing, 70-85% of the bets placed are on football"* (RGA et al., 2014, pg.2). As shown below, the money that surrounds football cannot be accurately estimated. *"The growing global sports betting market, through regulated and unregulated operators and driven by relatively new product platforms and types of bets, has seen policymakers within national and transnational institutions increasingly drawn into a heated commercial and integrity debate"* (Ibid, pg.69).

Therefore, it is clear that *"professional football's characteristics as a sport have always been linked inextricably with its attributes as a business, but never more so than at present"* (Dobson & Goddard, 2001, pg.22). As Britain is the cradle of modern sport, we might say that this new business attribute in football began in the post-Fordist England. According to King (1997), there was a major shift in English football during 1990's, when the new club directors transformed the connection between the football club and the fans to a new relationship of club-customer. This profit-making mentality might be examined in the context of the Thatcher era, where the reformations can be partly justified because of the tragedies of Heysel and Hillsborough[3]. Another catalyst towards this direction was the decision of the European court of justice for the free movement of football players across Europe after the 'Bosman ruling' (for more details see Case Study b). This law was a breakthrough for the globalization of football and the transformation of European clubs to multinational corporations.

This new reality eventually caused some problems within the world of football. Traditional fans of historic football clubs, like Manchester United in England and

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[3] See Hughson, J., & Spaaij, R. (2011). 'You are always on our mind': The Hillsborough tragedy as cultural trauma. *Acta Sociológica*, *54*(3), 283-295.

Corinthians in Brazil persistently resisted the new business policy of their clubs and the new owners who saw football as an opportunity to expand their businesses (Dubal, 2010). This transformation of clubs into corporate entities, transforms the democratic structures or community-tied ownership into impersonal, corporate frameworks of power (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2006). In other words, the hyper-commodification, which is a common characteristic in most social institutions nowadays, also affected football.

In this context, as the sports industry and of course the football industry is another part of the global market, some fundamental problems of the market function appear in football as well. For instance, a growing gap between the big-5 leagues (England, Germany, Spain, France and Italy) and the rest of the European leagues made it difficult for clubs of the periphery to challenge the big-5 leagues and their clubs, both in sporting and financial terms. The gap was widening not only between leagues, but also within them, as the few wealthy clubs were dominating profits and trophies in contrast with the smaller clubs. This rising competitive imbalance is probably the greatest problem facing professional football nowadays. "*Football's rehabilitation during the 1990's as the most popular and fashionable national sport in England and elsewhere has coincided with a further sharp rise in financial and competitive inequality between clubs*" (Dobson & Goddard, 2001, pg.123).

Football clubs, federations, governments, sponsors and the fans are all stakeholders in a network system. According to the theory of 'Network society' of Castells (2004), society consists of various networks that are connecting, conflicting and cooperating. In our case, the sub-system is called 'Network Football'. In this network, the governing bodies, i.e. FIFA and UEFA, the clubs, the sponsors, the national governments, the supranational organisations (EU), the media etc. consist of a complicated and interconnected network of entities, which share common goals but also have different interests, playing in a game of power and influence (Sugden, 2002).

The various stakeholders and the significance of football in economic, political and social terms have created a network with suspicious connections. The allegations of corruption within the global sport governing bodies, such as the IOC and FIFA (Jennings, 2011) has left a stain on the world of professional sports (more details see Case Study a - FIFA). As Jarvie notes "*the problems of world sports organisations are*

similar to other organisations with visions that are primarily concerned with money, material wealth and unregulated profit" (Jarvie, 2006, pg. 164).

Moreover, the recent scandals of FIFA and UEFA presidents being accused of bribery and illegal money transactions has traumatized the credibility of football authorities for one more time. Other recent scandals such as the 'Calciopoli' in Italy in 2006 or the European football betting scandal in 2009 raised discussion about good governance and integrity in football institutions. For instance, a public survey in Greece has shown that almost 86% of the participants in the study believe that many football matches of the Greek league are 'predetermined' (Mplounas, 2014). This belief might be partly justified because there are serious allegations about fixed matches even in the World Cup (BBC, 2014). Additionally, there are facts that the multinational corporations' influence on football is so great that they even intervene in the squad formation of a national team (The Independent, 2015). "*There is in fact a considerable amount of conflict both within and between the key elements of the network…irrespective of which relationship or combinations thereof lubricate the Network, the overriding result usually works to the advantage of big business*" (Sugden, 2002, pg.74-75).

However, this advantage of big business is under severe criticism nowadays. The main values of capitalism, such as competition and profit making are not necessarily evil, but there is a thin line that divides commodification and hyper-commodification. In this regard,

"*whilst financial motives are not morally vicious in themselves and a society in which people are animated by the profit motive receives many material benefits, such motives should not be dominant in the all things considered reasoning of those who play sport and those entrusted with its administration and development*" (Walsh and Giulianotti, 2006, pg. 64)

In the current context of global market economy there might be some things that make us consider them as something special and different, something which is beyond mere numbers, calculation and profit. Football might be one of those things. In the words of John Sugden:

"*Football is a special case in as much as it is one of a number of realms of cultural production that have considerable meaning beyond straightforward*

consumption…football clubs and national teams carry meanings beyond the moment of consumption. They stand for things such as community, tradition, social solidarity and local and national distinctiveness" (Sugden, 2002, pg.78).

In our study below, we are going to see how those special characteristics of football could sustain their value and simultaneously allow the football institutions to still seek for money and power. A balance between values and those external goods can be sustainable, under certain circumstances and a certain conceptual framework of good governance.

Chapter Two: The social, moral and philosophical significance of sport

"If politics were like a sporting event, there would be several virtues to attach to its name: clarity, honesty, excellence". (Neil Postman)

A brief history of sport and Olympism

In many civilizations of the past, different kinds of sport festivals and contests can be traced. The ancient Egyptians, Chinese, Sumerians and other Mesopotamian civilizations used parades and some forms of sport contests to display royal power and domination or exhibition of military prowess (Crowther, 2007, Decker, 1992). However, the cradle of institutionalized contests and the forefather of modern sports is undoubtedly the ancient Greek civilization. From the Homeric poems (8th century BC) there is evidence that athletic contests took place even in the Bronze age (11th century BC) in funeral games to honour dead heroes or as a form of relaxation and escape from routine (Miller, 2004a, Mouratidis, 1985). The first official Olympic Games organised in 776 BC and in the following centuries athletic contests in other places in Greece, established the system of the 'crown-games', where the Greek city-states sent their best athletes to participate.

Sports or better 'gymnastics', together with music and mathematics, were essential elements of education in the ancient Greek pedagogical system. The great significance of athletic training was a main characteristic of a free, educated citizen, who was ready to defend his homeland in time of need and also to be disciplined outside of the 'gymnasion' (Pleket, 2004). According to Crowther (2007), the institutionalization of sports was an outcome of the agonistic nature of the ancient Greek society, which was traceable not only in sports, but also in drama, music and other aspects of life. "*The Greek concept of competition (agõn), which also means 'gathering,' or 'assembly,' found expression in the famous athletic festivals that consisted of a coming together of both participants and spectators for a contest*"(Crowther, 2007, pg. 57).

The Olympic games were the greatest athletic festival of the ancient times and the theories about their true origin varies. The religious and mystical aspect behind most of the social phenomena was very strong in the ancient Greek civilization, together with the theory of a 'harvest festival' (Parry, 2009) which is another powerful argument.

However, the ancient Olympics and the other crown-games rendered a significant aspect of ancient Greek society with an exceptional meaning and symbolism of contemporary values. The key-word that connects the Games with ancient Greek philosophy and mentality is 'Arete'. Arete is an Aristotelian concept which is also central to MacIntyre's theory that will be studied extensively below. According to Steven Miller (2004b) Arete as a definition includes virtue, skills, pride and excellence and it was in general "*a goal to be sought and reached for by every Greek*" (pg.9).

In brief, Arete was the virtue that encompasses all the virtues of the ancient Greek philosophy. Therefore, the athletic contest was a proper platform for someone to perform and display Arete. Another significant and relevant characteristic for us today of the ancient Games was isonomy. The idea that all the free born Greek men were equal to participate no matter of their social or economic background, might have contributed to the idea of democracy that became the dominant political system in many ancient Greek city-states after the 5th century BC. In this vein, the concept of naked athletes (gymnikoi agones) might be an example of the idea that all men must participate as equal (Miller, 2004b). Additionally, the gathering of people from all the corners of the ancient Greek world for the Olympic festival is evidence of an ancient 'internationalism' or 'cosmopolitanism' that unified the Greeks through the institution of the Olympic Games (Reid, 2009).

During the Hellenistic and Roman era, the Olympic Games declined, in a period when great moral and social transformations occurred in the wider Mediterranean area. Thus, "*except for the factionalism and chariot races of Byzantium, the history of ancient sport ended*" (Kyle, 1983, pg.9). For many centuries then, sports were absent from the everyday life of people in Europe. Some forms of folk games were present in Britain and elsewhere in Europe, but it was not until the early fifteenth century, when several major shifts occurred. "*In this phase, the incipient growth of national communities, the accentuation of the notion of the individual and of ideas about humanity and the development of a scientific worldview emerged*" (Maguire, 1999, pg.77).

This approach of Maguire was inspired by Norbert Elias' theory above and was named the 'sportisation' process. It identifies the main elements that formulated the appearance and growth of modern sports in the post Victorian British society. The French and the

industrial revolution, together with the Renaissance legacy, created a new environment in Europe and more specifically in England, which became the cradle of modern sports.

England's new social environment and educational system were meant to become a serious inspiration for the founder of modern Olympic Games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. Coubertin, though an aristocrat, had been truly influenced by the ideas of Democracy, Liberalism and Internationalism (Hoberman, 1995). The French pioneer saw in the English school system a social training for life in a liberal democratic society, in which the boys were rewarded for their own talents and not for their social background (Loland, 1995).

This was the starting point for Coubertin to visualize a cultural and educational process that would evoke some noble values in young men through sports and education. The idea of Olympism was born in the mind of the French aristocrat when he realized how important sports can be for the youth and for modern society in general. In a few words, "*Olympism is a social philosophy that emphasizes the role of sport in global culture, international understanding, peaceful coexistence, and social and moral education*" (Parry, 2006, pg. 190). Coubertin's ideas about Olympism and the Olympic games should be examined in the context of that time. The industrialized Europe and the new international community had little in common with ancient Greece. In addition, the concept of sports in Coubertin's time was completely different from the highly professional and commercialized modern sports.

In this vein, there is a whole discussion about the universal aspect of Olympism and the values of sports. However, Jim Parry, using as a background the ideas of liberalism, international understanding and multiculturalism, argues that there can be "*a concept of Olympism to which each nation can sincerely commit itself while at the same time finding for the general idea a form of expression (a conception) that is unique to itself, generated by its own culture, location, history, tradition, and projected future*" (Parry, 2006, pg. 195). In other words, Parry believes that it can be a common code of conduct for understanding and cooperation between cultures and societies, while sports and Olympism work as a global platform of cultural expression (Ibid).

Through the decades and after great shifts in global society and the sports community, the message of Olympism is still alive nowadays, but probably limited mostly to an academic context. Additionally, the values and the moral significance of sports today,

appears to play a secondary role in the function of the modern sports system. We cannot be sure if the virtue of Arete, which was the ideal value in the ancient philosophy of the Olympic Games, had an actual impact on the athletes and the stakeholders of that time. Nevertheless, although the true implications of Arete in the ancient world remain a mystery, we cannot deny its moral significance in the sport mentality of that time and the significance of physical exercise and athletic contests.

The moral and philosophical significance of sports

As shown above, sport conveys an intrinsic meaning, with psychological and pedagogical implications. Moreover, the values of sport also point to a moral significance. According to Jones and McNamee (2000) "*the research suggests that sport is a particular kind of activity separate from normal life with its own moral atmosphere…is a particular kind of human interaction governed not only by rules but also by an ethos*" (pg.143).

Sport is both separate but also a part of normal life. Sport can be either oppressive or liberating, it depends on the context. In philosophical terms "*sport is characterized both by a certain autonomy as well as by being embedded or ensconced in a wider network of values, norms and institutional interests: sport is characterized by what can be called a 'double character'*" (Steenbergen and Tamboer, 1998, Pg.38). This double character gives the 'relative autonomy' to sports that allow us to examine it critically, since "*its autonomy is, in spite of contrasting opinions, not absolute. It remains always tied to what is determined by common decency and morality"* (Meinberg, 1991, p. 22, cited in Steenbergen and Tamboer, 1998, Pg.49)

Bourdieu argued that "*the history of sports is relatively autonomous history which, even marked by major events of economic and social history, has its own tempo, its own evolutionary laws, its crises, in short, its specific chronology*" (Bourdieu, 1978, pg.45). In the same vein, Coakley insists that "*sports are more than mere reflections of society…sports have never been developed in a neatly ordered, rational manner and there are no simple or general rules for explaining sports as social phenomena*" (Coakley & Donnelly, 2009, pg.44).

While it is more than obvious that sports, as a social practice, carry ethical implications, we need to examine how we can identify the ethical and philosophical aspects of sports. McFee (2004) argued that there are only ethical issues in sport and not philosophical. So, how can we talk then about a 'philosophy of sports'? An answer to this comes from Kretchmar, who believes that sports carry a soft metaphysics, when through the meaning found in contests and the selfless love we find in sports, there is a potential philosophy (in McNamme and Parry, 1998). In another paper, Kretchmar (2010) argues that the philosophy of sport should matter more, and he uses as philosophical columns Spinoza's theory of unity, Merleau-Ponty's emphasis on embodiment and Dewey's focus on the aesthetics of experience to highlight the philosophical significance of sports.

In this context, there is a current academic stream, in which sport scholars combine sports theory with the philosophical and social theories of various great thinkers. For instance, in Giulianotti (2004) collection of essays 'Sport and modern social theorists' scholars like Ingham, Donnelly, Tomlinson, Morgan and Hargreaves, connect in their work great thinkers, such as Marx, Adorno, Gramsci, Bourdieu, Foucault and Habermas, with the philosophy of sports. Even if there is a fine line between sociology and philosophy in these academic endeavours, there is evidence that sports offer a significant field for philosophical inquiries.

Nesti (2007) goes even further and by using as a background the existential psychology argues that there is a potential spiritual significance in sports. In his own words:

"*Sports can provide opportunities for the individual athlete to confront and accept the challenges and anxiety inherent in this form of human activity. Encountering success and failure in competitive sport has the potential to educate the sport performer about where his or her limits are, what he or she is willing to go through and who he or she really is. This account of self-knowledge links closely to ideas of courage, identity, meaning and values. Each of these words signifies that our personality can be seen as a spiritual entity which engages with the world around it through use of particular psychological skills and qualities*" (Nesti, 2007, pg.128)

The analysis of Nesti identifies the intrinsic capacity of sports to provide a field where someone could find and develop his/her spiritual entity. The values that can be found in sports and the context in which individuals are experiencing sport contests, as

athletes or as spectators, could enable them to enter a process of self-realization and the positive development of character. But this notion is not an end in itself. No one and nothing could assure us that if we participate in sports, an automatic positive outcome will make us discover our spirituality and our deeper selves. The countless examples of corruption and violence in sports indicate the opposite, while the spiritual aspect of sports can be experienced even through nationalism (Morgan, 2000). As in every theory that comes to practice, the outcome depends on the context and in our case the multiple factors that constitute the experience of sports, require us to be careful.

However, sport nowadays seems to be one of the last realms of social reality, in which a code of values and honour still defines the actions of the individuals and communities. As described below, sport can use a moral philosophy as a conceptual framework because there is an intrinsic ethical value within the idea of sport. In our case, a philosophical theory that we are going to use is that of MacIntyre. But before we see in detail the philosophical schema of MacIntyre and its connection to sport, the words of McNamee work as introduction, highlighting the importance of sport in the modern world:

"*As MacIntyre has so ably demonstrated, modernity has loosened the bonds between fact and value, role and identity. Who we are and what we ought and ought not to do and be, are commonly supposed to occupy separate realms. Unlike many other cultural practices, however, sports retain a strong vestige of the view that our roles still issue clear directives for personal action and life-commitments. Sports, with their structural exultation of the heroic still offer a partial vision of what is honourable*". (McNamee, 2002, pg. 38)

Sport for Development and Peace and the value of sport

Sport, as one of the most popular social phenomena of the 20th century, has played its own secondary role in modern world history. As shown above, sport is a very special institution with social and moral implications. In addition, on many occasions sport also had political implications, as it was used several times to promote a political cause. For instance, Hitler used the Berlin Olympics of 1936 to promote Nazi Germany or the

Soviets to exhibit to their political system. Additionally, on rare occasions sporting events and particularly football matches became the spark that ignited the flame of war, such as the Honduras vs Ecuador game in 1969 or the Dinamo Zagreb-Red Star Belgrade match in 1990.

However, sport has been also used as a platform for peace and hope on various occasions. In this regard, it is argued that the 'ping pong diplomacy' in 1970s helped USA and China to come closer and similarly the 'cricket diplomacy' between India and Pakistan in the 2000s. One of the most prominent cases in which sport played a vital role for good were the boycotts of South Africa from the international sport competitions during the Apartheid era. As Sugden argues "*while it would be an over-statement to say that the sport boycott alone led to the demise of apartheid and white rule in South Africa, it is generally agreed that it did play a major part in its destabilization*" (Sugden, 2010, pg.262).

In this context, Nelson Mandela's famous quote highlights the great significance of sport:

"sport has the power to unite people in a way little else can. Sport can awaken hope where there was previously only despair. It breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of discrimination. Sport speaks to people in a language they can understand" (Mandela, 2000).

The most prominent conceptual framework for these kinds of implications is Olympism. As shown above, sport through Olympism promotes the educational significance of sport, its symbolic power, role models through the athletes, policies for peace, inclusiveness and the actual space for the sport activities to take place (Georgiadis, 2009). In this vein, 'Sport for Development and Peace' (Kidd, 2008) is a social movement which tries to resolve social problems through the philanthropic actions of governmental and non-governmental organizations. Organizations such as the UN and the EU, governments, universities and non-governmental organisations are using sport to promote and strengthen peace, solidarity and development around the world.

Additionally, all the great sport clubs with a global reach, such as Real Madrid or Cleveland Cavaliers and international corporations, such as Nike and Adidas, develop

various philanthropic initiatives, in the context of Corporate Social Responsibility. In parallel, there are good practices coming from civil society and not only from corporations, such as the Homeless World cup, which harnesses the power of sport and specifically football, to change the lives of homeless and poor people. In the words of Jarvie:

"*There is no single agent, group or movement that can carry the hopes of humanity, but there are many points of engagement through sport that offer good causes for optimism that things can get better*" (Jarvie, 2007, pg.460)

However, we must be careful considering the power of sport as a soft tool for peace, solidarity and positive change. In this context, the notion of 'sport evangelism' (Hill, 1992) can be both dangerous and tricky, since the true impact of sport, depends on various factors and just the practice of sport in itself, cannot assure a positive outcome. Sport is surely not a remedy for all ills, but its true essence might be good and not value neutral. In this vein, there is a debate between sport philosophers, as to whether sport has intrinsic or instrumental value. McFee (2004, 2009) argued that sport can be a 'moral laboratory' with its moral potential depending on its rule-following character. In this vein, sport can be considered to have 'intrinsic properties' and therefore 'intrinsic value'. On the contrary, Culbertson (2008) rejected this idea, making some terminological distinctions and concluding that the intrinsic value of sport is of little interest or practical use and so unable to justify sport in the way McFee envisaged.

This debate has its roots in a deep philosophical analysis, about the true essence of value and which things can be considered as good, bad or neutral. Similarly, the discourse about intrinsic and external value of things is also challenging. In brief, we can say that 'instrumental value' encompasses something that depends on the outcome. For example, money has instrumental value because it is neither good nor bad, it depends on the reason someone is using it. On the other hand, there are some notions that have intrinsic value, such as friendship or love.

In friendship you do not just 'use' your friend as a means to an end. You love your friend, for just being your friend, in good and bad times. Of course, some people betray their friends, but that doesn't mean that friendship is bad. On the contrary, genuine friendship, in its pure form, is something with intrinsic value. Equally, we argue that the same applies to sport. Sport offers a context that has intrinsic value. It requires

common rules, equality, solidarity and respect. Still there is the 'freedom' factor that allows the choice to harness the good or deny it. Thus, sport has intrinsic form and intrinsic value, but it depends on the agent/ practitioner to harness and enjoy this intrinsic value . In the words of Jim Parry:

"*sport can be used to earn money, promote a nation, inflate egos, bully the weak, vaunt victory, disparage the loser and so on. But this does not mean that sport has no (intrinsic) values. To argue that sport has peace-making capacity and peacekeeping potential is to argue that it has a certain intrinsic form and intrinsic values, which lend themselves to those tasks. This is why sport is promoted (instrumentally) by peacekeepers, even if they do not particularly like sport themselves*" (Parry, 2012, pg.11)

Chapter Three: Research Methodology and Philosophical Considerations

Introduction

The main scope of this study is to examine good governance in the football organisations from an ethical perspective. We are going to examine why ethics matter and how the nature of governance can be studied from the aspect of ethics. In more detail, the study aims to identify and analyse the common themes of ethics and good governance, the utility and necessity of ethics, in the unique and multi-dimensional context of football organisations. Particularly, the research questions of this study are the following:

1. Why is good governance important for football organisations and how is it defined?
2. What is the role of ethics in the good governance of football organisations and why does it matter?
3. How institutional theory and MacIntyre's philosophical framework can be useful to study football organisations' governance?
4. How can good governance practices and ethics help in the reformation of Greek football??

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse the way in which the study will move towards answering these questions, and also the methodology, the methods and the wider philosophy that this study will use. Firstly, we are going to briefly examine the philosophy of science, ontology and epistemology, and then we will examine the main paradigms of the different kinds of methodology. Finally, the methodology which this study will adopt will be identified, along with the philosophical position of a key term, that of ethics.

Science and Scientific Method

Science and scientific method paved the way for the scientific and the industrial revolution, while the technological advances that occurred though this process changed the global society. However, scientific methods could not avoid criticism, because

despite technological and scientific progress, some aspects of the human condition did not evolve for the best.

The real impact of scientific revolution on humanity was under severe criticism after the disastrous World Wars and the turbulent 20th century. Great thinkers such as Karl Popper (2020) declared that every scientific authority is an enemy of open society and Paul Feyerabend argued that science is a dangerous dogma, and a direct threat to democracy (Feyerabend, 1975). In the same vein, Schaffer (1989) argued that modern philosophy of science to some extent had replaced the medieval authority of church, producing its own ideology. Additionally, the power of any position has been traditionally gathered from its grounding, which could either be a metaphysical foundation, such as external world in empiricism, mental structures in rationalism, human nature in humanism, or a narrative, such as Marxism's class struggle, social Darwinism's survival of the fittest, or the market economy's invisible hand (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000, pg.102).

Consequently, many of the grand narratives of modernity, such as the political ideologies or psychological patterns, appeared in practice to be much more different than in theory. For this reason, the belief that science could solve all humanity's problems is highly debatable nowadays. Even in the field of natural sciences, as we search deeper into the secrets of nature, certainty becomes more and more rare. In particular, "*natural scientists increasingly acknowledge that their world of study may not be characterized by the universal laws and patterns that have traditionally anchored their ontological point of departure – at least not at all levels of inquiry*" (Moses & Knutsen, 2007, p. 156).

In this context, Bronowski urge us to keep in mind this:

 "*One aim of the physical sciences has been to give an exact picture of the physical world—one achievement of physics in the twentieth century has been to prove that the aim is unattainable…. There is no absolute knowledge…. All information is imperfect. We have to treat it with humility. That is the human condition; and that is what quantum physics says. I mean that literally*". (Bronowski, 2011, pg.353)

Nevertheless, scientific method despite its imperfection is still the most rational way of discovering, theorising and formulating the world, in theoretical and practical terms. In

both natural and social sciences, theory is the background where all the process to discover the answers we are looking for begins. In other words, *"it is impossible to make any sense of the world without some sort of theoretical framework"* (Marsh and Smith, 2001, p.532). Even in the field of social sciences a theoretical framework is necessary in order to distinguish science from literature for example. What needs to be highlighted is that science cannot provide answers to all our questions. In the words of Jim Parry:

"Science does well (or badly) at scientific tasks, history at historical ones, philosophy at philosophical ones, and so on. Science cannot answer philosophical questions; it can't create or appreciate art, literature, humour or football; but I don't on that account despise it. Good science is good at what science is good at. We can't ask for more than that". (Parry J. in McNamee, 2005, pg. 29)

Since the aim of this study is to find some specific answers to specific questions, we need to find a way to go there. And the way that we are going to follow, in the academic world is called methodology. But before we see and define the methodology of our study, we are going to see in brief the wider context of the philosophy of science.

Ontology, Worldviews and Epistemology

Methodology in the academic world requires a position regarding a general view about the world and about reality. The most general concept of methodology is ontology, the study of being, which answers the question "what is"? According to Gray (2013), there have been two main and opposing ontological traditions in western thought, since antiquity. The one is this of Heraclitus (535–475 BC), the ancient Greek philosopher from Ephesus, who believed that the world is ever-changing and there is no such thing as a stable reality. On the contrary, another ancient Greek philosopher, Parmenides (515–445 BC), argued that reality is permanent and unchanging. In brief, Heraclitus proposed the ontology of "becoming", while Parmenides proposed that of "being". Western thought has been based mainly on the latter, in order to build upon the philosophy of science, which became the dominant 'truth' in modernity.

While ontology is the broadest concept in the research philosophy, there are different terms, which define more or less the same concept, that of the philosophy of

methodology. Crotty (1998) writes about 'epistemological positions', Neuman (2009) about 'broad conceived research methodologies', while others speak about 'paradigms' (Lincoln, Lynhan and Guba, 2001). We have chosen to pick Creswell's terminology and define the main research philosophies as 'worldviews'. Worldview, according to Creswell (2014), is a "*general philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher brings to a study*" (pg.35).

Creswell (2014) identifies four main worldviews. The first is Post-positivism, which evolved from Positivism, the 'original' scientific method that passed from natural sciences to the social sciences. Post-positivism is a deterministic philosophy of science, which argues that there is a real world 'out there' and can be examined and discovered through careful observation and measurement. The laws and theories that govern the world should be tested and verified, mainly through quantitative methods. The second main worldview is that of constructivism and is the opposite of positivism, because it places reality and meaning not in a world 'out there', but within the human beings. Human beings construct meaning as they engage and interact with the world, based on their historical and social perspectives. Meanings then are varied and multiple, depending on a researcher's qualitative method, which is inductive and generated from data collected in the field. A major paradigm of constructivism is interpretivism , which looks for "*culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world*" (Crotty, 1998, pg.67).

The third major worldview according to Creswell is the transformative worldview and basically the school of Critical Theory, a philosophy inspired by Marxist tradition, which aims not to just study and explain social reality, but basically to transform it. With this view, research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political change agenda to confront social oppression at any level (Mertens, 2010). The main scope of this transformative philosophy is to identify and expose injustices and help the marginalized and oppressed transform their social reality. Finally, the fourth worldview is that of pragmatism. Pragmatists are not based on some philosophical dogma to search for answers, but rather they analyse the consequences and the actual outcome of their study. In this context, they are free to choose the methods and techniques, so as to meet their needs and purposes. Truth is basically what is useful at this time.

While ontology refers to the study of being or existence and gives the answers to the question "what is?" Epistemology is the philosophical background where knowledge stands to give answers to the question "what it means to know?". Specifically, epistemology provides clarification of knowledge and legitimacy in a scientific context. According to Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson (2002) epistemology can help to clarify issues of research design, such as the overarching structure of the research including the kind of evidence that is being gathered, from where and how it is going to be interpreted. In addition, epistemology defines the knowledge context of research philosophy that will help the researcher to distinguish and decide between research designs and objectives.

Three main epistemological positions have emerged, according to Crotty (1998), which are unitary and holistic. The first one is objectivist epistemology, which holds that there is an objective reality, which exists independently of consciousness. So, the role of research is to discover this objective truth. In contrast, the second main epistemological position, constructivism, as given above, rejects the view of an objective truth, for the reason that meaning, and truth are constructed by the subject, so they are solely subjective. In the same vein, the third epistemological paradigm, that of subjectivism rejects the notion of an external reality. However, subjectivism differentiates from constructivism as it puts the emergence of meaning not only by the subject, but also from the collective unconsciousness.

Philosophical considerations and Methodology

At a most general level, there are two major classifications of research methodology, one of positivist and the other of interpretive approaches. In the realm of social sciences, the researchers who still follow positivism are trying through scientific inquiry to identify the causes that lead to social phenomena. Close to positivism and the belief of a social reality that exists independently of the observer, are also realism and rationalism. The basic assumption of Positivism is that an objective external truth that can only be reached through scientific inquiry, has become obsolete and has been described as "*one of the heroic failures of modern philosophy*" (Williams & May, 1996, pg.27).

On the other hand, the interpretivists focus upon the meaning and understanding of a specific phenomenon or behaviour. The tradition of constructivism and interpretivism rejects the notion of an objective truth and talks about various explanations which depend on the researcher's point of view. In this context, critical theory, Marxism, feminism and other interpretivist approaches share the belief that social reality is produced and reproduced by social factors, such as power or conflict.

The epistemological positions are divided into various philosophical and methodological considerations. In the context of objectivism, positivism was until recently the dominant basis where scientists, both in the natural and the social field, were developing their studies. In the vein of constructivism, interpretivism looks for "*culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world*" (Crotty, 1998, pg.67). Another similar main paradigm is phenomenology, in which meaning, and truth are also socially constructed, and the researcher is just another part of what is being studied. Other examples of constructivist and the interpretivist approach are symbolic interactionism and hermeneutics .

Critical Realism

Critical realism is one of various philosophical approaches in social sciences and has mainly been developed by Roy Bhaskar (1986). Bhaskar wanted to distinguish the natural from the social sciences and so he proposed a philosophy which originates from realism but differs. While scientific realism considers that the scientific method can discover true representations of the world, critical realism argues that the way we perceive truth also depends on our background and expectations as individual researchers and the truth is hard to discover (Bunge, 1993). Therefore, we can say that critical realism accepts the idea that there is 'truth' in the real world, but it is very difficult for us to approach it, as our human nature and methods limit us.

According to Patomaki and Wight (2000), critical realism manages to bridge the gap between Kant's phenomenal world (transcendental idealism) and Hume's scepticism and determinism, as it "*provides an alternative 'problem-field' which embeds the social within the material without reducing one to the other*" (pg.223). The other gap that critical realism manages to bridge is that of Positivism/Objectivism and Post-

positivism/Constructivism, because a critical realist approach accepts an objective reality, but the human factor is key in both forming and comprehending reality.

More specifically, the basic assumptions of critical realism are the following:

1. Reality exists independently from us.

2. Our understanding of the world is fallible and limited but knowledge is not immune to research that can be effective in discovering and explaining successful material practice.

3. Knowledge is developed neither absolutely continuously nor discontinuously, but rather in a way that is difficult for us to identify a pattern.

4. There is necessity in the world; natural and social objects have particular powers and ways of acting and particular susceptibilities.

5. The world is differentiated and stratified, consisting of events, objects and structures, which have powers and liabilities capable of generating events. These structures may create patterns in the natural and social world, but also may not.

6. Social phenomena are concept dependent and apart from the explanation of their products and material effects, we must comprehend their meaning. Although the researcher as an agent is important in social phenomena's interpretation, it exists independently from the researcher.

7. Science and the production of knowledge is a social practice. Therefore, social conditions and relations play a significant role in this. Additionally, as knowledge is basically a linguistic practice, language is a key factor in its construction and evaluation.

8. Social science must be critical of its object, in order to explain and understand social phenomena. (Sayer, 1992, p.5).

These basic assumptions form the context where critical realism interprets reality and mainly social phenomena. In a few words, the critical realism context is the following: There is the real world, where the actual events happen and also empirical events, which can be captured and recorded. In this context, there are the objects/entities (such as the organisations, people etc.) with their internal structures (departments, individuals) and also their relationships. Relations are distinguished between necessary (entities

definitely affect one another) and contingent (may affect one another). The other thing is the causal powers and liabilities, these are the ones which 'makes things happen' and allow us to study their effects and outcomes. Finally, another key term in the critical realism approach is 'emergence', which involves the connectedness of the entities in a system and how changes affect it. (Bhaskar 1986; Archer 1995; Sayer 2000)

In this complex system of the theory of critical realism, the key elements and their connections create the interpretations and the meaning of social phenomena. According to Sayer (2000), the meaning of social phenomena must be understood through an interpretative or hermeneutic approach and cannot just be measured or counted. In this vein, Patomaki and Wight (2000) argue that science "*aims at identifying and illuminating the structures, powers, and tendencies that structure the course of even*ts" (pg.223). However, the authors, despite believing that knowledge is a social product, it is not totally arbitrary, because some interpretations of reality may provide better accounts than others (Ibid, pg.224).

Consequently, the selection of methodology and the overall research process are essential elements in the pursuit of the best possible knowledge. Critical realism, a relatively new scientific approach, provides a strong methodology to seek for the truth, but always with the humility that knowledge is limited and possibly fallible. Finally, in academic terms, Patomaki and Wight (2000) argue that the critical realist 'problem field' is committed to ontological realism (there is a reality independent of mind), epistemological relativism (all beliefs are socially produced and so fallible) and judgmental rationalism (despite epistemological relativism it is still possible to provide justifiable grounds for preferring one theory over another) (pg.225). In a similar vein, Easton (2010) defines critical realism as a "*transcendental realist ontology, with an eclectic realist/interpretivist epistemology and a generally emancipatory axiology*" (pg.119).

Philosophical and Methodological Framework of the Study

In this study the critical realist approach will be adopted in the analysis of football organisations and the role of ethics in good governance. We are going to examine the overall governance philosophy, the institutional context, the internal procedures and the role of agents in three different football contexts, i.e., FIFA, UEFA and Greek football

system, the latter including the Hellenic Football Federation and the wider context of Greek football's stakeholders (big clubs, national government etc,).

Our analysis will be focused on the role of good governance and ethics in a context that is multidimensional and dynamic. In the context of critical realism, the key entities involved are the football organisations (FIFA, UEFA and the Hellenic football Federation). Their power and liabilities are the monopoly in football administration and governance in a global, regional and national level respectively. The necessary relationships are those with stakeholders such as the EU, national governments, ECA, fans etc. and the contingent relationships with sponsors, media and other stakeholders. The study then proceeds by capturing data (documents, reports, newspapers articles and academic papers) with respect to the ongoing and past events (critical events, new phenomena, policy shifts etc.). (adapted from Easton, 2009)

To this end, problems and issues associated with interpreting the empirical data back to the real entities and their actions are highlighted. In our case these will be the lack of transparency and accountability, key agents and their role in the organisations, the politics of football, structures and hierarchies and other relevant issues. The final result will be the identification of one or more mechanisms that have caused the events and what can be done to change the series of events that has led to the phenomena of corruption and bad governance. The main aspiration of this study is to identify some good practices that can harness the ethical aspect of good governance and the impact of football organisations, especially in the Greek context which is highly problematic in terms of good governance.

Lastly, as the objects of inquiry in this study are football organisations, critical realism is a theory that is also appropriate for organizational studies, because it "*can provide a viable ontology of organisations and management, allowing positivism and its empirical realist ontology to be abandoned without having to accept a social constructionist ontology*" (Fleetwood, 2004, pg.32).

Methodology and Research tools

Through the prism of critical realism, the methodology we are going to adopt is the case study research methodology. According to Yin (1994), case study methodology is ideal

for answering questions like "how" or "why". In this context, our study aims to examine and comprehend the complex environment of football organisations, in order to find 'why scandals and mismanagement occur so often' and 'how ethics is a key concept in the process of good governance'? Easton (2009) argues that a case study based on the critical realist approach, is well suited to complex phenomena, such as the organisations.

Moreover, Easton (2009) defines case study research as "*a research method that involves investigating one or a small number of social entities or situations about which data are collected using multiple sources of data and developing a holistic description through an iterative research process*" (pg. 119). Additionally, a case study is a good methodology when the object is a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context and it is also desirable to use multiple sources of evidence (Schwandt, 1997). In this vein, the focus of this research is on a contemporary phenomenon, that of corruption in the football organisations, a complex phenomenon that includes many variables, so multiple sources of evidence will be used.

Our research consists of three case studies; specifically, the cases of FIFA, UEFA and the Hellenic Football Federation (together with the wider Greek football system). The common theme between them is of course that they are football organisations, which all have to deal with a complex network of stakeholders, internal procedures, agents/ individuals, politics and dominant tenets. The impact of FIFA is on a global level, UEFA on a European level and the Hellenic Football Federation on a national context. According to the methodology of critical realism and the moral theory of Alasdair MacIntyre that we will see below, those cases will allow us to understand the phenomena of scandals and corruption within the organisations, the critical events, the individuals' impact, relationships with the stakeholders, the ethical dimension and the potential of good governance.

The research tools and the sources of evidence will be based on the content analysis method (reports, academic papers, documents, news articles) and archival records analysis (press releases, service records, annual reviews etc.). Following the argument of Perry (1998) that "*the case study methodology is a rigorous, coherent one based on justified philosophical positions*" (pg. 799), we aim to examine the ethical dimension and the overall operation of the football organisations, by examining the two greatest

football organisations at a global and European level (FIFA and UEFA) and a third smaller organisation, which happens to be the main interest of this study. The practical contribution of the study aspires to produce specific policy recommendations for Greek football, through good governance practices and the ethical dimension, in order to improve the game of football in Greece.

Research methodology in a nutshell

Ontology and Epistemology	Critical Realism
Theoretical Adequacy and Validity of concepts	Institutional Theory and MacIntyre's conceptual framework (virtue-goods-practice-institution schema)
Methodology	Case Study Approach
Method	Content/ Document Analysis
Reliability	Context Reflection

Limitations of the study

As shown above, the methodology, method and research tools that our study has adopted were found suitable and critical for our kind of analysis. However, as in most studies, there are some limitations which prevent us from assuming a general application of our analysis and findings. In this context, it is worth mentioning that qualitative research and particularly in our case the concepts of ethics and good governance, include the element of subjectivity, because there is not a unanimous definition of 'good' or a universal approval of the ethical dimension in organisations' governance. Therefore, our study adopted as complementary methodologies Institutional Theory and MacIntyre's philosophical schema, to be based on a conceptual framework that allow us to study good governance through Institutional Theory tenets and also to define 'ethics' in the complex environment of institutions and organisations.

Regarding the limitations in the number of units of analysis, i.e., the three case studies of FIFA, UEFA and Hellenic Football Federation, we can argue that they were sufficient to analyse and identify those critical relationships and common characteristics between the three cases, which have allowed us to develop a

comprehensive analysis and conclusions. The different level at which each organisation is placed in the football pyramid (global, European, national) has also given us a unique perspective from each different level and allowed us to proceed with a comparative analysis.

Of course, since the national level analysis has been done solely in the context of Greek football, further research in other national contexts would be ideal to verify or challenge our analysis and findings. Furthermore, there is no rich body of work regarding the study of the ethical dimension in football organisations' governance. Although there are many studies about good governance in sport organisations, the focus on the ethical aspect is rather limited and so is the particular focus on football organisations.

Additionally, it is important to mention that our study is explanatory and not exploratory. In fact, we analyse the institutional context of the football organisations over a long period of time and so we try to 'explain' how and why certain policy shifts, scandals, successes and failures occurred. It is not the scope of this study to go deep into the organisations and 'explore' relevant details and 'hidden' information. Therefore, we have found it unnecessary to adopt an ethnographic approach and conduct interviews for example, with specific agents of the organisations.

Lastly, regarding the research method we used, that of content/ document analysis, there are some intrinsic limitations. More specifically:

As a stand-alone method, analysing documents gives you a very specific and sometimes limited approach to experiences and processes…The major problem in analysing documents is how to conceptualize the relations between explicit content, implicit meaning, and the context of functions, and use of the documents and how to take these relations into account in the interpretation of the documents. (Flick, 2018. pg. 261)

However, we are confident that our study has managed to overcome these limitations, by using two comprehensive and clear methodologies; Institutional Theory and MacIntyre's philosophical schema. The two complementary methodologies have proved to be essential since firstly Institutional Theory has helped us to analyse and identify both the internal and external environment of the organisations, and secondly MacIntyre's schema is essential for identifying the concepts of practice and virtue, which embody the ethical aspect. In this regard, the document analysis through the lens

of both these theories, allowed us to determine the relations between explicit content and implicit meaning, together with the relevant functions. In detail, Institutional Theory's tenets and MacIntyre's virtues-goods-practice-institution schema, has allowed us to study and synthesise the information in the documents, and proceed to their relevant interpretation.

Chapter Four: Ethics, Good Governance and Organisations

Ethics and Moral Philosophy in the Modern World

The research ontology/ epistemology of this thesis have been presented above and will be that of critical realism. Additionally, a complementary philosophical approach that this research will adopt is that of Alasdair MacIntyre's theory about ethics, practices and institutions. This is a crucial theme for the whole research, which enables the clarification of some notions and also to actually take a side. For philosophy and ethics is such a wide, complex and subjective notion, that we cannot go neutral or just present the origins and the basic themes.

Ethics and philosophy are the pursuit of answers about the nature of man, his/her behaviour, his/her purpose (if it exists) and his/her relationship with other humans and nature. From antiquity and particularly from the ancient Greek philosophers, then to the medieval thinkers and the philosophers of Enlightenment to modernity, several theories and approaches were developed. Through the course of history and social reality until today, many of these ideas, beliefs and answers that have tried to explain the nature and purpose of man, were fallible or incomplete.

As a result, according to MacIntyre the language of morality in today's world of secular rationality is in a state of grave disorder, while philosophy, unable to provide a shared background for moral discourse and action, has become a marginal, narrowly academic subject (McIntyre, 2007). On the other hand, the current global economic crisis, along with a political and social crisis and also the phenomena of corruption in all kinds of organisations, have revived the discussion about ethics and the term good governance has emerged as a hot topic in the current social discourse.

But before we examine the concept of good governance, we must first define what is 'good' and how we can approach it. This can be possibly done only through the lens of a moral philosophy. In this regard, we are going to use the most important work of McIntyre, from the book titled 'After Virtue', in order to define the main concepts of moral philosophy and to understand the context of current morality in modern society.

To begin with, we need to understand what moral philosophy is. In the words of McIntyre:

"A moral philosophy…characteristically presupposes a sociology. For every moral philosophy offers explicitly or implicitly at least a partial conceptual analysis of the relationship of an agent to his or her reasons, motives, intentions and actions, and in so doing generally presupposes some claim that these concepts are embodied or at least can be in the real social world". (McIntyre, 2007, pg.23)

MacIntyre argues that moral philosophy is a practical theme, which defines the main traits of human mentality and humans' relations in a social context. Since antiquity, all cultures in history had a moral philosophy, which defined the actions of individuals and their purpose in life. This moral philosophy of course varied according to time, geographical and social conditions, cultural characteristics and other factors. What differentiates our modern culture is the fact that there is no such thing anymore as a moral philosophy.

MacIntyre believes that modernity cannot provide a shared background for morality and ethics, because since Enlightenment, the classical and Christian elements or the Aristotelian tradition, which provided a purpose or a 'telos' for man, were no longer valid. In this vein, human thought and consequently man and social reality no longer had a stable axis to build upon a common code of conduct, a life of meaning and an account of virtues. According to the Scottish moral philosopher, the result of this transformation was the emergence of the phenomenon of emotivism, in which the sole reality of the distinctively moral discourse is the attempt of the one will to align the attitudes, feelings, preference and choices of another with its own. In the same line with MacIntyre is the American philosopher Hubert Dreyfus, who argued that in our time there are no more shared commitments and people retreat to their private sphere to find significance, usually in materialism (Dreyfus, 1993).

According to MacIntyre the basic element of classical and Aristotelian tradition is the *"fundamental contrast between man-as-he-happens-to-be and man-as-he-could-be-if-he-realized-his-essential-nature"*(McIntyre, 2007, pg.53). Therefore, the definition of ethics from MacIntyre is this one:

"ethics is the science which is to enable men to understand how they make the transition from the former state to the latter. Ethics therefore in this view presupposes some account of potentiality and act, some account of the essence of man as a rational animal and above all some account of the human telos" (ibid, pg.53).

Since there is no 'telos' for man nowadays, scientific and bureaucratic authority were meant to lead the new way. MacIntyre believes that Weber's bureaucratic authority is an emotivist portrait, because according to Weber all faiths and all evaluations are equally non-rational and subjective directions given to sentiment and feeling. Consequently, bureaucratic authority is justified in terms of efficiency and successful power. In this vein, Weber provided the key to much of the modern age, with rationality to adjusting means to ends in the most economical and efficient way and with social scientific knowledge and a set of universal law-like generalizations. (McIntyre, 2007)

Unfortunately, in the course of modernity and despite the scientific and technological progress, bureaucratic authority and efficiency were not able to solve some enduring social problems. The usual phenomena of corruption in organisations, or the wider social phenomena of inequality and poverty, shows that these kinds of problems might have deeper roots. In addition, the relatively standard laws of natural science were not compatible with the social field. Human nature and human behaviour are still not known and predictable. And in our context, it is obvious that organisations cannot be managed 'efficiently' only through bureaucratic authority or scientific knowledge.

Practices, institutions, goods and virtues

In the context of social reality, MacIntyre makes a very helpful distinction between practices and institutions. By a practice MacIntyre means "*any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realized in the course of trying to achieve…standards of excellence*" (McIntyre, 2007, pg. 187). These standards of excellence are systematically extended, while the range of practices is wide; arts, sciences, games, politics etc.

"*Chess, physics and medicine are practices; chess clubs, laboratories, universities and hospitals are institutions. Institutions are characteristically and necessarily concerned with…external goods. They are involved in acquiring money and other material goods; they are structured in terms of power and status, and they distribute money, power and status as rewards*" (Ibid, pg.194)

To avoid idealism, MacIntyre argues that "*nor could they do otherwise if they are to sustain not only themselves, but also the practices of which they are the bearers. For*

no practices can survive for any length of time unsustained by institutions" (Ibid, pg.194). So, practices need institutions and vice versa, in order to sustain their single causal order, while the internal goods of practices and the external goods of institutions are both desirable as outcomes, as long as there is a relevant balance between them.

In this regard, MacIntyre argues that the history of practices and institutions is a history of virtues and vices. A practice can only retain its integrity through the exercise of virtues by at least some of the individuals who constitute the overall entity of practice and the institution. On the other hand, the corruption of the institutions is the effect of the exercise of vices. The more individuals exercise the vices, the greater the corruption. In this context, MacIntyre identifies three essential virtues: justice, courage and truthfulness. For the Scottish philosopher, in the light of these virtues we have to characterize ourselves and others, regardless of our private moral standpoint, in order to sustain the goodness and the balance between practice and institution. (Ibid, 2007).

According to MacIntyre, the virtues are:

"*those dispositions which will not only sustain practices and enable us to achieve the goods internal to practices, but which will sustain us in the relevant kind of quest for the good, by enabling us to overcome the harms, dangers, temptations and distractions which we encounter, and which will furnish us with increasing self-knowledge and increasing knowledge of the good.*" (Ibid, pg.219)

Virtue is a key concept in MacIntyre's philosophy, as it's the only way to achieve the internal goods. Therefore, the exercise of virtues and the outcome of internal goods is the only way to sustain the institution, which is the social bearer of the practice. In the words of MacIntyre "*the integrity of a practice causally requires the exercise of the virtues by at least some of the individuals who embody it in their activities; and conversely the corruption of institutions is always in part at least an effect of the vices.*" (Ibid, pg. 195). Therefore, in the organisational context, the domination of virtues or vices in the process of practice and the function institution, will both define the virtuous or corruptive nature of the organisation.

Institutional Theory – key tenets

Since 'Institution' is a key term in MacIntyre's' theory, it is of utmost importance to connect it with a relevant academic approach. In this regard, Institutional Theory is one of the most prominent approaches in management and organisation studies during the last decades. The concept of Institutional Theory was built upon the influential work of Meyer and Rowan (1977), who argued that the formal structures of organisations reflect to a greater extent the myths of their institutional contexts and not only the needs of their work activities. According to Greenwood et al. (2008), the ground on which Institutional Theory was based is Max Weber's theory about the power of bureaucracy in modern societies and the two defining conditions: the complexity of networks of social organisations and the institutional context (Greenwood et al., 2008, pg.3). Therefore, Institutional Theory became a common approach of studying organisations from the aspect of social/cultural environment and institutional context (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), institutional and organisational change (Tolbert and Zucker, 1983; Tina Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002) and institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988).

The basic scope of Institutional Theory is to provide a useful methodology to examine the social and cultural, or else the institutional context, in order to identify the background behind the actions and the overall philosophy of an organisation. Institutional context in a few words is '*the rules, norms and ideologies of the wider society*' (Meyer & Scott, 1983). While the notion of 'institution' is rather vague, Scott (1995) provides a coherent definition, that helps us to identify the object:

"*Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour. Institutions are transported by various carriers – culture, structures and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction*" (Scott, 1995, pg. 33)

In this vein, Greenwood et al. (2008) identified five key tenets of institutional theory, which were also elaborated by Washington and Patterson (2011) in their work about Institutional Theory in sport management research. In this context, the first key tenet of Institutional Theory is the notion of isomorphism, the idea that an organisation is affected so much by the social environment, that it acquires more or less, the same characteristics as the external context. In other words, the institutional context leads organisations to adopt specific principles and practices, intentionally or unintentionally.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) distinguish three different kinds of pressures that the institutional context puts on organisations: coercive, mimetic and normative pressures. Coercive pressures are those coming from authorities and powerful stakeholders, while mimetic pressures derive from a lack of confidence and experience, thus creating a need to mimic others in order to apply already successful practices. Lastly, normative pressures are those practices that an organisation unintentionally applies when it uses the same sources and resources as the other organisations from the same institutional context (in Washington & Patterson, 2011).

The second key tenet, highlighted also by DiMaggio and Powell (1983), is the concept of 'organisational fields', "*field actors engage in a common rule structure and shared normative understandings*" (Washington & Patterson, 2011, pg. 4). These actors can be stakeholders, such as suppliers, consumers, regulatory organisations and other organisations that operate in the same context and share a common language, ideologies, meaning or understanding (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Scott, 1995). According to Washington and Patterson (2011), the introduction of 'organisational fields' conception "*expands the boundaries of previous units of analysis by incorporating a wider array of organizational actors who interact in a consistent and meaningful way*" (pg.4).

In this context, a key tenet of institutional theory that significantly affects the concept of organisational fields is that of institutional logics. According to Friedland and Alford (1991), the organisational fields are part of wider belief systems with specific assumptions and principles. In detail, there are five dominant institutional logics today: capitalism, family, bureaucracy, democracy, and Christianity. These institutional logics share common characteristics and themes but also major differences, so they can be complementary, but most of the time are contradictory. In the words of Washington and Patterson (2011, pg.5) "*these logics are inherently contradictory in that there are different legitimate actions and activities depending upon which logic is at play in a given field*".

One of the most important tenets of institutional theory is that of legitimacy, a key concept which encompasses instrumental, relational and moral dimensions (Tost, 2011). Since every organisation needs to justify its actions and the logic that is produced in a specific legitimate context, "*legitimacy refers to the degree of cultural support for*

an organization—the extent to which the array of established cultural accounts provide explanations for its existence, functioning, and jurisdiction, and lack or deny alternatives" (Meyer & Scott, 1983, p. 201). More specifically, according to Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway (2006), legitimacy consists of two dimensions, one is cognitive and validates the actions of the object, i.e., the organisation, and the other is a normative, prescriptive dimension that renders this social object right. In the words of Schuman (1995, p. 574), legitimacy is "*a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions.*"

Finally, another key tenet is institutional entrepreneurship and change. While the institutional context is a more or less stable context with certain characteristics, the concepts of change and entrepreneurship can always occur at some moment and create new conditions in the organisation and the wider institutional context. Scholars believe that institutional change is mainly triggered by external factors (Meyer, 1982; Clemens & Cook, 1999). On the other hand, Leblebici et al. (1991) argued that change often occurs internally in the organisations, because of a 'locus of change' within an organisation field, internal contradictions as an organisational field emerges or new technologies. In this context, agents play a key role in the operation and evolution of organisations. Therefore, "*institutional entrepreneurs represent significant influence within a field based on power position, influence, resources and opportunity and if successful, such actors can greatly benefit from their guidance of the industry*" (Washington & Patterson, 2011, pg. 6).

Overall, Institutional Theory and its key tenets that described above, constitute a very useful and efficient methodology to study organisations and the institutional context in which they exist, from multiple perspectives. The value of Institutional Theory is the tools that it provides to identify the background and the basic influences of organisations in a given context. However, as with most theories, Institutional Theory is criticised as limited and one of the reasons is that it places lesser emphasis on the importance of ethics and the moral dimension of organisations and institutions. In this regard, Moore and Grandy (2017) are critical to the Institutional Theory for not addressing properly the importance of morality at the organisational level. Similarly, Munir (2015) acknowledges the value of Institutional Theory to identify how shifts in logics occur, he also highlights the absence of the perspective of moral philosophy.

Business ethics, MacIntyre and the Virtuous Organisation

Good governance is a hot topic nowadays in all businesses and organisations contexts. Although the term 'good' is closely connected to 'ethical', it is not so clear what role ethics play in the concept of good governance. In the academic context, according to McDonald (2000), the literature in the field of business ethics is divided into four main categories: normative, meta-ethical, descriptive and prescriptive literature. Though it is beyond the scope of this study to examine those categories extensively, we should mention that the normative ethical literature is based on teleological and deontological traditions, and also contains discussions on rights and justice, such as the works of Rawls and MacIntyre. (McDonald, 2000).

In this vein, the work of MacIntyre and specifically the 'After Virtue' legacy, inspired a series of business ethics works (McCann & Brownsberger 1990; Mintz 1996; Horvarth 1995; Brewer 1997; Dawson and Bartholomew 2003; Moore, 2005, Beadle 2002; Beadle & Moore, 2006). In general, these works try to connect the usability of MacIntyre's theory, with the management of the business organisations and their impact on both the organisation and society.

In this context, there is a growing need for practical implications of ethics in the organisations. According to a recent review of the relevant literature (McLeod, Payne & Evert, 2016), organisational ethics research is a field with a significant lack of empirical evidence and methodological practices. In this regard, Institutional Theory can be used as an efficient methodology to identify the causes of ethical problems that lie within the more macro institutional levels, propose intervention methods and even suggest new ethical approaches (Nielsen & Massa, 2013). In this vein, the adoption of critical theoretical perspectives on social institutions could be beneficial for Institutional Theory (Munir, 2015).

In the meantime, since morality appears to be '*an essential component to an institutional understanding of organizations*' (Moore & Grandy, 2017), the basic elements of MacIntyre's theory, or else the 'virtues-goods-practice-institution schema' can be used in order to study and analyse the moral and ethical dimension at the organisational level. In this regard, a body of work based on Macintyre's theory (Moore & Grandy, 2017; Moore, 2012; Moore & Beadle, 2006), supports the idea that

MacIntyre's virtues-goods-practice-institution schema provides a conceptual framework for the study of organisational virtue. More specifically, Moore and Beadle (2006) identified three preconditions for a virtuous organisation: a) virtuous agents in both practice and institution, b) a conducive mode of institutionalisation for the proper equilibrium of practice and institution and c) a conducive environment where agents have the freedom and the motivation to grow the virtues (pg.16).

Regarding the first precondition, the virtuous agents, although ethical leadership remains a largely unexplored field (Brown & Trevino, 2006), relevant studies have shown that a virtuous and ethical leadership behaviour from managers can influence the whole organisation and create an ethical environment (Neubert et al., 2009). In this vein, "*while numerous factors influence climate emergence and change, the actions of the organization's leaders are likely to have the greatest influence over ethical behaviour and climate regarding ethics* (Andrews, 1989; Waters and Bird, 1987, in Grojean et al., pg.227).

Additionally, McDonald (2000) argues that research strongly supports the connection between the ethical philosophies and values of management and the behaviour of employees. In this context, unethical leadership '*transcends beyond the leaders' own behaviour'*, since leaders can encourage unethical practices within the organisation (Brown & Mitchell, 2010). According to Wright & Goldstein (2007), individual character and organisational-level virtue goes in parallel, something that urges us to keep the study of character and virtue in organisational studies alive.

For the second precondition, the conducive mode of institutionalisation that ensures a balance between practice and institution, MacIntyre explains in 'After Virtue' in detail how the pursuit of the external goods from the institution and the internal goods from the practice, are both desirable, as long as there is a relevant equilibrium between them. According to the Scottish Philosopher, there is a constant "*intrinsic tension between the practice and the institution for matters of cooperation, competition, power, status and wealth*" (in Moore, 2005, pg.17). In this regard, '*the virtuous organisation would place a limit on the pursuit of external goods so as not to distort the practice*' (Moore & Grandy, 2017, pg. 6). However, MacIntyre is pessimistic about the sustainability of practices in the capitalist environment, as he believes that modern organisations neglect the practice and focus only on the institution. On the other hand, there is a rational

counter argument that practice still exists even in capitalist organisations, otherwise the institution would "*killed itself from the inside by failing to sustain the practice on which it itself is founded*" (Moore & Beadle, 2006, pg. 10).

Lastly, the third precondition is the conducive environment where virtue might flourish. A fertile institutional environment is vital, in order for the virtues to grow. MacIntyre is again pessimistic that the capitalist environment, which allows vices such as avarice to be legitimised, does not leave enough space for the agents to practice the virtues. However, there is still hope for virtues in the capitalist context, because even if isomorphism press organisations to adapt certain characteristics, there is a 'reciprocal opposition' that can be used against the dominant values (Nelson & Gopalan, 2003, in Moore & Beadle, 2006)

In the context of the culture of the organisation and specifically the organisational culture and ethics, there are two dominant models of studying and understanding organisational ethics. The first one is the strong culture approach, which stands for a unitary and instrumental approach, where goals and values are centralised, and they are independent of the agents/ persons of the organisation. While a unitary culture and a common code of conduct is an essential part of a coherent organisation, there are some negative aspects, such as the danger of a 'managerial elite' domination, which can be alien to the organisation or the 'lip service' from those who never truly understood the ethics of the organisation. (Sinclair, 1993)

On the other hand, the second model views organisations as shifting coalitions of subcultures, which agree to be a part of an organisation, in order to increase their personal benefit (Ibid). This model pays greater attention to the part instead of the whole but there is a risk of an anarchic/ paralysed organisation with an impotent management to find a common basis. While there are positive and negative aspects in both models, Sinclair (1993) highlights the importance of self-scrutiny and responsibility of the individual, instead of the institutional processes, to produce better ethics (pg. 71).

As demonstrated above, ethics as a concept, carries the notion of potentiality and act. In this regard, the values of a virtuous organisation depend on the scope or 'telos' of the organisation. Each organisation has a 'vision' of the 'perfect' organisation that it wants to become and with this in mind ideally, develops its organisational structure, philosophy and the daily operations. However, whatever the scope or philosophy of

each organisation, MacIntyre argues that there are three essential excellences - truthfulness, justice and courage, that should characterise ourselves and others, no matter our personal preferences or the social context (MacIntyre, 2007).

The application of MacIntyre's philosophy in the context of organisations and business ethics is not an easy task (Beadle & Moore, 2006, Sinnicks, 2014), while it is not in the scope of this study to analyse extensively the philosophy of MacIntyre and its potential application in every organisational context. However, we do believe that the main concepts of Macintyre's philosophy and particularly the virtues-goods-practice-institution schema is an 'honest', practical and efficient conceptual framework to study and assess organisations from the aspect of ethics.

Particularly, since sport carries an 'intrinsic value' (Parry, 2012) as we saw above, and sport organisations are not just business organisations, MacIntyre's theory can be a valuable tool for all the sport organisations and therefore those of football, to orient themselves towards a potential ethical/ moral dimension. MacIntyre's approach is important because it avoids idealism by arguing that it is natural for organisations to seek for external goods but also highlights the significance of internal goods and the essential balance between them. In this context, McNamee (2008) calls on sport institutions to ensure their commitment to internal goods and standards of excellence. This securing of internal goods is the key to the organizational integrity of the sport institutions (Gardiner, Parry & Robinson, 2017).

Chapter Five: Good Governance and the role of ethics in sport organisations

Governance and Good Governance

The word 'governance' is derived from the Greek word 'kyverno', which means to steer or to navigate. The best known term from this root in English is 'government', a word that is associated with the ruling authority of a state/country. In this regard, governance refers to all the processes of governing a social system, whether this is an organization or a network, through the laws, norms, power or language of an organized society (Bevir, 2012). In general, governance is a key term nowadays, not only in the field of politics, but also in the market economy and the business world.

Similarly, corporate governance refers to the governance of a corporation, which is one of the dominant forms of institution in modern society (Deetz, 1992). The nature and impact of corporate governance has been raised as a major issue, as the power of private and non-governmental organizations increased and, in some ways, has even superseded national or local governments. In this context, the financial scandals and collapse of big corporations, such as Enron, or more recently of Lehman Brothers, has turned the discussion about corporate governance into a global topic with a growing interest (Mallin, 2006).

A definition of corporate governance according to OECD (2015) is the one which: "*...involves a set of relationships between a company's management, its board, its shareholders and other stakeholders. Corporate governance also provides the structure through which the objectives of the company are set, and the means of attaining those objectives and monitoring performance are determined*" (pg. 9). The key words of this definition are: set of relationships, stakeholders, structure, objectives, means, and monitoring performance. All these concepts affect the nature and efficiency of governance in a corporation/ organisation. The set of relationships and stakeholders are the crucial elements because according to these factors there is a variation in the theories of governance, as a key factor is who is in charge, who takes the decisions and what is the balance of power between the stakeholders. The entire philosophy and policy of a corporation/ organisation depend on this balance.

Throughout the bibliography in management, organizational studies and other relevant disciplines, multiple theories of governance have been developed. Brief overviews of them we can find in Cornforth (2003). There are eight dominant theories and the main differences between them are defined by interests, board members and board roles. A brief description of each theory follows:

➢ Agency theory: owners and managers have different interests, while on a board there are owner's representatives and their role is to comply with owners' will and safeguard their interests (compliance model).

➢ Stewardship theory: owners and managers have the same interests. The board members are experts in the field and their job is to improve organisations' performance and support management. (Partnership model)

➢ Institutional theory: stakeholders and the organisation have different interests. The board members are influenced by external organisations and they have to comply with their interests. However, Institutional Theory has a wider application and various tenets that define different organisations as we saw extensively above.

➢ Resource dependency theory: stakeholders and organisations have different interests. The members of the board are selected for their ability to build relationships and also influence other key stakeholders (co-optation model).

➢ Network theory: stakeholders and the organisation have different interests. The board members are selected according to their ability to influence other organisations but also secure resources to support their own organisation.

➢ Stakeholder theory: there is a diverse range of interests among stakeholders. On the board there are stakeholders' representatives, trying to balance the various stakeholders' needs and control management (stakeholder model).

➢ Democratic perspective: there is also a diverse range of interests among stakeholders and probably organisations and the public may have different interests. On the board there are lay representatives whose role is to represent constituents and reconcile differences (democratic model).

➢ Managerial hegemony theory: owners and managers have different interests. On the board there are owner's representatives, but their role is just symbolic ('rubber stamp' model).

In practice, none of the above theories complies fully with any specific real-life organisation. The complex and sometimes chaotic social and organisational environments, even in the smallest organisational context, does not allow any scientific discipline to clearly define each stakeholder's role, influence and power. Cornforth (2003) noted that "*each of these theories only gives a partial and limited account of governance*" (pg.2).

The aspiration to define governance and put it in a framework of characteristics, principles, processes and outcomes, probably has to do with the endeavour to identify the best possible governance, or else the 'good' governance. According to the World Bank (1994) good governance is "*epitomised by predictable, open and enlightened policy making; a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos; an executive arm of government accountable for its actions; and a strong civil society participating in public affairs; and all behaving under the rule of law*". Though this definition from the World Bank is mainly addressed to national governments, the context of principles applies to all kinds of organisations. In this regard, the main axis of good governance consists of a democratic process, openness, transparency, accountability, legitimacy and a professional ethos. While all terms are relatively wide and open for discussion, the term 'professional ethos' is the one which we will try to examine more thoroughly in this study and examine its potential application in football organisations.

More specifically, the code of principles that could define good governance was proposed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 1997). The proposed universal principles then are 1) Legitimacy and Voice, 2) Direction, 3) Performance, 4) Accountability and 5) Fairness. Though the claim of any principle to be universal is quite controversial, these five concepts are essential in order to examine if an organisation follows the 'good governance' path, or not. These principles are the ethical standards of an organisation, but the application often shows that in any case, context matters, as principles may conflict and there are no absolute tools that guarantee the outcome. Therefore, the nature of governance needs to be understood and only then principles can become useful tools (Graham, Plumptre, & Amos, 2003, pg.6).

Governance in sport organisations

As stated above, sport as an institution and as a practice has a peculiar social and ethical/ moral significance. While sport business nowadays is a huge industry with billions in revenues for the companies which sell sporting goods and services, it is not easy to argue that sport is just business. In this regard, there is a wide range of spectrum for sport organisations and it is difficult to categorise them as either profit-seeking or non-profit seeking, since most of the sport organisations share common characteristics with both corporate entities and non-profit organisations. While it may be easy to categorise a retail sporting goods company in the profit seeking organisations' category, we cannot say the same for a sport academy or a sport federation. However, according to Hoye and Cuskelly (2007) "*the majority of sport organisations that provide participation and competition opportunities can be considered to be non-profit*" (pg. 7).

According to Fishel (2003) there are some specific characteristics of non-profit sport organisations, which differentiate them from the traditional non-profit organisations, such as the complex organizational structures, which are not driven solely by financial motives, they are accountable to many stakeholders and they are dependent from volunteers (in Hoye & Cuskelly, 2007, pg. 9). Additionally, Drucker (1990) identified some more special characteristics of the non-profit organisations, namely the organizational mission and the outcomes, market and fund-raising strategies, the role of the board and the management of volunteers (Ibid, pg. 7). The last two characteristics, the role of the board and the volunteer factor, were identified also by Kikulis (2000), who argued that the institutionalization of volunteer boards and the semi-institutionalization of paid executive roles, are key concepts in the high-level governance of the sport organisations. In conclusion, sport organisations that govern sports belong to a special class of non-profit associations (Pielke, 2013) and they vary in terms '*of size, structures, cultures, traditions and capacity to respond to external pressures*' (Hoye and Cuskelly, 2007, pg. 17).

The unique characteristics of sports has allowed sport institutions to enjoy a feeling of relevant autonomy and self-regulative activity. The Global Sport Organisations (or International Sport Governing Bodies) like the IOC and FIFA are governing and regulating sports autonomously, through self-governing networks, with their own rules (Geeraert, Scheerder & Bruyninckx, 2013). In this context, another common element of the sport organisations is the systemic or federated nature of the governance

structures. According to Rosenau (1995) systemic governance structures are formed by a network of organisations which seek to allocate resources and exercise control and coordination (in Shilbury, Ferkins & Smythe, 2013). Under this system the International Sport Governing Bodies are controlling and coordinating a wide network of confederations, federations, clubs and other stakeholders, composing a system of hierarchical self-governance (Geeraert & Bruyninckx 2014).

Good governance in sport organisations, principles and indicators

In the global sport system, International Sport Governing Bodies (ISGBs) stand at the top of the hierarchy in a pyramidal set-up, from international to continental level, then to national and finally to the local level (Croci and Forster 2004, in Geeraert, Mrkonjic & Chappelet, 2015). However, this traditional structure does not depict the actual network of stakeholders in the modern sport systems. According to Henry and Lee (2004), the globalizing trends in sport had as a consequence a key shift in the organisation and governance of sports. In the contemporary setting, stakeholders, such as national and supra national governing bodies, sponsors and other groups of interest which are important parts of the new systemic governance network, they form all together a complex network of stakeholders.

In this regard, Henry & Lee (2004) identified three major policy implications in the new systemic governance model. The first one is the concept of negotiation or trade-off between the stakeholders, while the second is the loss of absolute control of sport from the relevant sport governing bodies, a consequence of the new conditions. Finally, the third implication is connected with the other two and includes the necessary skills of negotiation and mutual adjustment, which is a precondition for the proper coordination and function of the whole system.

As shown above, good governance emerged as a hot topic in the business world after some major scandals in big corporations, which also affected the wider economy and society. Similarly, in the sporting world the discussion about the need for good governance in sport organisations grew after the revelation of major corruption scandals inside the Global Sports Organisations. The first serious incident was the 1998 'Salt Lake City bribery scandal', when IOC members were found guilty of taking bribes in order to favour Salt Lake City for the Winter Olympic Games of 2002. Marc Hodler,

an IOC member at that time, argued that the problem was systematic and not limited to Salt Lake City (MacAlloon, 2011).

The IOC faced an unprecedented legitimacy crisis and responded with the establishment of an Ethics Committee in 2000, while a Reform Commission earlier recommended 50 measures regarding good governance. In the same vein, FIFA established an Ethics Committee in 2006 in order to be in line with the current good governance policy and after the allegations of corruption, presented analytically below. In addition, major scandals in International Sport Governing Bodies that caused even the resignation of presidents, took place between 2004 and 2008 in the International Federations of Volleyball (FIVB), Judo and Taekwondo (Chappelet, 2018).

In the institutional and academic contexts, good governance reports and studies started to appear, approximately during the same period of time. More specifically, the European Union published in 2000 the 'Nice Declaration on the Specific Characteristics of Sport and Its Social Function in Europe' with principles of good governance (EU, 2000), while the European Olympic Committee organised in Brussels in 2001 the first International Governance in Sport Conference, developing a statement of Good Governance Principles, "the Rules of the Game" (EOC, 2001).

One of the first pioneer works regarding good governance in sports, was 'Democratising Global Sports' of Katwala (2000), who argued that the governing bodies of sport have failed, and he proposed a series of reformation measures, like greater transparency and stakeholder participation, term limits for those in charge, credible codes of ethics etc. In the same vein, Henry and Lee (2004) suggested seven principles for sports governance: Transparency, Accountability, Democracy, Social Responsibility, Equity, Effectiveness and Efficiency. According to UK Sport (2004), the governance problems in sport organizations derive from 'a *lack of adequate controls, monitoring and reporting lines, individuals having inadequate skills and a lack of succession planning*' (in Hoye and Cuskelly, 2007, pg. 11).

In this context, a holistic and multi-dimensional conceptual framework for good governance in sport organisations developed by Chappelet and Mrkonjic (2013), who defined the Basic Indicators for Better Governance in International Sport (BIBGIS). The BIBGIS framework includes seven main principles of good governance, i.e., organisational transparency; reporting transparency; stakeholder representation;

democratic processes; control mechanisms; sporting integrity; and solidarity. Each of those principles includes nine indicators, consisting of 63 in total for the whole framework. The application of this framework allows sport organisations to monitor and assess their governance performance through multiple quantitative and qualitative data. This framework has been used to assess several sport organisations and appeared to be efficient, also for assessing the progress of an organisation through time.

Similarly, Geeraert, Alm and Groll (2014) after examining 35 international sport organisations/ federations suggested that sport governing bodies need to define and establish objective criteria of good governance, so as to justify and make credible their self-governance. Particularly, the scholars proposed the establishment of independent ethics committees that will supervise checks and balances and the greater participation of athletes in the decision-making process. Moreover, they criticized the international sport federations for being European-centred, while there was also a male dominance and an absence of term limits for the presidents, back then (Geeraert, Alm & Groll, 2014). In practice, ethics audits in sport organisations and ethics committees can make a real difference (McNamee & Fleming, 2007), as for instance in the case of FIFA, where the Independent Ethics committee banned the presidents of both FIFA and UEFA from any football activity (more details below).

Another conceptual framework that works as a monitoring tool is the AGGIS Sports Governance Observer (Geeraert, 2013), which assesses the good governance in Global Sport Organisations and consists of four dimensions. The first one is transparency, which is considered to be the foundation of good governance as it allows others to monitor the work of an organisation. Similarly, a concept which is closely related to transparency is accountability, and together they constitute the frontline against corruption. The second dimension is that of democratic process, as sport is considered to be a public good, and therefore Global Sport Organisations should follow the foundational concept of modern societies, that of democratic function. The third dimension is that of checks and balances, a key element for transparency and accountability, as it allows independent authorities and audit mechanisms to monitor the economical operations of organisations. Lastly, dimension number four is solidarity, a relatively 'moral' virtue, which drives organisations/corporations to contribute to civil society and the protection of the environment, without being obliged to do so.

In a more recent work, Geeraert (2018) updated those dimensions and particularly defined the four good governance dimensions of the National Sports Governance Observer (NSGO), i.e., transparency, democratic processes, internal accountability and control, and societal responsibility. We can see that transparency and democratic processes remain as they were in the previous conceptual framework. The third dimension has slightly changed its definition, since internal accountability and control is a rather more holistic concept that ensures the separation of powers inside the organisation and the relevant rules and norms. Lastly, solidarity has been replaced by 'social responsibility', which also includes solidarity for those outside the organisation, but also highlights the responsibility that sport organisations should have for the common good and the wider society.

Through the years, more governmental and non-governmental institutions have developed a great number of sport governance frameworks. In this context, Chappelet and Mrkonjic (2019) presents the major examples of these; highlighting the common principles and concepts, but also the differences and the heterogeneous indicators that aim to assess good governance. After analysing the different frameworks, the two scholars call for a need to find a common conceptual framework to reconcile the different aspects of governance, with ultimate scope to agree upon a generally accepted definition of governance and a limited number of core principles. This would allow sport organisations to implement a clear operationalisation process with specific indicators, but also with the flexibility to be adapted to the different cultural and structural context of each organisation. (Chappelet & Mrkonjic, 2019).

Good governance and the ethical dimension

Even if 'good governance' is too *'context sensitive' to be applied universally* (Chappelet & Mrkonjic, 2013) we need to identify a common context of good governance principles. This will allow us to understand better the mismanagement and corruption issues that appear so often in the sport organisations. In this vein, Geeraert (2013) argued that "*high profile scandals related to corruption teach us that there probably is something wrong, but we have no clear image of the magnitude of the structural organisational issues in the governance of INGSOs*" (pg.12-13).

In terms of MacIntyre's theory the Global Sport Organisations, as institutions, seek mainly for external goods, however, as we have already mentioned, sport is a special phenomenon, in which virtues and good practices are essential for the proper function of the whole system. The Global Sport Organisations have the monopoly of the sport they govern at a global level, but actually there is a great complexity of stakeholders' influence, legitimacy, internal procedures and outside pressures that the organisation has to deal with. "*While financial success may be less of an imperative for the majority of sport organizations than it is for for-profit corporations, the governance of sport organizations is arguably more complex than the governance of corporations or even charitable organizations*" (Hoye and Cuskelly, 2007, pg. 204). In this context, Forster (2006) points out the evolution of legitimacy and authority of the Global Sport Organizations as governing bodies, leading to a new 'open era' in sport, with new objectives and underlying philosophies, as the current highly commercialized orientation.

Apart from the organizational level, it seems that the problem of corruption and bad governance also has roots at the individual level. For this reason, it is of utmost importance to examine the role of ethics in the context of governance. Particularly, ethical behaviours at the top level, seems to influence the quality of ethics for the whole organisation (Hums and MacLean, 2009). In this context, officials and members of sport organisations very often found to be corrupted, as many of them "*are career sports administrators for whom the system rewards the organizations and individuals within them with places of executive power in the GSO. This can be under a system of patronage that reduces individuals as voice*" (Forster, 2006, pg. 79).

Overall, good governance might be a complex and multi-dimensional concept, while the context is surely crucial, since each organisation is different and unique. However, the role of science is to put some order in this chaotic world of organisations, systems and individuals. In this regard,

"*future research efforts in this area need to contribute to a clearer understanding of what are the principles that matter for good governance, and they need to do so in such a way that is supported by sound theoretical frameworks and appropriate research designs and methods*" (Parent & Hoye, 2018).

Therefore, the scope of this study is to contribute to this exact call, the need for new theoretical frameworks that will allow us to acquire a clearer understanding of the true essence of good governance in sport organisations. Particularly, our conceptual framework will be focused on the ethical dimension of good governance and how ethics is a key concept for the football organisations. In this regard, it follows the analysis of three case studies, which will help us design and develop the conceptual framework to be proposed.

Case Study a: FIFA

"*The incompleteness of a system is rarely if ever perceptible to those who made it or to those who benefit from it*" (Wendell Berry, 2000).

The beginning of FIFA

FIFA or officially 'the Fédération Internationale de Football Association was founded in the rear of the headquarters of the Union Française de Sports Athlétiques in Paris on 21 May 1904. The foundation act was signed by the authorised representatives of the following associations:

Robert Guérin and André Espir (France); Louis Muhlinghaus and Max Kahn (Belgium); Ludvig Sylow (Denmark); Carl Anton Wilhelm Hirschman (Netherlands); Victor E Schneider (Switzerland). '(fifa.com, n.d)

As we saw above, the 'birthplace' of modern football is Great Britain and as can be seen, the UK is absent from the foundation act of the international football association. Actually, those involved in the first initiatives to form FIFA recognized the contribution of the island in this, as the Football Association founded back in 1863 and from that moment football started to be expanded globally. Hirschman, secretary of the Netherlands Football Association, turned to the Football Association and invited them to join the venture. Its secretary, F.J Wall, did accept the proposal but the negotiations between the Executive Committee of the Football Association, the International FA Board and the associations of Scotland and Wales took too long. Guérin, the secretary of the football department of the 'Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques' and a journalist on 'Le Matin' newspaper, couldn't wait any longer. He contacted the national associations on the continent in writing and asked them to consider the possibility of founding an umbrella organisation. (Ibid)

When Belgium and France met at the first official international match in Brussels on 1 May 1904, Guérin discussed the subject with his Belgian counterpart Louis Muhlinghaus. It was now definite that the English FA, under its president Lord Kinnaird, would not be participating in the foundation of an international confederation. So Guérin took the opportunity and sent out invitations to the founding assembly. The process of organising the global game had begun. (Ibid)

FIFA was a small organisation in a completely different environment back then. The international sport movement was in its infancy and football was just another sport in the Olympic Games, while the football tournaments in the Olympic Games of 1908 and 1912 were organized by the British FA. As Alan Tomlinson (2014) describes:

"*FIFA spent the first 24 years of its existence seeking the legitimacy to lead the world game, in tension with countries and regions such as England and the South Americas that laid their own claim to leadership of sport in their own parts of the world, and beyond*" (pg. 1156).

In this context, FIFA had to deal with emerging sporting cultures and various political and social systems from different parts of the world. As the sport historian Paul Dietschy (2013) highlights "*the relations between FIFA and national associations show that football was already complex and conflicting. It was an interconnected system whose relations were based on a sporting, political, and economic balance of power and a hypothetical equality between the members of FIFA*"(pg.281).

A decisive era for the history of FIFA and that of world football started with the presidency of the French Jules Rimet in 1921. FIFA began to organize the football tournaments in the Olympic Games and the first World Cup in history took place in Uruguay on 19 July 1930 with 13 teams. The major asset of FIFA until today, was established and the following years and especially after the Second World War, the World Cup grew significantly and became one of the greatest sport events in the world.

The men that made FIFA

The turbulent 20th century affected the development of football worldwide, as the two World Wars in Europe and the geopolitical changes between and within countries, occurred a series of transformations at a global level. FIFA was struggling during the first decades of its existence to establish legitimacy and become the leading authority of football all over the world. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom, as the cradle of modern football and South America as the region with the greatest expansion of the game, disputed the absolute power of FIFA. In addition, according to Alan Tomlinson (2014), "*leaders of FIFA were not mere sports administrators; they were increasingly significant figures/actors in international political and economic networks*" (pg. 1157).

Tomlinson (2014) separates the leadership system of FIFA into two eras. The first era is characterized by the volunteer idealists, who saw their role in FIFA as a form of public service. From the six presidents of FIFA until 1974, two of them were the most influential and served for many years, Jules Rimet from France (1921–1954); and Stanley Rous, from England (1961–1974). The second era of FIFA begins with Joao Havelange and continues with Joseph Blatter, a period described extensively below.

Regarding the first era of FIFA leadership, Tomlinson (2014) characterises Jules Rimet as a messianic visionary and more a patriarchal preacher than a politician. There is a similarity to Pierre De Coubertin here, as both were French and from the same social and cultural background. Coubertin, as Rimet in our case, believed in the unitary power of sport and the common values that could bring together different nations and cultures. He saw the role of sport officials more as apostles and less as politicians. However, according to Alan Tomlinson (2000) Rimet found it difficult to overcome an innate European imperiousness. Rimet believed that a central European based FIFA control over world football was functional and so regional authorities were not necessary. Nevertheless, the early establishment of CONMEBOL (South American Football Confederation) in 1916 and the domination of Uruguay's national team in the 20's and 30's, paved the way for the relative decentralization of FIFA.

On the other hand, the Englishman Sir Stanley Rous was more practical and influential behind-the-scenes presence at FIFA (Tomlinson, 2014), compared to Jules Rimet. Rous became FIFA president in 1961, however he had been an influential figure in world football since 1945, while he was a secretary of the FA from 1934 and he had been building a working relationship with FIFA since then. British associations were traditionally hostile to FIFA's only authority until 1946, when they re-joined. Stanley Rous was a World War veteran, a teacher, an amateur football player by conviction, a referee and a football rules legislator. Rous understood that the glory days of British Empire had passed, but he believed that British culture could retain some influence in the emerging globalised society through football (Tomlinson, 2000). During Rous' presidency took place the formation and expansion of continental confederations, bringing FIFA closer to its current form. Sir Stanley Rous "*sought to harness football as a form of influence and potential reform in a changing post-war, post-colonial climate*" (Tomlinson, 2014, pg. 1158). However, Rous' decision to tolerate South African FA during the apartheid era and his conservatism in other matters, together

with the impetus of Joao Havelange's campaign and his pledge to decolonize football, led to the new era of FIFA, that of the supreme leaders.

FIFA, politics and the power over national governments

Before we analyse the supreme leaders, we need to briefly describe one of the most significant and serious aspects of FIFA, that of politics. Politics emerged as a serious issue in the agenda of FIFA when the organisation started to grow greatly in membership, particularly after 1945 and the formation of a new global community with many newly formed nation states. Alongside the disintegration of empires and the decolonization process, more than a hundred new nation-states were formed. Most of them sought legitimacy as an independent entity through the recognition of the United Nations (UN), but FIFA also was an organization with global reach and the joining was important, as a sign of international recognition. In some cases, and for various reasons, newly formed nation states first joined FIFA and afterwards UN, such as Kenya, Lesotho, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sudan, Uganda, Cyprus, Malaysia, Singapore and Syria (Eisenberg, 2006). Similarly, Palestine has been a member of FIFA since 1998, while being a non-member observer state in the UN since 2012.

As the membership of FIFA grew constantly throughout the years, some serious political issues occurred regarding the political situation in some of its members. In fact, the apartheid regime in South Africa played a significant role in the FIFA elections of 1974, along with some other issues which also stigmatized FIFA. Like the IOC and other sporting institutions, FIFA claimed to be neutral regarding political systems and political or economic ideologies. This was a wise decision indeed, since in the era of cold war which lasted for a very long time, sports institutions could not choose sides officially, even if their nature was closer to the western system. However, in some cases the 'neutrality' of FIFA raised much criticism. For example, the World Cup of 1982 was organised in Argentina, even if two years before a dictatorship was established.

The expansion of FIFA and the ever-growing number of new members established the organisation as the absolute global authority of football. Through the pyramidal structure, FIFA was able to control all the national federations and decide about football matters in every national or international context. FIFA's role in the transnational governance of football is based in three axes: regulation and rulemaking; fund-raising

(World Cup profits) and subsidising (through the funding to the national federations); and a market gatekeeper, since FIFA membership is a prerequisite for any national team or club to participate in international football competitions (FIFA 2015, in Meier and Garcia, 2015, pg. 893).

This exact privilege is what FIFA uses in any dispute with national governments, in order to control and deal with football matters in all countries. National governments that want to intervene in football matters and FIFA or the national football federation which is against them, cannot take the political and social cost of fighting until the end, because FIFA can ban the national team and the local football clubs from the international competitions. Thus, FIFA has the absolute 'monopoly' in the regulation and governance of football in every context. The threat of suspension from the international football community is a very powerful weapon that prevents national governments from risking the social and financial cost that a ban can have on clubs, companies-sponsors and the fan base. In a few words, "*FIFA can effectively control access to a market which is essential for the economic viability of national football industries*" (Meier and Garcia, 2015, pg. 901).

However, as the international political system is a dynamic environment, where things can change, even FIFA needs to adapt and comply with the new rules and conditions. For instance, the amendment of the international football transfer system according to the EU law (Garcia, 2011), was one of the few interventions of a supranational political entity in football governance. Moreover, the recent scandals in FIFA and the prosecution of FIFA members by the FBI, was another sign that FIFA needs to take into account other institutions. But before we examine the institutional context of FIFA more thoroughly, we need to see how the FIFA domination in the global sport system began, with the era of the 'supreme leaders'.

Joao Havelange, the first supreme leader

At the 39th FIFA congress in Frankfurt in 1974, Joao Havelange beat Sir Stanley Rous by sixty-eight votes to fifty-two. The key to his victory was that the majority of African federations supported the Brazilian, who took advantage of the common cultural ties between Brazil and Africa and together with other promises about developmental funds, managed to bring the continent to his side (Darby, 2003). In this vein, two years later

(1976) the FA of South Africa (which has been controlled by the apartheid regime) was finally expelled from FIFA, giving another point to Havelange from his African supporters. Additionally, Havelange promised to widen the World Cup, by increasing the number of the participant teams in the finals and also by allowing more teams from Africa, Asia and North America to take part.

The beginning was in the 1982 World Cup in Spain, where teams from 16 until then, became 24. A charismatic and controversial figure, Havelange transformed FIFA from an international sport federation to a global power with great revenues and political status and influence. In the elections of 1974 Havelange proposed to introduce several innovations into FIFA, such as a U-20 World Championship, funding to national associations and an overall development of football worldwide in economic, grassroots development and professionalization terms (Tomlinson, 2014).

This new era of FIFA and the gigantism that followed made Joao Havelange the first supreme leader and the man who changed the history of FIFA and world football during his 24 years in presidency (1974-1998). Havelange came from a business background and he "*talked less the language of the vocational public servant, more the discourse of the modern businessman preoccupied with markets and financial turnover*" (Tomlinson, 2014, pg. 1158).

More specifically, Joao Havelange was the son of a Belgian industrialist and army trader. He had to work from an early age and also to study at the same time. Initially, he played football in Fluminense, but then he became a swimmer and a water polo player, participating also in two Olympic Games. The business career of Havelange started after the War, when he saw great opportunities in Brazil and by harnessing his managerial and entrepreneurial skills, he managed to succeed in the transport sector by doing business with the Brazilian State (Tomlinson, 2000). Afterwards, he expanded his activities to other domains, including sports, where he used his experience as a former athlete, to contribute significantly in the new era of Brazilian sports and the successes of the Brazilian national football team in three World Cups (1958, 1962 and 1970).

However, Brazil's sport context was too narrow for his aspirations. Taking advantage of his cosmopolitan background and his charismatic personality, he decided to conquer the most popular world sport, and to change it according to his ideas. He appears to be

one the first sport personalities who acknowledged the power of sport in the newly formatted world. Juan Antonio Samaranch would follow some years later with the Olympic Games transformation and the adoption of commercialism and marketing.

Together with the founder of Adidas, Horst Dassler, Havelange foresaw the potential impact of sports in the global market and they joined forces to create an empire of wealth, prestige and political influence, harnessing the power of the most popular sport worldwide. Sponsors like Adidas, Coca-Cola and McDonald's became the permanent partners and stakeholders of FIFA throughout all the years of growth and expansion of FIFA and the World Cup. Havelange was not only a good entrepreneur; but he was also a great diplomat. Tomlinson (2000, 2014) emphasises and identifies his physical and oral charisma as a consummate political operator, citing various stakeholders who experienced the unique and sometimes notorious diplomatic style of Havelange.

This notorious style might be also the reason for his great reputation regarding his legacy in FIFA. Burlamaqui (2019) argues that many of Havelange's innovations were already in motion before the Brazilian took over the presidency of FIFA. In other words, FIFA before Havelange was not a cumbersome and obsolete organisation and the idea that Havelange introduced all innovation from zero, is basically a construction by Havelange, who managed to promote his image and reputation as much as possible.

Nevertheless, even though one could blame Havelange for a lot of things, the gigantism and expansion of the World Cup and the opening of FIFA to the world outside of Europe and South America were undeniably his own impressive achievements. Overall, Havelange modernized FIFA and expanded its world impact tremendously. The legacy created had to have a continuity and so Havelange had to find his successor. That would be the Swiss Joseph Blatter.

The Blatter era

Joseph Blatter is the second supreme leader in the history of FIFA and the one who has been stigmatized after his dramatic exit from FIFA and football in 2015. To begin with, Blatter studied business and economics in Lausanne and he served as general secretary of the Swiss Ice Hockey Federation. Additionally, he worked for Longines S.A and was involved in the organisation of the 1972 and 1976 Olympic Games. During that time,

he met the owner of Adidas, Horst Dassler, who introduced him to Joao Havelange and the former took him on as an aide in FIFA (Tomlinson, 2000). Blatter became a general secretary in 1981 and after 17 years he succeeded Joao Havelange as the president of FIFA.

In June 1998 the election of the new FIFA president was a decisive moment for world football. On the one side was Lennart Johansson, the president of UEFA and on the other side was Joseph Platter, chosen by Havelange to continue his legacy. The dilemma was between a new start for FIFA or continuity. Johansson actually wanted to take back some of the power Europe lost during the Havelange era, but also his vision was to transform FIFA into a more transparent and democratic organisation. According to Bairner and Darby (2001), Johansson was influenced by the Swedish tradition and specifically by the Swedish social democracy system and values such as equality, democracy and solidarity. In this context, Johansson's vision was to transmit these values to FIFA, proposing some innovative measures, like the rotation of FIFA presidency and the World Cup hosting around the continents (Bairner & Darby, 2001).

On the other hand, the advantage of Blatter was the support of Havelange and the 'know how' in all this process. One of the key factors that determined the winner was again Africa (Darby, 2003). Even though Johansson ensured CAF's[4] support at an early stage, Blatter managed to break this Euro-African alliance and also gain the support of most American and Asian federations. The result was 111 votes for Blatter and 80 for Johansson. Finally, the second era of supreme leaders has just begun.

The Blatter era was in some ways great for global football, but at the same time bad for the reputation of the organisation. The first world cup in Asia (Korea-Japan 2002) and the first World Cup in Africa (South Africa 2010) took place. Similarly, in 2010 there was a decision through common procedure to award the World Cup for the first time to Russia (2018) and also for the first time in an Arab-Muslim country (Qatar 2022). All the above happened during Blatter's presidency.

Additionally, the gigantism of FIFA World Cup in terms of prestige and marketing, continued, while the lucrative deals with sponsors and broadcasters increased. Blatter introduced some great innovations in football during his presidency, such as the beach

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[4] Confederation of African Football

soccer world cup, women's U-20 and U-17 world cups and Clubs' world cup. Finally, the Goal project and other similar initiatives of FIFA provided grassroots development in many countries around the world, in terms of infrastructure, equipment and education.

However, the distribution of money to all national federations and the 'non-interference rule' that FIFA demanded from every national government in football matters, created a system where national federations enjoyed support and autonomy, but not without a cost. The cost was particularly the emergence of scandals and poor governance issues in several national federations around the world, where FIFA's response was not always in favour of football and good governance (Menary, 2016; Jennings, 2011; Meier and Garcia, 2015). In other words, *"much of Blatter's support has traditionally come from associations that are grateful for this financial support from FIFA, however, and often they are equally indebted to the international media for its lack of interest in their governance"*. (Menary, 2016, pg,68)

Regarding the management aspect of FIFA, Blatter was again an entrepreneur and a leader. The great flow of money, especially from the World Cup, together with the growing popularity of FIFA around the world, allowed it to establish itself as one of the most powerful and professional sport organisations worldwide. During Blatter's presidency the daily operations and the number of employees in FIFA grew significantly. There are more than 250 full time employees in FIFA over the recent years, while the organisations' staff are among the highest paid employees in Switzerland. Specifically, the average salary and pension contributions for staff at FIFA were annually $242,000 per employee in 2014 (Bergin, 2015). Lastly, another tangible legacy of Blatter's presidency was the new FIFA headquarters building in Zurich, something that added value to the powerful image of the organisation.

From this perspective, the era of supreme leaders was great for football and the promises of Havelange and Blatter to expand football throughout the world were kept. The two presidents of FIFA, managed to implement and expand the vision they shared for FIFA, in terms of management and financial growth (Arcioni, Bayle & Rayner, 2018). On the other hand, all these great achievements in the era of supreme leaders had a price as well, for both FIFA and football. The price was the constant presence of a dark side in FIFA, one that was full of scandals, power games and patronage, due to

the abuse of power and the lack of transparency and accountability. Most of this dark side of FIFA was unveiled in 2015, in a series of events that led to the suspension of Sepp Blatter from football, only some months after his fifth re-election in the presidency of FIFA.

The supreme scandals and the end of an era

To begin with, one of the first scandals, in the beginning of Blatter era was the collapse of International Sport and Leisure (ISL) in 2001. ISL was established by Horst Dassler and was the main FIFA's media and marketing partner during the late 80s and 90s, responsible for the broadcasting rights. The company went bankrupt, owing a lot of money to creditors. Investigations that took place years later led, among others, to the former president of FIFA, Joao Havelange and his son in law and president of Brazilian Football Federation that time, Ricardo Teixeira. In brief, Havelange and Teixeira were named as beneficiaries of bribes from ISL, but both escaped prosecution due to the Swiss law. However, they repaid some of the ISL's commissions they had received in the past, while Teixeira resigned from FIFA executive committee in 2012. Joao Havelange, being too old to be prosecuted further, resigned from the position of FIFA Honorary president in 2013, under the pretext of health issues.

The ISL case was important for two reasons. First, for exposing the 'under the table' deals and nepotism during the Havelange era, and also for confirming the traditional policy of FIFA to avoid investigation by shedding light on the cases of scandals which occurred, unfortunately quite often. Actually, the ISL case was the main reason for FIFA to introduce an ethics committee in 2006, as "*ethical issues have been peripheral to FIFA's concerns for most of its history...(while) it had previously chosen to deal with any ethical matters within its disciplinary committee*" (Tomlinson, 2014, pg. 1161). The investigations about ISL took place many years after the bankruptcy and Blatter's involvement in all this was unclear. The point is that FIFA officials were systematically bribed for nearly two decades by ISL (Jennings, 2011) and all this has been added to the traditional 'stories and rumours' about the allegations for vote-rigging, vote-buying and bribery in the presidential election of FIFA (Tomlinson, 2014) during the entire Blatter era.

The beginning of the end of the supreme leaders' era started with a series of events somewhere in 2011, one year after the controversial awarding of World Cups 2018 and 2022 to Russia and Qatar respectively. That year, Blatter's rival in FIFA elections, the Qatari FIFA executive member Mohamad Bin Hammam, was banned for life from FIFA due to accusations of bribery, together with the notorious Jack Warner, president of CONCACAF and FIFA vice-president. Therefore, Sepp Blatter, without an opponent, won his fourth consecutive term in FIFA presidency, promising to make reforms and "*bring the ship back on the right route*" (The Guardian, 2011).

One of the first decisions of Blatter was to change the procedure for the World Cup location awarding, after the suspicious double decision for Russia and Qatar that raised a lot of criticism. Additionally, Michael Garcia, an American judge, was commissioned by FIFA in 2012 to investigate all the activities that took place during that period. After two years Garcia delivered the report which was the outcome of his investigation. Unfortunately, the report did not become public and Garcia resigned. However, in 2015 U.S federal prosecutors accused several members of CONMEBOL and CONCACAF for racketeering, fraud and money laundering. Pandora's Box was opened and although Blatter the same year (2015) won his fifth consecutive term as the FIFA president, his time had come.

On December 21, 2015 FIFA ethics committee banned both Blatter and the UEFA president, Michel Platini, from football and any football activity for eight years, due to a 'disloyal payment' the former made to the latter in 2011. The paradox is that from the numerous major dealings involving the huge amounts of money that passed through FIFA all these years, Blatter who survived numerous scandals and accusations, was dethroned because of two million dollars.

The structural problems and the culture of corruption

In 2011 FIFA appointed Mark Pieth, professor of Criminal Law and Criminology at the University of Basel, to prepare a report with recommendations about the amendment of FIFA's governance structure. Professor Pieth focused on three main pillars for developing the recommendations. The first pillar is that of the corporate world, as FIFA,

despite being a non-profit-organisation, shares much in common with modern multinational corporations. In this context, FIFA should adopt some essential mechanisms and functions of modern corporations, such as control systems, audit mechanisms, separation of powers etc., in order to become more efficient and transparent. The second pillar is the very nature of FIFA, as the representative of football, which means it is accountable to various stakeholders and a great number of people around the world. Therefore, FIFA is considered to be a quasi-public entity, which means that transparency, rule of law and accountability are of the utmost importance, as in any other institution that aims to promote the common good. Finally, the third pillar is that of conflict of interest. In order to become transparent and democratic, FIFA must find a way to avoid patronage and clientelism. For example, as the member associations are mainly funded by FIFA, in many cases a relationship of give-and-take has been established. To tackle this phenomenon, FIFA should develop a standard system of funding and dealing that will be functional without relationships of dependency. (Pieth, 2011)

In the same period, FIFA established the 'Independent Governance Committee', when Mark Pieth was appointed as president. The newly formed committee proposed a series of reforms for FIFA in 2012 and many of them were approved by the FIFA congress in the same year. However, these recommendations were not as clear and ground-breaking as those Mark Pieth proposed in his report. In fact, afterwards it was revealed that Pieth had been paid a serious amount of money for the report which had been undisclosed by both FIFA and Pieth (Pielke, 2013). Sadly, another good initiative from FIFA designed to change direction actually failed and led to the series of events shown above. However, some reforms were established during that period, according to the good governance best practices and Pieth's recommendations.

This failure of the Independent Governance Committee verified the lack of effective mechanisms of accountability in FIFA (Pielke, 2013). As Alan Tomlinson (2014) argued several times in the past "*the culture of corruption and personal gain has long been endemic in the FIFA family*" (pg.1162). During the era of supreme leaders, a lack of institutional transparency characterised the organisation, especially for all kinds of financial dealings.

At this point, a crucial question emerged, whether the culture of corruption was the outcome of the individuals (Havelange and Blatter), or if the problematic structure and mechanisms of the organisation allowed corruption to thrive to such a great extent? Rowe (2017) argued that the root of evil for FIFA was the labyrinthine structure and the complex governance system of the organisation, which included several committees, governing bodies, stakeholders etc. Nevertheless, it was easier for sport journalists and some sport academics "*to present a cartoon or pantomime caricature of Blatter*" (Rowe, 2017, pg.6), instead of investigating and analysing the organisational governance system of FIFA.

Rowe's point is important for one reason, among others. Despite the fact that our analysis has shown up until now that the supreme leaders, i.e., Havelange and Blatter, are the dominant actors responsible for the 'culture of corruption' inside FIFA, the truth is that a fairly large number of people and institutions allowed them to do so and they were happy, or at least not exactly worried, about this situation. This means that Havelange and Blatter didn't create this 'culture' on their own, but with the tacit consent of the other stakeholders, inside and outside the organisation. In other words, if the other officials of FIFA, or important agents from the continental confederations (UEFA, CONEMBOL), national associations, or powerful stakeholders, such as governments or sponsors, would have pressured the supreme leaders to establish some clear mechanisms and procedures for good governance, then things could have been different.

Table 1: The legacy of the supreme leaders' era

The good legacy	The bad legacy
✓ World Cup as the greatest global sport event ✓ Wealthy and independent organization ✓ De-Europeanisation and opening to new countries/ continents ✓ Financial assistance to FAs ✓ Developmental programmes and support of new forms of the game (women football, futsal etc.)	✓ Culture of corruption ✓ Centralised and authoritative style of leadership ✓ Patronage and nepotism ✓ Closed and suspicious voting procedures ✓ Lack of transparency ✓ Hostile to criticism

FIFA 2.0

The dramatic events of 2015 and the banning from football of president Blatter with the favourite to succeed him Michel Platini, paved the way for Gianni Infantino to become the FIFA president. In the extraordinary FIFA congress on 26th February 2016 the former UEFA Secretary General won in the second round of voting the presidency of Asian Football Confederation, the Bahraini Salman Bin Ibrahim Al-Khalifa, with 115 votes to 88. Infantino, despite having been close to the banned Platini for many years, represented the dawn of a new era for FIFA and maybe the new hope to restore the reputation and credibility of the organisation.

On 13th October 2016, FIFA published the "FIFA 2.0: THE VISION FOR THE FUTURE" report, in which Gianni Infantino introduced the new era of FIFA. A series of reforms, innovations and an overall new strategy and vision for FIFA, was the main point of the FIFA 2.0 project. At the same time, one of the first symbolic acts of Infantino was to appoint Fatma Samoura, a former UN official, as the FIFA Secretary General. The inclusion of women in football was one of the main challenges for FIFA and sport organisations in general for years and this move of Infantino was a step towards this direction. In general, the three key objectives of FIFA 2.0 are: a) to grow the game, b) to enhance the experience and c) to build a stronger institution (FIFA, 2016a)

Interestingly enough, the building of a stronger institution is the third objective, even though the major problem of FIFA is not the game's popularity, but the very institution and its function. However, in the context of the FIFA 2.0 project, a series of reforms were passed by FIFA members, in order to restore the organisation's integrity and establish a new system of governance. More specifically, a separation of commercial and political decisions were decided; including greater scrutiny and transparency of senior officials and the promotion of human rights and women's football. Additionally, annual independent audits and reports for the National Federations and confederations passed as compulsory measures. In general, the four areas for the new era were: governance, transparency, accountability and diversity. (Ibid)

This latest project was a necessary step towards the new era for FIFA and for world football. The ideas, inspired by modern good governance techniques and best practices, created a different organisational environment and structure, in which a better institution could thrive. However, from the early days of the Infantino era, some decisions were considered to be controversial. First, the new council of FIFA, established in the 2016 congress, decided to create positions for both office holders and the judicial bodies, the audit and compliance committee and the governance committee. Interestingly enough, Domenico Scala, audit and compliance committee chairman and Hans-Joachim Eckert, ethics committee chairman, were those exact people who enabled the reformation process of FIFA, by investigating and cleaning up a serious amount of scandals within FIFA. Additionally, the appointment of Fatma Samoura as the Secretary General, was obviously a positive sign with symbolic significance about enhancing gender equality in football; nevertheless, the unilateral decision of Infantino raised the issue of the lack of a standard democratic process for the selection of the number two position in FIFA. (Warshaw & Nicholson, 2016)

On the 4th December 2017 the Council of Europe published the report of the former Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (PACE) president, Ms Anne Brasseur with the title "Good football governance" (Brasseur, 2017). The report addressed football governance in general and more specifically referred to FIFA and UEFA as the leading authorities on football at the global and European levels respectively. Among other issues, the report highlights the significance of human rights, gender equality and protection of minors. Additionally, Ms Brasseur examined the recent reforms in FIFA and interviewed Gianni Infantino and other FIFA officials, in order to analyse the

concept of governance by the new administration. In this context, Ms Brasseur is highly sceptical over the decisions of Infantino to replace all the members of the independent committees and the appointment of some new ones, such as the Colombian Maria Claudia Rojas (the guardian, 2017b). Despite the new structure and reformations in FIFA, the report seems to be less than optimistic about the new era of FIFA.

Then came the report of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (Brasseur, 2017) suggesting to the European Union the establishment of an independent international agency, which would supervise and monitor football organisations and more specifically deal with the issues of ethics and integrity of the elections. However, this agency would not undermine the independence of football organisations, but instead will ensure that good governance is actually implemented in practice. On the other hand, Mark Pieth, the former chairman of the Independent Governance Committee and the author of "Governing FIFA" report, proposes more radical measures. Professor Pieth argued that the new Infantino era is just "*another plunge into the Dark Ages of Blatter*" and the only solution for FIFA is state control; the intervention of national governments or OECD (Scott, 2016). Similarly, there was an older argument from Sugden and Tomlinson (2003) that FIFA should be brought under the UN's authority to become accountable.

Even so, as an answer to Brasseur's report for the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, FIFA published the 'Good governance at FIFA: a factual account' (FIFA, 2017a), in which they confront all the 'accusations' from Braseur's report and allege that she based her arguments on personal suppositions or rumours and not on facts. FIFA believes that Brasseur's report is unfair to the new administration and they produce counter arguments for every accusation. Interestingly, just a month after the publication of Brasseur's report, FIFA and the Council of Europe have agreed to work together on a series of issues and to strengthen their collaboration.

At the same time, the burdens of the past were still haunting FIFA, as new facts came to light verifying a systemic corruption culture, in the highest ranks of world football. One of the topmost prominent officials of European and world football, for 28 years was the president of the Spanish football federation Angel Maria Villar, who in July 2017 was accused of collusion, embezzlement and falsifying documents by the Spanish law (the guardian, 2017a). Villar was also one of FIFA's vice-presidents and acted as

UEFA's president during the period after Platini's ban. Villar resigned from his positions in both organisations, while investigations continue. Additionally, the president of another major football federation, Marco Polo del Nero from Brazil, was banned for life from FIFA ethics committee, for bribery and corruption. Del Nero was involved in the 2015 FIFA scandal, together with more than 40 football and marketing officials (skysports, 2018). Specifically, officials from all ten members of CONMEBOL were involved in the scandal and four presidents of CONCACAF (Reuters, 2016).

Nevertheless, Infantino and the new era of FIFA continued its journey into the future. In this context, FIFA published in February 2020 the "Making football truly global. The vision 2020-2023" report (FIFA, 2020). The document includes facts and data from the transformation period of the Infantino era (2016-2019) with all the shifts and changes inside FIFA and global football in general. What is more, the report presents 11 goals, outlining the vision for the three-year period (2020-2023). Some of the goals include the modernisation of football, the regulatory framework, the growth of revenues with sustainability, increasing FIFA's efficiency and impact, ensuring the success of FIFA's iconic competitions and developing women's football etc.

In the context of ensuring the success of FIFA's iconic competitions, Infantino tried to find ways to improve things for FIFA from those competitions. A first attempt was made in 2018, when in a meeting with the presidents of the six confederations (AFC, CAF, CONMEBOL, CONCACAF, OFC and UEFA) in Zurich, Infantino announced that some investors had offered $25 billion for the Club World Cup and Nations League competitions, without revealing who they were (Nicholson, 2018). Additionally, on the agenda at the same meeting he proposed a possible expansion of the participating countries in Qatar World Cup 2022 from 32 to 48. Although Infantino seemed to be in favour of both innovations, finally neither of them was implemented. Some years later, actually at FIFA's annual (virtual) Congress on May 21, 2021, Infantino announced that FIFA would carry out a feasibility study about the reshaping of the global football calendar. In a wide-ranging analysis of the World Cup formation, even the organisation of the FIFA World Cup every two years is on the table.

However, Infantino's aspirations to harness the popularity of the clubs, raised some issues and controversies. In detail, FIFA has a potential dispute with UEFA, since the

European confederation is the one that harnesses the popularity of the big European clubs, through the 'Champions League' and the other UEFA competitions. In this context, Infantino was accused of supporting the European Super League (ESL) unsuccessful endeavour of 16 big European clubs to break away from UEFA in April 2021 (NY Times, 2021). Infantino rejected these accusations but there is a shadow behind the role that he might have done so in this case.

Simultaneously, Infantino was facing some serious issues with the Swiss judicial system. In fact, the Swiss special prosecutor Stefan Keller had opened criminal proceedings in the summer of 2020, about private secret meetings of Infantino with the former Swiss attorney general, Michael Lauber. These meetings took place in a period when Lauber's office was investigating alleged FIFA corruption cases, in which Infantino could have been involved (Warshaw, 2021). While Infantino denied all allegations of any wrongdoings, Keller resigned from the case some days before FIFA's annual congress in May 2021. However, the Federal Criminal Court had already decided that Keller was biased against Infantino, and at the same time Keller questioned the independence of the Court (Reuters, 2021).

Discussion - A critical analysis of FIFA

FIFA is a unique case because it has been mainly a person-centred organisation, in comparison with UEFA or the IOC and the other great Global Sports Organisations. This means that certain individuals played the most important roles in the development, expansion and culture of FIFA. The modern history of FIFA should perhaps only have two names, those of Joao Havelange and Joseph Blatter. The former created, and the latter sustained and even increased the power and influence of the presidency of FIFA, both outside and inside the organisation.

In the years of Havelange and Blatter, as described above, FIFA became a giant organisation not only in the context of sports, but in general. Apart from the World Cup success and with the expansion of football throughout the world and the constant development of the sport in all countries, FIFA managed to become an organisation with political influence and power. For instance, the decision about the World Cup host affects governments, countries and nations. But in the power games, as in all games, victory is not always guaranteed. In this context, Blatter's decision to favour Qatar

instead of the USA for the 2022 World Cup, was the beginning of the end for him, resulting in the American authorities (FBI and the US Department of Justice) deciding to take down the Blatter regime in 2015, bringing an end to the era of the supreme leaders. According to Bayle & Rayner (2016), the intervention of the American institutions were not the only reason for this great change in FIFA, but rather a sequence of "*multisectoral mobilizations across the legal, political, economic, media and sport fields*" (pg. 15). It seems that it was the fullness of time for the supreme leaders' era to come to an end.

In general, we can argue that FIFA was a highly successful organisation, in sporting, economic and political terms, but on the other hand, FIFA is a bad example in terms of good governance. Havelange and Blatter were great leaders, visionaries and managers, but they also created a system enabling corruption to thrive for a long time. As Alan Tomlinson argued: "*Havelange established, and Blatter consolidated, the basis on which this culture of self-aggrandizement, unaccountability, and sometimes corruption could thrive*" (Tomlinson, 2014, pg.1160). There are so many cases of scandals that verify the allegation that the culture of corruption became endemic within the organisation. In addition, apart from the individual personal responsibilities and the 'under the table' arrangements, FIFA is also accountable for unethical decisions at the highest level. For instance, while FIFA intervened in the Brazilian legal system to change a law regarding alcohol advertising in the stadiums during the 2014 World Cup, there was no intervention in the national legal system of Qatar for several cases of the violation of worker's rights (Zeidan and Fauser, 2015).

From the aspect of MacIntyre's theory and more specifically the distinction between practices and institutions, we can say that FIFA is a special case again. Obviously, the corrupting power of the institution was so great that the practice of football would be damaged badly. However, football is such a unique social practice that it is able to sustain its pure character, despite the corruption at the highest levels of the institution. Nevertheless, this still is not able to 'clean up' FIFA because football is the number one global sport, nor because millions of people still play and watch football. The supreme leaders' era from the aspect of good governance is a very bad example for football organisations.

Overall, FIFA was like a private club with a total lack of transparency and accountability, a traditional hostility to any criticism and the mentality of absolute autonomy, meaning that it was accountable to no one. Statements from FIFA presidents or other officials declared the noble visions of FIFA to guarantee the good of football at the global level. But the truth is that without an ethics committee until 2006, without independent audit and monitoring tools and without accountability and transparency in general, FIFA was for decades an organisation in which nobody was guarding the guardians.

The recent reformation process of the new administration and the FIFA 2.0 project is still new and maybe it is too early to criticise. There are some positive signs but also some other things that remind us of practices of the past. For instance, the 25 billion offer that Infantino announced in 2018, though finally was never accepted, and the fact that the potential investors remained anonymous, shows that FIFA is still accountable for a lack of transparency. However, we still need to see if FIFA really has turned the page or just changed the people and not the philosophy and the culture of governance within the organisation.

Case Study b: UEFA

The formation and the first steps of UEFA

As previously described, FIFA was established in Paris in 1904 and all the founding members were European, while the birth of modern football was in Great Britain. However, Europe did not have a continental confederation until 1954, when UEFA was founded in that year in Basel. The idea of establishing an umbrella federation in Europe was first discussed at the 1950 FIFA congress in Rio de Janeiro and through several negotiations between the stakeholders the pan-European football confederation was born in the summer of 1954 (Mittag and Legrand, 2013).

More specifically, there were three main figures who played a decisive role in the establishment of UEFA. Those were Ottorino Barassi, president of the Italian Football Federation (FIGC), Henri Delaunay, general secretary of the French Football Federation (FFF) and Jose Crahay, general secretary of the Belgian Football Association (URBSFA-KBVB). The three pioneers had to overcome several barriers, but they finally managed to gather 25 European associations (plus Wales and Romania, represented by England and Czechoslovakia, respectively) in Basel on 15 June, 1954 and officially launch UEFA (Mittag & Vonnard, 2017).

The newly established organisation tried to find its rhythm and start fulfilling its objectives. For the first years after its formation, some tensions between FIFA and UEFA occurred as a result of legal issues, concerning the double role of members in the Executive Committees of both institutions and the time-period of the finals of the upcoming European cup for national teams. However, a fruitful dialogue and conciliation between the two parties allowed UEFA to grow quickly. In the sporting field, Real Madrid won the first European Champion Clubs' Cup in 1956, which was an idea of Gabriel Hanot, editor of the French newspaper L'Equipe and UEFA gladly espoused and launched the first tournament in 1955. Additionally, in 1960 the first European tournament for national teams took place in France, with just four teams and the Soviet Union won the trophy against Yugoslavia with 2-1.

According to Sugden & Tomlinson (1997), Europe had been fragmented since the 1950s, in terms of the organisation and co-ordination of national football federations. It was only in the 1950s when Europe took football more seriously as a global game

and felt the threat of South America, as the South American football confederation (CONMEBOL) had already been founded back in 1916. In order to ensure Europe's leading role in FIFA, the establishment of UEFA became a necessity. Even though, King (2003) argued that the establishment of UEFA in 1954 was probably the outcome of the European cup, as the international games between European nations and clubs needed a formal institution to organize the competitions.

The establishment of UEFA coincided with an overall European integration process in political, economic and social terms. However, according to Mittag and Vonnard (2017), UEFA was primarily a result of sport-related factors and Europe's reaction to the new era of FIFA and world football. The decolonization process and the expansion of FIFA in terms of new members from all the continents would create a different environment and a new balance of power in the global football scene. Europe, in spite of being the dominant voice within FIFA, needed to organise the continental football activities and reinsure its power at a global level. Consequently, UEFA managed to play a decisive and positive role during the cold war period, as it ensured cooperation and equal treatment between western and eastern bloc countries, helping to shape a wider pan-European consciousness during the cold war period in the 1950s. (Mittag & Vonnard, 2017)

Since UEFA established its authority in European football and the activities began to 'be on a roll', the increase in administrative and managerial needs was inevitable. In this regard, UEFA's base was transferred from Paris to Berne, where the first private headquarters of the organization was located. Berne would be UEFA's base until 1995, when the relocation to Nyon was decided, due to further expansion and growth. It is worth mentioning that during the first year in Bern (1960) there were just three employees and when the organisation moved to Nyon (1995) there were 65, nowadays there are around 500 (Vieli, 2014; UEFA, 2018). With this increase in staff, during the first years and particularly the years of 1957-58, UEFA established internal committees for finance, youth football and media relations (Mittag & Vonnard, 2017). Importantly, media and public relations was the strong point of UEFA from its early days, as the publication of an official bulletin every year and the sharing of the meeting's minutes, can be shown to have enabled UEFA to be seen as an outward looking and transparent organization from the beginning (Vieli, 2014).

Development, Good Governance and a Disaster

Ebbe Schwart, the first president of UEFA served for two four-year terms and was succeeded by the Swiss Gustav Wiederkehr, who served as president of UEFA for 10 years (1962-1972), during a critical time not only for football, but for Europe in general. The advent of television and the improved travel conditions across Europe played a key role in the development of the newly-created European club competitions. Gustav Wiederkehr died suddenly in 1972 and the Italian Artemio Franchi became the third president in the history of UEFA. Franchi was a man of football and an emblematic figure for AFC Fiorentina and the Italian Football Federation (FIGC). During Franchi's presidency the European Championship (Euro) expanded in 1980 to 8 teams (previously there were just 4 teams in the finals). Additionally, from the season 1971-72 the UEFA Cup competition was established, replacing the Inter-Cities fair cup.

In terms of governance, during Franchi's presidency an important legal development would present UEFA as a pioneer organisation regarding the separation of powers and good governance. At the 1973 UEFA congress in Rome, an independent judiciary was established, which was to be independent from the UEFA congress, which is the legislative body of UEFA and the Executive Committee, working as the executive body of the organisation. This was a result of a process with gradual shifts and advancements in the disciplinary and judicial systems and organs of UEFA. According to Vieli (2014), these new rules diminished the power of the UEFA president and the executive committee on disciplinary matters, allowing them to just appoint members of the organs for UEFA's judicial bodies and also approve the disciplinary regulations. This will be discussed further below, as it is a special case for UEFA, because the organisation actually adopted good governance practices at a time when these did not exist, rendering UEFA officials of that time, real pioneers in terms of governance.

Unfortunately, Artemio Franchi died in a car accident in August 1983 and the former president of the French Football Federation (FFF), Jacques Georges became the fourth president of UEFA. It was a time when football's popularity was steadily increasing, with professionalism and commercialisation also growing. Its impact on European societies at that time was greater than ever. However, as shown above, football as a social phenomenon could not remain immune from violence and hooliganism. In this

regard, the rapid growth of the popularity of football and the huge crowds in the stadiums caught UEFA unprepared to foresee and prevent a great tragedy. In the final of 1985 Champion's Cup in the stadium Heysel in Brussels, 39 people died, and hundreds were injured because of riots between the supporters of Liverpool and Juventus that caused the collapse of a wall.

The shock was great, as just a couple of weeks before the Heysel disaster, a fire in the Bradford City stadium in England caused the death of 56 people. Those victims, together with the 96 victims in Hillsborough in 1989, paved the way for drastic measures against hooliganism in the UK and Europe and also a more serious and effective security policy inside and outside the football stadiums. Meanwhile, after the Heysel disaster, UEFA banned English clubs from the European competitions for 'an indeterminate period of time', which finally lasted for 5 years for all clubs, plus one extra year for Liverpool.

According to Vieli (2014) it would not be fair to blame Jacque George's presidency for the tragic events at the Brussels final. His period of service was also a time of growth and prosperity for European football, as the television rights turned out to be the basic source of income for the clubs. Also, during that time the first negotiations and conflicts with the EU began, something that would escalate in the near future. Finally, Jacque George stepped down in 1990 and a new era for European football began with the election of the Swedish Lennart Johansson.

Lennart Johansson and the UEFA Champions League

The early 90s was a critical period for Europe with the collapse of the Soviet Union forming several new states, while the process of European integration was still under development. New political and economic conditions were transforming the European countries and the European Union. In this context, European football also entered a brand-new phase. The British clubs would re-join European competitions after the Heysel ban and 'Premier League' in 1992 would create a new model for football tournaments, in terms of quality management, marketing and broadcasting contracts. At the same time, 1990 was a decisive year for UEFA as well as for the new president, the Swedish Lennart Johansson, together with the general secretary Gerhard Aigner, with the task of leading the organisation into the new era.

Lennart Johansson was a product of the peculiar Swedish model, a social and political model which is considered to be a mix between capitalism and socialism with its main elements of social democracy, equality, efficiency, solidarity and internationalism (Bairner and Darby, 2001). In this unique social environment, sports became a popular social movement in Sweden. The Swedish sport system, like the wider social systems, aimed for both equality (sport for all) and efficiency (elite sport). In this context, Lennart Johansson grew up and was influenced by a system characterised by values such as social justice, neutrality and decency (Ibid). It can be argued that the background of Johansson, the new conditions in football and the shifts in the European and global context, were key factors for the new era of UEFA and European football.

According to Vieli (2014), UEFA leaders realised the great challenge to carry football into this new era, by harnessing the popularity of the game in order to make UEFA grow together with football in Europe. In this context, one of the first initiatives of Johansson's presidency was to transform the European 'Champion's Club's Cup' and reshape it into a more prestigious, lucrative and competitive tournament, with more big clubs and more matches. This was also a demand from the major European clubs, who wanted more matches and higher revenues in order to sustain their financial security and the high level of competition. As a result, the 'UEFA Champions League', begun in a pilot form in 1992 and through a process of adaptations over following years, would be rendered as the greatest football clubs' tournament worldwide for the last 30 years.

Johansson and Aigner managed to harness the golden triangle which includes football, sponsorship and television (Holt, 2009). Owning the first and most important element of the triangle, UEFA decided to set the scene and make the rules. The Johansson administration created the new 'Champions League' as an evolution of the 'Champions Clubs' Cup', but with a completely new business and professional model. For example, while television rights were sold individually by clubs for their home games, the rebranding of 'Champions league' allowed UEFA to manage the television rights centrally and also to create a network of stable sponsors, who became long-term partners of UEFA.

A catalyst in this process was definitely the TEAM marketing company, the most loyal and important partner of UEFA since the early 90s. TEAM was launched by two former ISL employees and partners of Horst Dassler, Klaus Hempel and Jurgen Lenz (Holt,

2009). This organisation had been working for about 30 years, solely with UEFA and is responsible for one of the most significant 'success stories' in the global sports business, namely the 'Champions League' and also now for the other European competitions, such as the 'Europa League' and the 'Europa Conference League'. According to Sugden and Tomlinson (1998, 2003) TEAM and ISL were equally influential in the commercial transformation and growth of both UEFA and FIFA respectively. The difference is that TEAM is a success story, while ISL turned out to be a disaster for FIFA.

The process of developing and sustaining such a great tournament was not an easy task for UEFA and one of the reasons for this; was the high expectations that were created from this success for all stakeholders. The golden triangle became the golden egg as the profit maximization from sponsors and television rights were constantly growing for UEFA. For this reason, some of the big European clubs from the biggest European leagues thought that they could create their own 'Champions League', bypassing UEFA and earning more money for themselves. Thus, the G14 (today ECA) was established in the late 90s, consisting of 14 big European clubs, with more joining later.

Even in the early years and particularly in 1998, an Italian based company named 'Media Partners' arranged a breakaway league for the big European clubs, outside UEFA, also they went to the European Commission in order to denounce UEFA's monopoly over the organisation of football tournaments (Independent, 1998). However, the 'Media partners' endeavour was not successful, and UEFA managed to stand its ground. Additionally, the Johansson administration decided to expand the 'Champions League' to 32 teams and restructure the UEFA clubs' competitions in general.

However, as in every compromise there is a cost, UEFA had to fulfil some demands of the clubs and the big European leagues, in order to make the deal. As stated above, UEFA and Lennart Johansson viewed the 'Champions League' as a continuance of the 'Champions Cup' in which the champion teams of European leagues participated, meaning that this was a tournament for the champions from all over Europe. But while the new 'Champions League' gave the opportunity for more than one team from the big European leagues to participate, these leagues wanted even more places in the most lucrative and prestigious competition and for this reason Lennart Johansson had to stand back and give them what they wanted. The result then was that fewer European

champions in the 'Champions League' and more clubs from the big-5 (England, Germany, France, Italy and Spain). This was to be just the first compromise with the big clubs, there were more to come in the near future.

Lastly, another important achievement and actually a legacy from the Johansson era is the UEFA Coaching convention. Since 1997, UEFA through the national federations educate and accredits coaches to work in professional, amateur and youth football. In detail, the objective of the UEFA Convention on the Mutual Recognition of Coaching Qualifications was to "*protect the coaching profession, improve coaching standards and prepare the way for the free movement of qualified coaches within Europe in accordance with European law*" (UEFA.com, n.d). The Convention document was revised in 2008 and in 2015 and until recently more than 200.000 coaches across Europe hold UEFA football coaching licences. This initiative of UEFA is one of the main reasons for the growth of grassroots and professional football in Europe during the last two decades, since the trained and licensed coaches are able to spread the basic elements and values of the game in the football academies and clubs all around Europe. In other words, UEFA secures the grassroots support through this system.

The clubs become more powerful

The evolution of the 'Champions League' into an exciting, luxurious and highly competitive tournament was indeed a great idea under the coordination of UEFA. However, the real protagonists in this spectacle are the football clubs, which provide the players, coaches, stadiums and all the background, where the great matches are taking place. With respect to this, the clubs, especially the big clubs, would harness their decisive role in the 'Champions League' in order to become serious stakeholders in the new European football network. In other words, "*those who produce the game – the clubs – have emerged as big power players in network football*" (Sugden, 2002, pg. 70). In the context of European football and according to Sugden's theory about network football, the big clubs are some of the most influential and powerful stakeholders.

The main problem for the clubs is that UEFA is the coordinator and actually the 'owner' of the tournament, meaning that UEFA makes the rules, decides the system of qualifications, receives and distributes the profits. Below can be seen that, this philosophy is based on the European model of sport, in which the pyramid structure[5] and the promotion/relegation principles are basic elements of the sport system in Europe. However, the big clubs would prefer to have a less open system, where they would manage the profits, also there would be no risk for the exclusion of a big club, because of a bad performance in the national league or in the qualifying rounds. Therefore, a closed league, like the NBA or the Euroleague in Basketball, would secure a standard participation for the big clubs and more profit, since they would develop a new system of profit-making with sponsorships and television rights, without the intervention of UEFA.

The storyline of the clubs lobbying began in September 2000 when 14 clubs (another 4 would join two years later) from the 7 biggest European leagues, established the G14, an organisation with the basic goal of providing a unified voice for the clubs in the discussions with the governing bodies of football, UEFA and FIFA. In the first stage, UEFA refused to negotiate with G14. What is more, to balance this negation and show that clubs are considered as a stakeholder, in 2002 UEFA established the European Club Forum, which was actually not successful, and the clubs continued to lobby through the G14. One of the first achievements of G14 was the winning of compensation from FIFA and UEFA by the clubs, for the participation of their players in the national teams' tournaments (World Cup and Euro). From that moment onwards, the clubs would become a major stakeholder in the international football landscape, especially in the European context.

The G14 evolved into the European Club's Association (ECA) in 2008, a wider and more inclusive organisation, which represents a great number of clubs from many European countries. Today, ECA has 109 ordinary members and 123 associated members, 232 in total. However, the big clubs from G14, are those who have the lion's share in the policy and decision making. ECA nowadays is a serious and respected stakeholder of UEFA, being also a part of the UEFA's internal structure. In fact, from

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[5] The pyramid structure consists of the grassroots and amateur sport in the bottom, professional sport in the middle and the elite sport on the top of the pyramid

September 2017, ECA was represented in the UEFA Executive Committee with two full members, ECA chairman Nasser Al-Khelaifi and executive board member Karl-Heinz Rummenigge. Another member of the UEFA executive committee who represents the clubs is Lars-Christer Olsson, president of the 'European Leagues', the Association of European Professional Football Leagues (EPFL). This organisation was founded in 2005, and today includes 35 professional football leagues and associations of clubs from 28 countries, representing more than 900 clubs from all over Europe. Although EPFL is not as powerful as the ECA, it is yet another significant stakeholder for UEFA.

Today UEFA acknowledges the power of the clubs and leagues and for this reason representatives of ECA and EPFL are members of the UEFA executive committee and take part in policy and decision making. Nevertheless, UEFA could not avoid the rebellion of a break-away league, analysed below. The recent European Super League (ESL) failed attempt had been in the planning in secrecy for year. This is a very complex situation and UEFA was trying to fulfil most of the clubs' demands in a power game that was being played in a delicate balance.

Sport scholars had foreseen the possibility of a breakaway league earlier. Szymanski and Kuypers (2000) argued that was inevitable and the only question was when this would happen. In this regard, McArdle (2000) saw this happening 10 years' from then (around 2010), while King (2003) suggested more conservative estimates like 20 years (around 2020-2023) as more possible. McArdle appeared to be wrong, but King's estimations were accurate, since in April 2021, 16 big European clubs announced their breakaway from UEFA and the formation of the ESL, a closed league, self-regulated by the clubs (BBC, 2021a). However, the decision raised a great wave of disapproval from the national football federations, the leagues, national governments, the fans and several other stakeholders. As a result, these clubs withdrew, and the breakaway was cancelled. Time will tell if the ESL was cancelled or just postponed for the future.

The European model of Sport

Europe is the cradle of ancient and modern institutionalised sport, after the Olympic Games were born in Greece and revived by a French (De Coubertin), who was inspired by the British schooling system of the 19th century, where sport was a basic element of

the curriculum. In actual fact, the establishment of most of the international sport federations took place in Europe and overall sport became a basic part of the European way of life in the second half of the 20th century. For all these reasons, it is one of the basic components of modern European culture and in this context, a certain European model of sport has been developed, with some unique and essential characteristics.

According to the European Commission (1999), during the cold war period two different models of sport existed in Europe, that of the East which was ideologically oriented and under the state's absolute supervision and that of the West; which was a mixed model in which governmental and non-governmental organisations co-existed in the sport system. However, there is a difference in the Western European model, as in the southern countries the state has a more serious regulatory role in sport, compared to the northern European countries. In fact, as Henry (2009) highlighted, there are differences between European countries, in terms of sport policy, because of both local political cultures/ histories and global factors. Briefly, while the European Union is a political entity with a common code of conduct, also in sports, there are significant differences because of various social, historical, political and economic differences between the countries.

Nevertheless, one of the most prominent common characteristics in European sport is the pyramid structure, a bottom up hierarchy, where the grassroots (amateur sport clubs and sport academies) forms the base, then there are the regional federations/associations and at a country level the national federations/ associations. Finally, in a European level, there is the European federation of each sport. This is the typical structure for all team or individual sports and it appears that there is a historical legitimacy of sport federations to run the professional sport system (Musso, 2003).

The uniqueness of the European model of sport comes about because of some fundamental differences to that of America. Together with the pyramid structure, the other characteristic of the European model of sport is the system of promotion and relegation. While professional sport in the USA is mainly organised in closed leagues of competing franchises (NBA, NFL, MLS etc.), in Europe there is a connection between lower and higher divisions with a promotion and relegation system, with the exception of the Euroleague in Basketball. Another significant difference is the development of sport systems. While in Europe the voluntary sector and more

specifically clubs and associations had become the foundation of sport, in the US schools, colleges and universities played the founding role. Moreover, in contrast with Europe, USA government contribution and intervention in sport was always minor, while professionalism and commercialization changed US sport much earlier and more intensively than European sport. (Van Bottenburg, 2013)

In the football context, Holt (2009) in his extensive analysis of UEFA and its stakeholders identified the philosophical framework of the European sporting system, where football was developed and still operates. Particularly, Holt argued that the most essential element of European football is sporting meritocracy and without it any competition would be considered as inconceivable to the public consciousness. In this context, the system of promotion and relegation ensures that all teams will face the same consequences in case of a bad performance, regardless of budget, popularity or fan base. The second special element of European football is the unity of governance, meaning that UEFA is the umbrella organisation for every football activity in Europe and constitutes the same integrated structure for all. Lastly, the third special element is the financial solidarity that flows from the upper levels of the pyramid (elite professional sport) to the base (grassroots). This pattern allows the grassroots level to be sustainable and also ensures the notion of interconnection and unity between the different levels of the pyramid. (Holt, 2009)

However, the traditional elements and values of the European model of sport were disputed when the ESL initiative emerged in April 2021, as shown above. The aspiration of the big European clubs to create their own 'closed' league, defies the foundational principles of the game. In the words of Holt:

"*By abandoning these principles, sporting performance would be undermined, the health of the game would deteriorate, and governance of the game would undergo a destructive, fractious process. By protecting these principles, sport takes precedence over profit, the wealth of the elite ensures the health of grassroots, and football can continue to operate in a unified, coherent and logical framework*". (Ibid, pg. 54)

UEFA and the EU

UEFA and the European Union developed simultaneously, since they were established in the 1950s; 1954 and 1957 respectively, a period when the European integration process made its first steps. The two institutions coexisted without problems for a long period, until football became a serious business. The EU (EEC that time) began examining football issues from the 1970s and one of the first disputes was about player transfers, as the European Court of Justice decided in 1973 that professional football players had the same legal status as all workers (Vieli, 2014).

From that point, the EU and UEFA had a series of negotiations and disputes, regarding matters, such as players' transfers and television rights. However, the breaking point was on December 15, 1995, when the decision of the European Court of Justice was in favour of Jean Marc Bosman. This decision changed professional football in Europe and beyond, causing the EU and UEFA to become rivals at that time. The 'Bosman ruling' changed the football market, making players' transfers easier and shifting the power from the clubs to the players and the agents. Additionally, players were free to move across all EU countries, since nationality quotas for EU citizens were no longer allowed. Football in Europe entered a completely new phase and caught UEFA on the hop.

The Bosman ruling was actually a shock for UEFA for two reasons. First because UEFA realised that football in Europe must comply with the European law and football organisations would have to become accountable. Second, the new conditions reshaped the pyramid of European football and the traditional top-down hierarchy is not as simple as it had been. Both UEFA and the EU had to take into account other stakeholders' needs and rights, such as the clubs (ECA), the players (FIFpro) and other potential stakeholders with power and/or legitimacy.
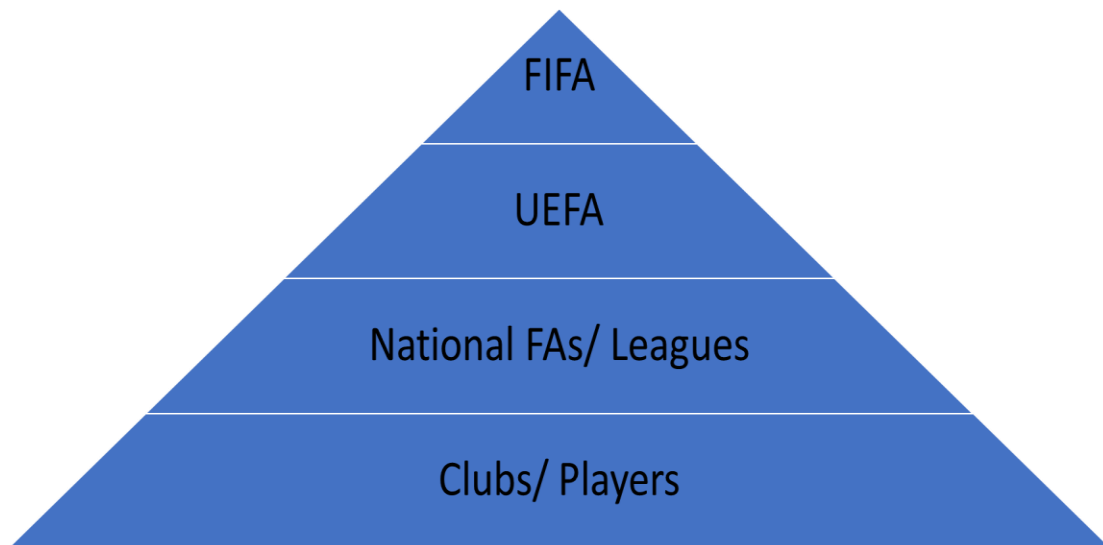
Figure 1: The traditional pyramid of European's football governance

In figure 1 above, the traditional hierarchy of football governance in Europe can be seen, while in figure 2 the transformed version, after the Bosman ruling and adapted to the recent shifts with ECA and the ESL breakaway threat.
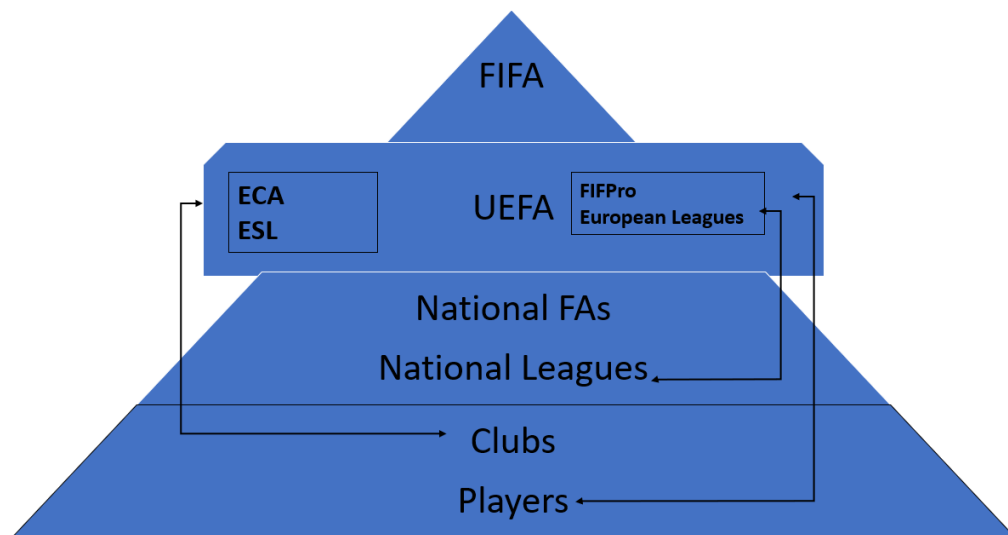
Figure 2: The transformed pyramid of European football (adapted from Garcia, 2007)

In conclusion, according to Garcia (2007) before the Bosman ruling UEFA and EU had been in a period of confrontation and after 1995 a period of co-operation began. UEFA had to change some rules that were against European law while at the same time the EU had to respect some 'unique characteristics' of football in Europe, like the pyramid

structure, connection between the grassroots and the elite level and the local/national identity of clubs (Vieli, 2014). Therefore, today UEFA enjoys a 'supervised autonomy' from the EU (Holt, 2009), allowing the two institutions to have an open dialogue and successful cooperation. Overall, it is worth noting that "*so far the European Union is probably the only governmental organization that has been able to exert some form of authority over football authorities*" (Meier and Garcia, 2015, pg. 902).

The UEFA financial fair play

'Fair play' is a rather philosophical and subjective concept but it is a key term in the world of sports. In football particularly, when a player is injured the referee can stop the match in order to allow the medics to go onto the field and provide to him/her first aid. The players are not obliged to stop the match, by throwing the ball out. However, in several cases we see that players actually use this 'unwritten law' and they stop the match, practicing 'fair play'. In amateur leagues, where players are competing just for fun or for the love of the game, this practice seems rational, but in the highly competitive world of elite sport where trophies, money and many other important things are at stake, why do players still practice fair play?

As shown above, there is a potential moral and philosophical significance of sport and an intrinsic value that renders it a context where some universal values may flourish, such as equal opportunities, fairness and respect. In this regard, 'fair play' is a term with a clear sport background and even if its definition might be not very clear, there is always a place for this concept, even in the world of professional and elite sport. In addition, equal opportunities in sport competitions is not only a 'moral' issue but actually are clearly practical, since more 'equal' opponents/teams can offer a much more competitive and therefore a more interesting sporting contest. In this vein, the UEFA financial fair play (FFP) aims to improve the overall financial health of European club football.

Actually, 'financial fair play' was approved in 2010 and was officially launched in 2011. Since then, clubs that have qualified for UEFA competitions have to prove they do not have overdue payables towards other clubs, their players and social/tax

authorities throughout the season. In other words, *"they have to prove they have paid their bills"* (UEFA.com, 2015). As well as this, since 2013 there has been a break-even rule, which requires clubs to balance their spending with their revenues and restricts clubs from accumulating debt. In 2015 there was the last update of the regulations with some more emphasis on sustainable investment and also an expansion of the legal framework for clubs not yet qualified for UEFA competitions (Ibid).

Those restrictions from UEFA might seem to go against the law of the free market, which is a major tenet of liberal economy and as such modern European economy. However, as mentioned above, UEFA and EU are in cooperation and so EU institutions respect the special characteristics of football in Europe, by being able to make exceptions. In this context, according to the sports-specific competition policy practices of the European Commission, rules of sport associations can bypass the European competition law if they claim legitimacy, inherence and proportionality (Budzinski, 2014).

However, FFP appeared to have some flaws and contradictions that were criticized by scholars. For instance, Peeters and Szymanski (2014) have argued that FFP is actually a vertical constraint for clubs which foster UEFA's position as a non-governmental regulator and which actually works in favour of the big wealthy clubs. More specifically, the two scholars made an empirical analysis focusing on the break-even rule and they found that while there is actually a wage spending decrease in the top European leagues, there is an insignificant revenue decrease. In this regard, the wealthy clubs remain wealthy and the break-even rule forbids small clubs from being financed by an investor. Therefore, FFP just shift rents from the players to the owners and there is no general improvement of competition. In contrast, the American salary cap, which is a ceiling on the total amount of money a sports club can spend on its roster, seems to be a better regulation for combating budget inequalities. (Peeters & Szymanski, 2014)

Similarly, Budzinski (2014) also believes that FFP regulation of UEFA is problematic concerning the *"restrictive and selective character of the revenue sources that are relevant in UEFA's diction"* (pg.16). He also argues that from a competition economics perspective, UEFA's financial fair play regulations in its current shape violate the principles of inherence and proportionality in a free market. As a result, Budzinski proposes some alternatives in order to render the FFP system more reliable and just.

Particularly, a modification of the no overdue payables rule and the allocation mechanism of broadcasting rights revenues would allow more clubs to combat insolvency risks. Finally, the implementation of alternative instruments like luxury tax or a budget cap could reduce the gap between wealthy and small clubs. (Budzinski, 2014)

While FFP seems to have some structural problems and there is serious criticism regarding its efficiency to ensure equal opportunities and fairness, the idea of regulating the football market is inherently good. However, UEFA should reconsider the regulations of FFP and maybe consult relevant stakeholders and experts, in order to develop a more functional and just model for improving competitiveness in European football. In this regard, good examples from other sport contexts, such as the salary cap, might be useful as ideas that can be adapted into the European football context.

The end of the Platini era and the new UEFA

As shown above, the dramatic events of 2015 were a shock for FIFA, but also affected UEFA. In fact, the president of UEFA and then undisputed next president of FIFA, Michel Platini, followed Blatter in the exit from football. The 'disloyal' payment of 1.8 million euros from Blatter in 2011, couldn't be justified. Platini and Blatter argued that this payment was for the advisory services of Platini to FIFA, during the period 1998-2002. The almost 10 years late payment was only for reasons of form, according to Blatter (guardian, 2015). However, the ethics committee of FIFA was not convinced and so also banned Michel Platini from football for an eight year period.

Michel Platini is one of the best football players of all time, an emblematic figure for the French national team and Juventus. In addition, he also managed to become a successful football administrator, and despite his shameful expulsion from football, Platini left his trademark on UEFA and on European football. To begin with, after his retirement as a player and a short coaching career, Platini was one of the first footballers who was actively involved in UEFA's committees as a member. One of the milestones for his career was the managerial experience he gained as head of the organising committee for the 1998 FIFA World Cup, which was held in France. Alongside this, during the tournament Platini became close to the General Secretary of FIFA, Joseph

Blatter. Blatter and Platini would become the two most powerful men in world football some years later, but without a happy ending, as has already been stated.

Nevertheless, Platini managed to become UEFA president in 2007, when he defeated the Swedish veteran Lennart Johansson by 27 votes to 23. Even though Platini was a man of football and not a technocrat, one of the major initiatives that he introduced was the FFP, shown above. This was a project with good intentions, since the idea was to ensure a relative balance and equity between the football clubs. Additionally, in a period when the Big-5 leagues demanded more and more positions in the Champions League, Platini opened the tournament to more national champions from the peripheral leagues. This 'democratic' decision from Platini surely failed the big European clubs from the Big-5.

Additionally, Platini introduced several other initiatives into UEFA, like the women's football development programme, the expansion of the Euro to 24 teams from 2016, plus the centralisation of the sale of rights for national team qualifying matches and the launch of the 'week of football', and the appointment of national association integrity officers, etc. (Vieli, 2015). Also, worth mentioning is that it was Platini's idea to organise the Euro 2020 in several European countries, to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the tournament.

Platini's impact on UEFA and European football can be considered as significant, during his 8 years presidency (2007-2015). However, the 'disloyal' payment case that is shown above, ended his career in football early. However, even though this case cost him the continuation of his journey in UEFA and afterwards probably in FIFA, it was not the only stain on Platini's curriculum vitae. Platini was also involved in the 'Panama papers' tax avoidance scandal (ESPN, 2016) and also his role in the awarding of World Cup 2022 to Qatar is suspicious (BBC, 2019).

Platini officially resigned from UEFA presidency on the 14th of September 2016, but he was suspended earlier (October 2015), when Angel Maria Villar, president of the Spanish FA, served as UEFA's acting president. Villar was an important man in European and international football, since he had held high positions in both UEFA and FIFA. However, Villar's career had also to be ended early, since in July 2017 he was arrested on suspicion of embezzling funds (Guardian, 2017a).

While the last two presidents of UEFA were condemned and forced to abandon football, on the 14th of September 2016, Alexander Ceferin was elected the seventh president of UEFA. Ceferin was neither a former famous footballer, nor did he come from a big country. On the contrary, he was a lawyer from Slovenia, who had served as a president of the Slovenian FA from 2011 to 2016. Despite his low profile, Ceferin managed to take UEFA's lead during a crucial period for the organisation, when it needed to be transformed for the better.

In this context, good governance became the major priority of Ceferin and the new UEFA administration. In fact, in April 2017, the 41st Ordinary UEFA Congress in Helsinki approved several reforms, such as the length of term limits for UEFA presidents and UEFA Executive Committee members, the provision that Executive Committee members must held an 'active office' in their national FA and a transparent bidding procedure for the UEFA competitions' finals (Reuters, 2017). Additionally, Ceferin worked to strengthen ties with the EU institutions, improve the FFP regulations and invest more in grassroots and women's football.

At the 43rd Ordinary UEFA Congress in Rome on the 7th of February 2019 Ceferin was re-elected unopposed for another four-year term as UEFA president. One of the most important challenges that he faced was the balance of power with the big clubs and the constant threat of a potential breakaway. In this context, Ceferin managed to create a close collaboration and a mutual understanding with club owners and the ECA. Nevertheless, the ESL failed attempt in April 2021, described above, revealed that the big clubs are not easy to control and despite the several compromises that UEFA had to make, clubs' owners wanted more and more. However, it seems that Ceferin and UEFA became stronger as a result and it will be of course a matter of time to see how things will go with the ESL and the new balance of power in European football.

Discussion - A critical analysis of UEFA

The historical analysis of UEFA and the milestones that we have identified above, allow us to have a clear picture of how this organisation has been developed and evolved. Additionally, we have seen how the overall European context affected football and UEFA and under which circumstances UEFA and football have been developed in Europe. Throughout the history of UEFA, we can also read the wider history of modern

Europe and more specifically the European integration process, the establishment and growth of European institutions. Within Europe, football became a social phenomenon, as a result of the impact of television on football and also the commercialization and the formation of the modern market economy. All these social, political and economic phenomena affected football and UEFA, in one way or another.

Regarding the internal environment of the organisation, and also compared to FIFA, we can argue that UEFA had never been a people-centred organisation, whereas several individuals were significant for UEFA, no president or other key agent could ever manage to become greater than the organisation and this seems to be in favour of both the organisation and football, so far. Men who left their trademark in UEFA, such as Artemio Franchi and Lennart Johansson, never wanted or never managed to become all-powerful and 'supreme' leaders, as occurred in FIFA with Havelange and Blatter.

UEFA achieved an efficient governance structure and internal procedures which allowed policy and decision making to be more transparent and democratic. According to Michel Zen-Ruffinen, former general secretary of FIFA, "*at FIFA all relies on one person, at UEFA it is spread out which is much better…when the whole power is concentrated into the same hands it can lead to a lot of problems*" (in Holt, 2009, pg.86). Importantly, as shown above, UEFA was a pioneer organisation in terms of good governance even from an early stage, with initiatives like the official bulletin and the publication of the minutes from the meetings.

However, the fact that UEFA managed to become an organisation with a relatively good governance function was not merely an internal decision but rather a consequence of external pressures. The situation of UEFA in Europe was a blessing and a curse at the same time, because even though the Bosman ruling was at first sight a cruel attack on the autonomy of sports, the series of events soon led to the EU and UEFA becoming good partners who worked together for the good of football. The effect of European institutions was so significant and decisive for European football that we now witness a 'supervised autonomy' of UEFA from the EU (Holt, 2009).

By the same token, the big clubs and the national leagues became key stakeholders as the lobbying of the big clubs (ECA) allowed them to negotiate with UEFA for a series of issues which are in their favour and especially for the Big-5 leagues and the wealthy clubs. This network football (Sugden, 2002) with multiple stakeholders in the European

context was beneficial for UEFA in terms of good governance. In contrast to FIFA, which is not part of such a network, UEFA functions under a relevant democratic legitimacy because of the shifts in the structure of European football (Geeraert, Scheerder & Bruyninckx, 2013).

Under these circumstances, the recent failed attempt of the wealthy clubs to break-away from UEFA and form their own closed league (ESL), indicated that the roots of European football in the principles of the pyramid structure and the connection of the elite level with the grassroots were strong. According to Holt (2009), "*by protecting these principles, sport takes precedence over profit, the wealth of the elite ensures the health of grassroots, and football can continue to operate in a unified, coherent and logical framework* (pg.54).

Therefore, compared to other contexts, such as that of America, or other sports, like Basketball and the 'Euroleague' break-away, European football seems to have deep roots into tradition. A tradition that still sees the football clubs not just as global brands and commercial entities, but rather as organisations with a fan-based character and a national identity, that respect solidarity and 'open' leagues. In this regard, many of the fans of the clubs which were involved in the ESL endeavour, turned out to protest against the decision of their clubs to leave UEFA and form their own 'closed league'. The protests were so determined, that led club owners to apologise to fans for not consulting them about the decision to join ESL (BBC, 2021b).

It is interesting to observe a possible connection between this event and MacIntyre's theory about practice and institution that we use as a conceptual framework to study football organisations. From this perspective, the club owner's decision to break-away from UEFA and form their own league, was motivated by the acquisition of external goods of money and power. As shown above, this is logical for the institution to pursue mainly 'external' goods. In contrast, fans who are somehow the 'keepers' of the practice of searching for the internal goods, which are in this case justice, equity and solidarity. According to MacIntyre, a relevant balance between the practice and the institution is the key to the sustainability of both.

In this case, it seems that the fans contributed significantly to this balance and while UEFA was of course against the ESL, the fans' reaction was probably the catalyst that led to the failure of the ESL break-away. Therefore, UEFA, as the higher authority and

guardian of football in Europe, should ensure the balance between the institution and the practice, external and internal goods. In this regard, fans seem to be another important stakeholder who had been neglected, while in the case of ESL they appeared to be the key to enabling UEFA to sustain their status as the only organiser of football competitions in Europe. As Holt (2009) again explained many years before the ESL breakaway failed attempt:

"*the nature of the European football network means that no single actor has the capacity to completely control future developments. Whilst the political leverage of stakeholders will vary, the interlocking structure of global football governance, connecting the professional and amateur games, the grassroots and the elite, and the relationship between the continental confederations and FIFA and the national associations will ensure that compromise solutions and negotiated change to the competition and governance will continue to be characteristic of the industry*" (pg. 168)

What comes out from the ESL experience is that at least in the European football context, tradition still matters, the local/national identity of the clubs is still vital and the 'closed leagues', although more competitive and entertaining, are destroying the core values of the game. In this vein, MacIntyre's philosophy provides a conceptual framework and a schema to distinguish between what matters and what makes the practice of football unique and worth preserving.

Case study c – Greek football system and HFF

"*A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor can a bad tree bear good fruit.…by their fruits you will know them*" (Matthew 7:18,20)

The peculiar Greek context

Greece is a country with a peculiar historical and cultural background. Standing at the crossroads of the East and West, the Greek peninsula has been the meeting point of cultures and civilizations since antiquity. In this regard, there is a common belief in a continuity of the Greek civilisation from the ancient times to the present (Kalyvas, 2015). It is not the scope of this study to examine this claim, but as the Greek philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis (1997) pointed out, the imaginary institution of society plays a significant role in the individual and social psyche, with all the consequences this might entail.

Through the centuries and after great social and political transformations in the wider area, modern Greece managed to become a modern country and a leader in the Balkan area. One of the main challenges of Greece during the last decades, was the alignment with the European integration process. However, from a historical perspective, the transition from an Ottoman agrarian society to a western liberal democracy, was a challenging endeavour for the newly formed Greek state back then and for the years to come (Kalyvas, 2015).

The Greek economy was industrialised and grew rapidly after the second World War but later, affected also by global economic shifts, it faced stagnation and structural economic problems until the mid-1990s (Tsipouri & Xanthakis, 2004). In that period, the European integration process was in full force and effect, with the 1992 Maastricht Treaty and the establishment of the European institutions, such as the European Commission and the European Parliament. In this context, Greece had to comply with the new EU Decisions, Directives and Regulations issued (Dedoulis, 2006).

However, the recent deep economic crisis showed that Greece had not been able to follow the European integration process properly, together with the rest of the Mediterranean countries which faced similar economic problems (Italy, Spain and Portugal). The global economic crisis of 2008 revealed all the structural problems of

the Greek economy and one of the most serious problems was that of corruption. According to Koutsoukis and Sklias (2005), corruption in Greece is the outcome of a political system that favours clientelism in a complex and relatively flexible legal system. In this peculiar political system, the elite remained in charge, by establishing and preserving its power through patronage and clientelism. In the words of Sklias & Maris (2013) "*contemporary Greece is a unique case of what could be called a mature clientelistic political system*" (pg. 161).

The institutionalization of the culture of clientelism and patronage was established in Greece mainly after the Civil War (1945-1949). The post war climate found the Greek society deeply divided, with feelings of resentment and mistrust between the two sides (right wing and left wing parties) and a blind commitment to the relevant ideology. In this context, the restoration of democracy in 1974 and particularly the rise to power of PASOK in 1980, were the milestones of that era, in which the modern Greek society was shaped. PASOK was a socialist party, led by the charismatic Andreas Papandreou, an iconic political leader of modern Greek history. Papandreou was the politician who led Greece to the new era, proceeding to a series of reformations, simultaneously with the process of European integration. However, the preservation of PASOK in power was partly based on that exact system of clientelism, a practice that also had been followed by the other major pole of the political scene, the conservative party named 'New Democracy'.

The two major political parties rotated in office for about thirty years (1980s to late 2000s). The good condition of the economy back then, mainly based on European funding, allowed the governments to preserve a clientelist relationship with the voters. According to Pappas (2013), the Greek political system, instead of a liberal democracy, was rather a 'populist democracy'. A description of this system it follows:

"*With two strong populist parties regularly alternating in power and being in control of a generous state keen to distribute political rents, voters learned that the state was up for grabs and that it was better to associate with the state through party contacts rather than venture into the market through competition. They also learned through electoral iteration that even if one's party lost at the polls, it was likely to return to power next time around. Politicians learned that there was no mileage in reformism— society would only penalize them for it at the ballot box. Based on this widely shared*

understanding, Greece's populist democracy worked relatively well until the crisis broke out, instantly revealing that the Greek state had run out of resources". (Pappas, 2013, pg. 42)

When the crisis broke out the Greek state was actually bankrupt. In this context, the creditors (European Union and the International Monetary Fund) that came to rescue the Greek economy demanded the implementation of harsh austerity measures. This violent fiscal reformation process in a short period of time was a shock for the Greek economy and consequently for the society, causing a deep economic stagnation, high unemployment, especially youth unemployment and also emigration of many young people to central and northern Europe.

In spite of all this, after more than 10 years of economic recession, things are getting better for the Greek economy with a lower unemployment rate, investments and exit from the bailout programmes. Interestingly enough, the political system after a short period of multi-partism in the Greek parliament, seems to return to its favourite 'two parties domination' system. At this time, it is 'New Democracy' and not PASOK, but Syriza, a socialist party that became important during the crisis and is considered to be a new version of PASOK, regarding its appeal to populism.

To conclude, Greece indeed is a peculiar case in terms of historical and cultural background, with a glorious legacy, an important geopolitical position in South-Eastern Europe and a problematic political system which has led to the recent economic crisis. However, Greece is also a country with a splendid climate, a traditional hospitable spirit and very beautiful landscapes. Naturally, Greece is one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world, while it is also the most advanced country in the Balkans and the bridge of Europe to Asia Minor, the Middle East and Egypt.

It was important to provide this information about Greece and describe the wider context and the peculiar characteristics of the Greek case, to better understand the institutional context of Greek football. Since football is part of the wider social system, the general characteristics of the Greek culture affects the football system in one way or another. But before we go into the analysis of the institutional context of Greek football, we need to proceed into a brief analysis of the general sport system in Greece.

The sport system in Greece

The Greek sport system, as we can see in the figure below, has a pyramidal structure. On the top of the pyramid is the Ministry of culture, in which the Deputy Ministry of sport is included. The Ministry is in charge of the overall policy in sports, the public funding to the sport organisations and activities and lastly the regulations. The General Secretariat of Sports (GSS) is the public body that supervises sport in Greece at a second level. More specifically, the GSS is responsible for the strategic planning, implementation and financial support of sport in Greece. Overall, the basic scope of GSS is the health and security of all athletes and sport practitioners.
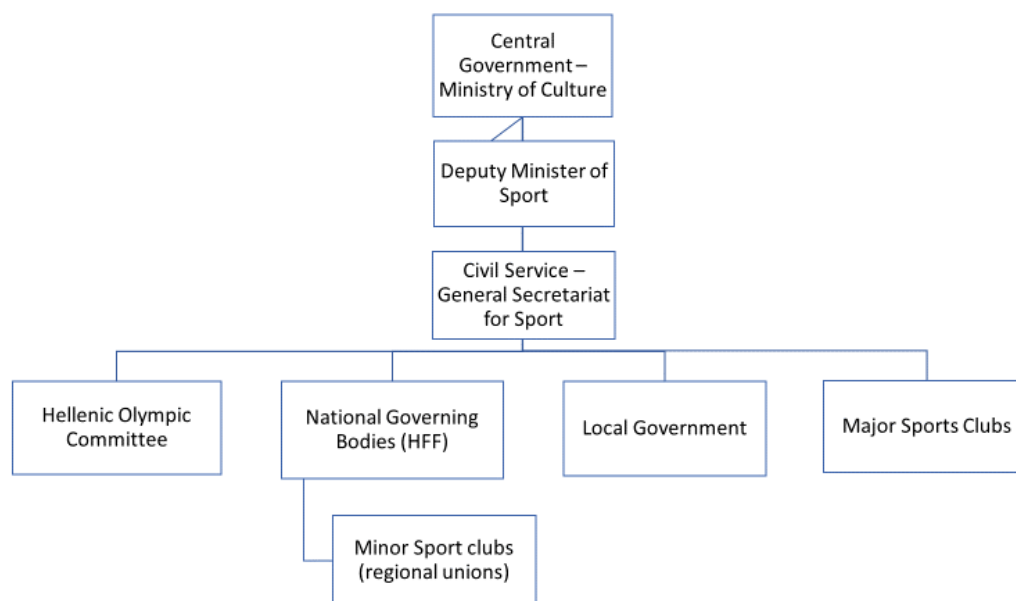
Figure 3: The Sport system in Greece, adapted from Henry and Nassis (1999)

Then, in the next stage of the Greek sports are the Hellenic Olympic committee and the National Governing Bodies (National Sport Federations). Local government has a secondary role in sport policy, while major sport clubs and more specifically professional sport clubs are key stakeholders in the sport system, although without a formal institutional role in the ruling of sports. Below is the role of the major professional clubs, specifically in football. Lastly, at the lower level of the sport's pyramid are the amateur and grassroots sport clubs. In the case of football, the minor

sport clubs belong to the regional unions/associations, which are the electorate base of the Hellenic Football Federation (HFF).

In this system, the role of the National Sport Federations is very important, since there are the governing and regulatory bodies of each sport in the country. Although the role and the status of National Sport Federations is more or less similar in every country (since every National Sport Federation is part of the relative International Sport Federation), in Greece there are some peculiar characteristics in the organisation, funding and overall operation of the national sport federations.

In this regard, the research of Papadimitriou (1998), which is based on quantitative and qualitative data, identified a sport system that is highly dependent on state funding, lacks performance inducements and proper technical arrangements and also is characterized by state intervention. Overall, Papadimitriou uses the Institutional Theory approach and describes a sport system where institutionalism and resource-dependence theory applies to the relationship between the national sport federations and the state, as the latter exerts institutional pressures onto the former, both financial and legislative. (Papadimitriou, 1998)

A study that was carried out approximately during the same period of time by Henry and Nassis (1999) examined the deeper roots of this peculiar system. More specifically, the two scholars examined the sport policy in Greece and specifically the state funding to the sport federations, in the period between 1981 and 1993. In detail, they studied the context in which sport policy was developed and implemented. The basic element they identified was that of clientelism, meaning that the state funding to the sport federations was based on patronage and clientelist relationships between the ruling party and the federations' administration. Regarding the reasons for this style of policy, the authors proceeded to a general sociological analysis by arguing that clientelism is a common feature in a wide range of policy fields and therefore it was in sports. (Henry & Nassis, 1999)

More specifically, Henry and Nassis (1999) identified three possible explanations; the first and simplest is that of the individual response to clientelism, the tendency to a personal affiliation with the party, originating from the civil war rivalry. The second explanation is the inability of the political parties to agree on a change of practice, because they cannot trust each other to abstain from clientelist practices when in office

(a typical game theory/ prisoner's dilemma example). Lastly, the third explanation derives from wider social and political theories, arguing that clientelistic forms of social organisation are strongly associated with Southern Europe (Briquet, 1995; Ferrera, 1996; Kurth, 1993, in Henry & Nassis, 1999), because of a failed or missed modernization and industrialization process. (Henry & Nassis, 1999)

Although the studies analysed above are quite old, as they were carried out more than 20 years ago, the truth is that few things have changed since then in the institutional context of the Greek sport system. The Olympic Games of 2004 contributed to the advancement of the Greek sport system in terms of infrastructure, sport development and sport management. However, the deep economic recession that followed affected significantly the Greek sport system, as in the context of austerity measures there were serious budget cut from the state funding to the National Sport Federations. More specifically, in the period 2007-2014 the state funding to the National Sport Federations, had been reduced by approximately 68% for sports of national priority (Giannoulakis et al., 2017).

Since state funding is the main financial resource of the National Sport Federations, the budget cut resulted in a decline of the elite sport system, something that is noticeable from the medals and results of the Greek athletes in the international tournaments, during the austerity period. Nevertheless, although the austerity period might not have been a successful period for the Greek elite sport, some good examples, such as the growth of the Athens Marathon, shows that a different approach in sports governance can be successful even in hard times, in both sporting and financial terms (Papanikos, 2015).

Unfortunately, the traditional flaws of the Greek public governance system, has sustained a problematic sport system until today. In general, the main deficiencies of this system are poor strategic planning and support of the sports pyramid, both from the state and the sport organisations and also a problematic performance review of state funding strategies (Alexandris & Balaska, 2015; Balaska & Kouthouris, 2014). In this context and specifically in terms of institutional theory, Giannoulakis et al. (2017) identifies institutional isomorphism as the main type of organisational behaviour in the Greek National Sport Federations. The authors argue that the traditional sluggish public sector approach of the state is also a dominant characteristic of the sport federations,

which cannot implement productive marketing strategies, in order to become independent from the state funding. In a few words, the wider institutional context of the Greek public sector has significantly influenced the governance of the National Sport Federations.

Similarly, the study of Sakka and Chatzigianni (2012) verifies the connection of sport with structural and political dysfunctions in other social fields, such as education and health. According to the two scholars, the Greek sport system is not able to 'catch up' with the Europeanization process, because of a central sport policy strategy, weak mechanisms, bureaucracy and political conflicts. However, the authors conclude that despite the chronic problems, there is a slow 'learning process' for aligning Greek sport with the European standards, through the transfer of ideas and best practices between the member states. (Sakka & Chatzigianni, 2012)

A brief history of Greek football

As shown above and particularly in the introduction, episkyros is considered to be a football-like sport which was played in Ancient Greece. However, modern football appeared in Greece in the same way as in most countries around the world, from British soldiers or sailors. The first football clubs in Greece were established in the major port cities of Athens and Thessaloniki in the late 19th and early 20th century, but also in the Greek communities of that time in the Ottoman Empire, like Smyrni.

In this regard and after the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922, Greek clubs, such as Panionios and Apollon Smyrnis moved from Turkish football to Greek, while the Greek refugees from Constantinople formed new clubs, such as AEK Athens and PAOK Thessaloniki. In this context and from a sociological perspective, the newly arrived refugees, together with a rapid urbanization process, allowed the formation of new social identities, which used football as a platform for social conflicts. More specifically, Baltas (2021) argues that during the interwar period, because of a deficient 'civilising process', people identified their social and political identities with certain football clubs, creating a divisive atmosphere with hostility between the football clubs. In the same vein, Zaimakis (2018) verifies that especially AEK Athens and PAOK Thessaloniki fans, have created for themselves the identity of 'proud migrants', who fight the injustices of the local elites.

Meanwhile, the first discussions to establish a central authority that would be responsible for the organisation and development of football in Greece, took place in Athens in 1919. Representatives of football clubs from Athens and Piraeus discussed and decided the formation of the Regional Amateur Football Association of Athens and Piraeus, responsible for organising football matches between the clubs of the area. The foundations for the establishment of a PanHellenic football association were laid in January 1925, when the issue was discussed during a Congress of the Athens Associations and in 1926, it was decided to start the process of summoning all football clubs in Greece to join the newly formed association. (EPO.gr, 2012)

Apostolos Nikolaidis, an iconic figure from Greek football and Panathinaikos football club, translated the regulations of the French Football Federation into Greek, which constituted the guide for the Hellenic Football Federation (hereafter HFF). Together with Evangelos Stamatis, Nikolaidis called the 1st Congress for the establishment of the HFF, on November 14th, 1926 at the offices of the Regional Amateur Association of Athens. There, the representatives of the three founding associations, Athens, Piraeus and Macedonia-Thrace signed the foundation of the Hellenic Football Federation. (Ibid)

The HFF became a member of FIFA in 1927 and was one of the founding members of UEFA in 1954. The first national division was officially established in 1927 and the first national team's match took place on April 7, 1929 in a 1-4 loss to Italy. The two World Wars and the following Civil War, traumatised Greek society and consequently Greek football. The national league was evolved to 'first division' ('Alpha Ethniki' in Greek) and the year 1979 was the milestone of Greek football, because the law 789/1979 recognised professional football and the clubs as limited liability companies.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that despite the fact that the football clubs became professional and so limited liability companies, they typically still belong to the 'amateur' association. More specifically, in Greece, as in Spain, the professional club (football or basketball) have close ties with the multi-sport club. This happens for historical reasons, as the sport club is considered to be an umbrella organisation for the different sport departments, professional or amateur. In this regard, the Greek football clubs - companies are obliged to give 10% of their shares to the amateur club-umbrella organisation and also must give 10% from the gate receipts from every official match.

Regarding the on-the-field history of Greek football, Greece is considered to be in the second tier of European football, both in national team and clubs' performance terms. The national team of Greece participated in three world cups until now (1994, 2010 and 2014), with their best performance of the qualification in the round of 16 in 2014. However, the greatest success in Greek football's history was the winning of Euro 2004 tournament in Portugal, which is considered to be one of the biggest surprises in the history of sports. Greece also participated in the Euro tournaments of 1980, 2008 and 2012.

The key factor for the Euro 2004 great success was the appointment of the German Otto Rehhagel as the manager of the national team in 2001. The German veteran coach managed to create a strong group of players and transform a team of underachievers to European champions. The Greek national team for a period of 10 years (2004 to 2014) managed to be in the elite of international football, under the lead of Otto Rehhagel at first and then Portuguese Fernando Santos afterwards (2010-2014).

At the club level, Greece's best performance was the qualification of Panathinaikos in the final of European champion's cup in 1971, in a 0-2 loss to Ajax Amsterdam. Greek clubs were performing well during a period of wealth for Greek football in the 2000s, as Greece was 7th in the UEFA country ranking of 2002 (the highest place ever for the Greek clubs). Nowadays, Greek clubs do not perform very well in European competitions and Greece is in the 21st place of the UEFA Country Ranking 2021 period.

In regard to the internal context of Greek football, mentioned above, Greek football clubs of the top divisions became professional in 1979, when HFF established EPAE to organise and control professional football in Greece. However, in 2006 the clubs of the first division decided to follow the example of the 'Premier League' and then other European countries began establishing their own organisation. The formation of 'Super League' that year was an initiative from the clubs to organise Greek professional football in a more professional manner and harness the popularity of football in order to maximise their profits. Like the Premier League, Super League is a private company with shares belonging to those clubs that participate in the league.

At the time when the Super League was established there was a period of prosperity from many aspects. The economy was stable and also in sporting terms the country was still living in the post Euro and Olympics 2004 glory, while Greek clubs were

performing well in the European competitions. The Super League initiative gave hope to the Greek fans that the cooperation of the clubs in order to maximise their profits, would create a better product, meaning better teams and players, better stadiums, better referees and generally better football. However, the traditional hostility between the clubs and particularly their short-sighted owners, together with the economic crisis that followed in 2010, turned the visionary goals of Super League and Greek football into wishful thinking.

A brief history of Greek football's background

Historically *"Greece's top football league lacks uncertainty of outcome, and sporting success is concentrated on just three football clubs"* (Anagnostopoulos and Senaux, 2011, pg. 724). Those three clubs used to be the big-3 from the centre, Panathinaikos, AEK Athens and Olympiakos Piraeus, while over the last 10 years PAOK Thessaloniki rose in power and Panathinaikos lost its previous glory. Actually, over the last few years all titles in Greece (championships and cups) have been monopolised by Olympiakos, PAOK Thessaloniki and AEK Athens. Overall, Olympiakos is the most successful football club in Greece. Since 1928 and the establishment of the national championship Olympiakos has had 46 championships, Panathinaikos 20, AEK Athens 12 and the two clubs of Thessaloniki PAOK and Aris three.

As mentioned above, the milestone for professional football in Greece was the Law 789/1979 which institutionalized professional football and clubs as limited liability companies. The first steps of professional football in Greece went in parallel with a transformative period in Greek society and politics. A few years after the restoration of Democracy in 1974 and in a post-civil war vivid divisive climate, PASOK came in power in 1981 and many things changed in the political and social life of Greece. Basically, PASOK intended to reform and update the traditional Greek economy, by establishing a social state in a liberal free market.

As stated above, the Greek sport system is highly dependent on and also influenced by the state, the relevant public organisations and in many cases by specific politicians. Similarly, the Greek football clubs are closely connected to political parties and politicians, who are willing to 'settle' problems that occur for the local football club, just to keep the clubs' owners and the fans-voters satisfied. In this context, the majority

of football clubs in Greece have taken advantage of their political contacts, directly or indirectly, in order to enjoy privileged treatment regarding mismanagement issues and debts (Dimitropoulos, 2010).

The examples are numerous, with many football clubs in Greece taking advantage of 'special' laws and legal loopholes during the last decades. For instance, the first special rescheduling and reduction of debt took place in 1992 for Olympiakos Piraeus, the most popular football club in Greece. In 2004, AEK Athens, Aris Thessaloniki and OFI Crete took advantage of a special law about limited liability companies, in order to settle their debts and avoid penalties and relegation to the lower divisions. In the same context, the three clubs of Thessaloniki (PAOK, Aris and Iraklis) were favoured again in the rescheduling of debts in 2007.

However, there are some exceptions in which the big clubs had to pay a cost in sporting terms by relegating to a lower division. For instance, some years ago AEK Athens and Aris Thessaloniki took advantage of a special regulation about a new VAT and deletion of debt, if a club is relegated to the semi-professional division. Therefore, both clubs chose to be relegated to the Third national division and erase their debts permanently. Then they managed to return to the Super League after a few years. Nevertheless, there is a problem with the new established limited liability companies/ sport clubs and the connection with the former company in legal terms. For instance, Aris Thessaloniki still faces problems with former players who demand their money and they are addressed to FIFA and CAS. So, it appears to be a process that is open to interpretation regarding the old and the new club and which debts are still valid.

To begin with, the first decade of professional football (1980s) was stigmatised by political interference and hooliganism. The institutional context of Greek football is composed by wealthy owners who use popular football clubs in order to achieve other goals (political and business), political parties and politicians who use clubs as pools of voters and also hooliganism, which is not a special Greek phenomenon, but rather a European common trend that time, among the young football fans (Dunning, 2000).

In this peculiar context, football is by far the most popular sport in Greece and the Greek stadia are full of fans in most of the games. In terms of revenues, OPAP, which was the public betting company that time and the only provider of football betting and lotteries in Greece, was the 'lifeblood' of the sporting system (Anagnostopoulos, 2011), as the

state was funding football clubs through OPAP. In sporting terms, the decade of 1980s and the early 90s was a period of a relative balance between the big clubs of Greek football. Specifically, during that period Olympiakos won 5 championships, Panathinaikos 6 (last in 1996), AEK Athens 4, while PAOK Thessaloniki and AEL won one title each.

However, the milestone of that period was the great scandal of Giorgos Koskotas in 1989, a banker and owner of Olympiakos Piraeus that time. Koskotas was convicted for embezzlement of a large amount of money from the Bank of Creta. Apart from Koskotas, Ministers of the governing party PASOK were also involved while the political scene remained in a turmoil for some time (Dobratz and Whitfield, 1992). This case clearly illustrates the connection between business, politics, and football in Greece, which created a vicious triangle that produced scandals with political and social implications.

After the Koskotas scandal, Olympiakos entered a period of crisis, while AEK Athens and Panathinaikos were the superpowers of Greek football during the early 90s. Panathinaikos owned by the Vardinogiannis family, one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in Greece, who managed to create a strong team which was also competitive in the European competitions. However, things changed in Greek football when Sokratis Kokkalis, the new owner of Olympiakos, decided to restore the club to the position of the main superpower in domestic football.

Sokratis Kokkalis is one of the most successful Greek businessmen of the last decades, as he is a pioneer in the Telecommunications and Information Technology Industries, not only in Greece, but also internationally. Kokkalis, who had close ties with PASOK, made two key decisions that appeared to be catalysts in his new endeavour to make Olympiakos dominant again. First, he managed to take from AEK Athens the coach Dusan Bajevic, the most successful football coach in Greece at that time. The second move he made was regarding the background of Greek football. He appointed Thomas Mitropoulos, as a special consultant in refereeing matters. Thomas Mitropoulos was an experienced football manager with a strong network of contacts in football.

In detail, the first task of Mitropoulos was to secure the result of the elections of HFF in 1997, which took place in a city of North Greece, Alexandroupolis (Kapranos, 2001). President of HFF elected Sotiris Alimisis, who had the support of Olympiakos, and

Secretary General Vassilis Gagatsis, the future president of HFF. In the same year (1997) in the elections of EPAE (the organisation controlled by HFF and responsible for organising the professional league), Victor Mitropoulos, brother of Thomas, was elected president. Olympiakos' domination started during the same year and lasted for a period of seven years (1997-2003) the clubs of Piraeus monopolized the titles in Greece.

However, from several recorded telephone conversations which came to light between Thomas Mitropoulos and football stakeholders, it was revealed that some serious issues about Greek football were discussed between the actors. The district attorney of Piraeus was ordered to investigate these tapes and the relevant cases, but the process did not have any result or conviction for any of the involved actors. The case remained in history as the 'paranga', which is the Greek word for the 'shanty' and means something like the dark place where illegal activities are decided.

Even if there is no official report of that case, we can find some information from the media and interviews of some of the actors who participated in that system back then. For instance, a referee who was in the first division during the period 1999-2001 gave an interview and described the way the system of paranga worked. He said that there was a 'give and take' relationship between the referees and HFF, which is responsible for the refereeing in all amateur and professional divisions in Greece.

It appears that the referees were not bribed with money for the match-fixing, but simply they knew that they had to favour the 'strong' team in order to continue to be on the lists of referees and play matches in the professional divisions. The referees who didn't favour the strong teams were excluded from the lists. The kind of favours could be yellow cards to the good players of the opponent team, in order to lose the next match, or to call some fouls close to the opponents' goalposts. Overall, small and not so important 'mistakes' that could favour the strong team in that game or in a future one, were the basic methods of the paranga. (Mplounas, 2008)

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the tendency of some referees to favour the strong teams is not just a Greek phenomenon, but also it appears in other football systems. More specifically, referees are aware that sometimes wrongdoing might be a necessary condition for their promotion. According to Moriconi and De Cima (2021),

the theory of social structure explains why individuals are influenced to act in a certain way, even an unethical one, because of cultural and relational constraints.

Additionally, to be fair we need to mention that Olympiakos Piraeus that time had a very strong team with great players such as the Brazilians Giovanni and later Rivaldo and was probably the strongest team in Greece in pure sporting terms. On the other hand, it is also clear that from 1997 to 2002, Thomas Mitropoulos was controlling a system 'behind the scenes' of the Greek football, a system that decided not only about the champion of the first division, but also about the positions for the European competitions, promotion and relegation in all professional divisions. (Kapranos, 2002; Skokas, 2011)

In the following years, Greek football enjoyed a period of prosperity, as shown above, with the Greek national team winning the Euro 2004 and the Greek clubs performing well in the UEFA competitions. Olympiakos' domination continued, as the club of Piraeus lost only the 2004 and 2010 titles to Panathinaikos. Panathinaikos actually won the double in 2010, over a period that was also full of rumours about the role of HFF and the referees. It was the same period when several HFF members (including the president then Sofoklis Pilavios) were accused of the 'health card' scandal that will be discussed below.

In 2010 and as Panathinaikos was celebrating the double, Olympiakos passed from Sokratis Kokkalis to the ship-owner Evangelos Marinakis. Marinakis managed to sustain the legacy of Kokkalis and Olympiakos monopolized the Greek titles in the following years (2011 to 2017). However, Marinakis was accused of being involved in the 2011 koriopoli scandal. Koriopoli (korios is the 'phone tap' in Greek) was named the case of transcripts of wiretapped conversations from the Greek Intelligence Service between several football actors in Greek football, regarding the favouring of specific clubs or the predetermined results in matches and illegal betting.

It was named Koriopoli because of the similarity with the Italian 'Calciopoli' scandal of 2006. The case was also similar to that of the 'paranga' and had to do with the control of the referees' lists from HFF and fixed matches. Apart from Marinakis, several other football actors were involved. From the initial trials, a club was banned from UEFA competitions (Olympiakos Volos) and several football stakeholders were found guilty and even imprisoned (Georgakopoulos, 2018). One of those convicted was the owner

of Olympiakos Volos and mayor of the city of Volos, Achilleas Mpeos. However, in the trials that followed, Marinakis and most of the other suspects were finally acquitted.

Simultaneously, the status quo in Greek football changed again when Ivan Savvidis, a very wealthy Russian of Greek origin with business activity both in Russia and Greece now, bought PAOK Thessaloniki in 2012. Savvidis managed to transform PAOK into a superpower, disputing the dominance of Olympiakos, and winning the Championship in 2019 and the Greek cup for three successive seasons (2017-2018-2019). Savvidis went viral in 2018 when he went onto the football pitch in the league match PAOK-AEK with a gun tucked into the back of his trousers in a chaotic match that determined the championship (more details below).

As in most countries, the football clubs in Greece belong to wealthy people who are important actors in the national economic and political context. Melissanidis is the owner of AEK Athens, another Greek tycoon who operates in the fuel supply industry. He is also a major shareholder in OPAP (holds 33% of the shares together with a Czech company), the largest betting company in Greece. OPAP also sponsoring Greek football and so there is a conflict of interest, for the reason that Melissanidis is both involved in a football club (AEK Athens) and a betting company (OPAP). Lastly, Alafouzos, who is the owner of Panathinaikos, is another ship-owner, but he also owns media companies. In contrast to the other owners of the big clubs, Alafouzos is not so actively involved in Greek football matters.

The HFF structure, the bone of contention and the internal cases of corruption

As shown above, the milestone year for the HFF was 1927, when the federation was established and recognised by the Ministry of Education as the 'Highest Greek Football Authority', while in July of the same year, FIFA announced that Greece had been accepted into the 'family' of the International Confederation. The HFF is structured in a pyramid shape, as are all football federations worldwide. It is based on the approximately 3,700 football clubs that participate in the amateur or professional football divisions around the country. The clubs belong to the 53 regional football associations, which belong to the HFF.

The HFF General Assembly is the supreme and legislative body of the organisation, while the executive committee is the main decision-making body and consists of the president and the members, who are elected by the electorate body of the HFF. The electorates of the HFF are basically the 53 regional unions, while professional football and some other institutions also have voting rights. However, the power to elect the HFF executive committee is mainly in the hands of the regional football associations, rendering them the most powerful stakeholder of HFF. There has been a growing discussion throughout these years about diminishing the power of the regional associations, by giving voting rights to more football stakeholders. This is a crucial matter for Greek football governance and this will be analysed more thoroughly below.

Apart from the General Assembly and the executive committee, the HFF is composed of two main divisions, those of football and administration and each division includes several administrations and committees. In the figure 4 below, we can see the organizational structure of HFF. A key part of the structure for the whole governance of Greek football and especially for professional football is the refereeing committee. The HFF is responsible for selecting, appointing, and training the referees in Greek football, together with each regional football association the referees belong to. Together with the judicial bodies and the disciplinary committee, which are also responsible for professional football matters, the refereeing committee is the key that connects the HFF with professional football.
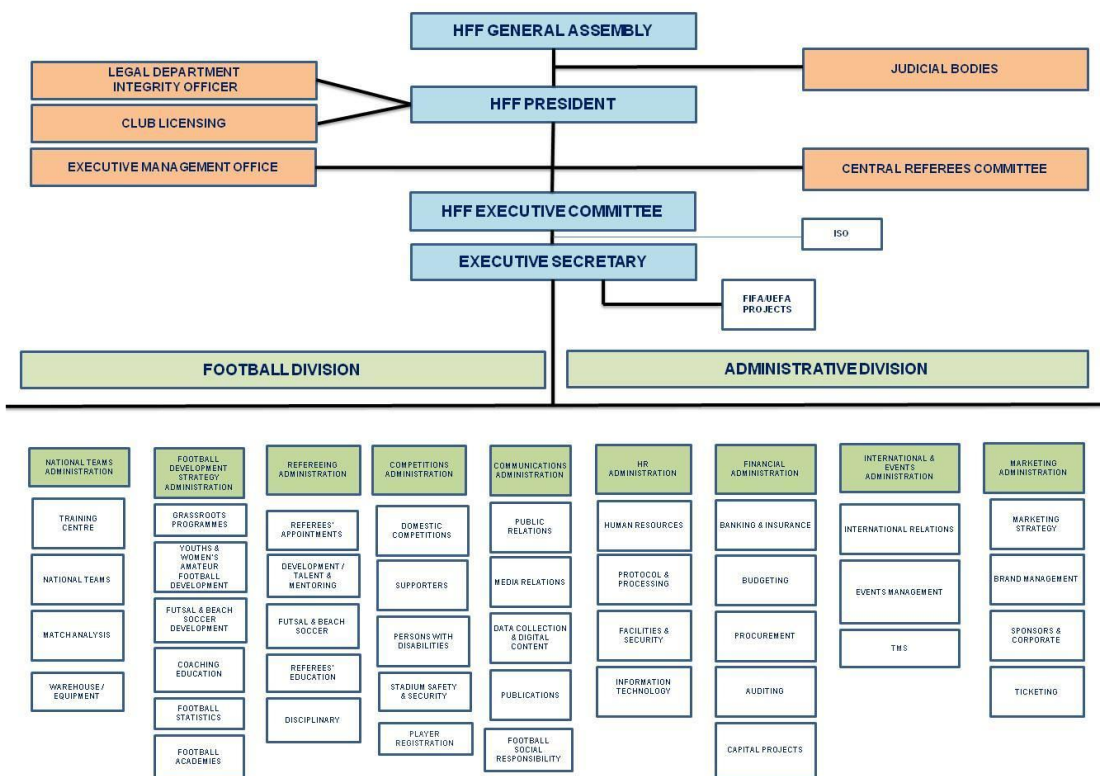
Figure 4: The organisational structure of HFF (source: epo.gr)

In this context, from the time when football became professional in Greece, the power of the HFF to control the referees in the professional divisions, turned the HFF into a bone of contention for the big clubs in Greece. Matt Scott, who has studied the corruption in Greek football the last twenty years argues that:

 "*the bad smell around Greek football began late in the last century, when elections to the Hellenic Football Federation board took place. An investigation into alleged bribe-taking in the vote proved inconclusive but many observers were sure that the system that allowed fewer than 60 regional councillors to vote for 15 key boardroom posts – obtained with a simple majority of 30 – was open to abuse*" (Scott, 2015)

Therefore, the big clubs are interested in influencing the HFF elections, in order to control the members of the executive committee and more specifically the refereeing committee. It is common knowledge in Greek football, that whoever controls the HFF, gains a competitive advantage on the field. This fact will help us to understand the recent shifts in HFF and the interventions of FIFA and UEFA.

Additionally, it is worth mentioning that apart from the corruption scandals which are part of the relationships between HFF and professional football, the HFF also faced some serious internal cases of corruption. The most prominent one was the 'health card' scandal, a program that was first introduced in 2005 and supposed to offer free medical examinations to all amateur football players in Greece. Finally, the 'health card' program was never implemented. However, the HFF paid the contracting companies until 2013, the amount of 30 million euro. The investigations afterwards led to suspended jail sentences for three former presidents of HFF: Vasillis Gagatsis, Sofoklis Pilavios and Georgios Girtzikis.

More recently, Deloitte, which checked HFF's transactions and financial operations for the years 2015 and 2016, reported a 'black hole' of 3.37 million euro. This money was supposed to have been transferred to the travel agent 'Eurostar - Travel Plan' for the travel services of the year 2010. However, the money was not transferred to the relevant bank account of the company, but to another one. This case is still being investigated by the Greek authorities (EPO.gr, 2020). Lastly, the same report from Deloitte highlights a series of loans given by the HFF to some regional football associations, but without repayment (soccerplus, 2017).

The Governmental interventions, FIFA and power games

The above-mentioned 'autonomy of sports' allows FIFA to prevent any intervention from a third party in the national football context of all National Football Federations (FIFA, 2012, in Meier and Garcia, 2015). In the case of governmental intervention or any other institutions' attempt to interfere in football matters, FIFA can suspend the national federation from all international football competitions, such as the World Cup finals and qualifications. Simultaneously, the ban also applies to the relevant confederation, which in the case of Europe is UEFA. This is something much more damaging for the local football industry, since the ban includes the elimination of the country's football clubs from the UEFA's competitions (Champions League, Europa League and recently Europa Conference League). FIFA's power over national governments is probably a special case internationally, in legal and political terms, since a private transnational authority surpasses the national government's legitimacy to regulate the national football industry (Meier & Garcia, 2015). FIFA had used this

power over national governments several times during the last decades (Meier & Garcia, 2015, Garcia & Meier, 2013) and Greece was one of the main cases where this power has been displayed.

The first conflict of FIFA with the Greek government dates back to the early 1990s. As shown above, that time football in Greece was traumatised significantly by the 'Koskotas' scandal, hooliganism and fixed matches. In this context, the deputy minister of sports, Giorgos Lianis, decided to supervise the refereeing system and the composition of sport disciplinary courts for professional football, by proposing a new legislation (Panagiotopoulos & Mourniakis 2006 in Garcia & Meier, 2013). The HFF was not willing to negotiate this and so they appealed to FIFA to keep the government away. The threat of expulsion from FIFA for HFF was a heavy cost for the government to carry, since the Greek national team had qualified for the first time in history for the World cup finals (USA 94). Consequently, the Greek government took a step back and the new legislation initiative of Lianis was abandoned. This was the first victory of the HFF and FIFA against the Greek government and there was another to come.

The second attempt of the Greek government to regulate professional football in Greece took place during the paranga era (late 1990s – early 2000s). As shown above, the paranga was a system of controlling the referees through HFF and Thomas Mitropoulos was the mastermind of the background of this system, who worked for the owner of Olympiakos, Sokratis Kokkalis. At the same time, the closed ties between football, politics and business in Greece had created a complex situation of conflicting interests and the ruling party of PASOK wanted to achieve a relative equilibrium in football. Despite the fact that Kokkalis had close ties with PASOK, the new deputy minister of sports, Giorgos Floridis, decided to intervene in football and clean-up the paranga.

In fact, Floridis proposed a new legislation for professional sport, which gave the state a supervised role in the elections of sport federations and the composition of disciplinary committees (Panagiotopoulos & Mourniakis 2006 in Garcia & Meier, 2013). On behalf of HFF, the secretary general that time and later president, Vasilis Gagatsis stood against Floridis' proposal. Gagatsis called on FIFA, which responded quickly. In spite of this, a series of meetings and negotiations between FIFA and the Greek government took place in Athens and Zurich that time, the result was another retreat of the Greek government and Floridis was moved to another Ministry. FIFA

once again secured the autonomy of the HFF in the governance of football and also allowed Gagatsis to become the new undisputed president of the HFF.

The third and last intervention of the Greek government in football, until recently, took place in 2006. At that time New Democracy had been the ruling party since 2004 and the Deputy Minister of sports was Giorgos Orfanos. The president of HFF, Vasilis Gagatsis, had the support of PASOK and the government preferred to put a person of their own in the presidency of HFF, a typical tactic of all ruling parties in Greece regarding the heads of the sport federations. But Gagatsis managed to become an all-powerful stakeholder in Greek football, having the support of the majority of the regional football associations (which compose the federation and elect the board), Olympiakos, as Gagatsis was a legal adviser of Olympiakos in the past and of course FIFA (Mplounas, 2008). We can argue that Gagatsis had established a Blatter-like presidency in the HFF, as he controlled everything and secured the support of all key stakeholders. A final point in this saga; Gagatsis was the man behind Otto Rehhagel's arrival in Greece, the one who created the Euro 2004 miracle.

All things considered, the endeavour of Orfanos to bring Gagatsis down was not an easy task. The Deputy Minister prepared new legislation in 2004, which again intended to change the electorate system of the HFF by increasing the number of electors. However, the elections of October 2004 in the HFF were carried out under the old system and Orfanos responded by stopping state funding for the HFF (Anagnostopoulos, 2011). Orfanos and Gagatsis could not find a common ground for negotiations and so the latter called on FIFA again to solve the issue.

FIFA followed the common tactic of the threat of expulsion for HFF, but this time it was not only a threat. The Greek parliament had passed the legislation which intervened in the electorate system of the sport federations, including HFF. FIFA called the Greek government to amend the legislation, by setting a deadline of 15 July 2006 (FIFA 2005; FIFA 2006 in Garcia & Meier, 2013). The government refused to comply, and HFF was officially suspended by FIFA on July 3, 2006 (FIFA, 2006 in Garcia and Meier, 2013). However, the ruling party could not afford the political and social cost of this decision and so immediately an amendment passed through parliament, which excluded HFF from the regulations that intervened in the autonomy of football. Just nine days

after the suspension, FIFA lifted the ban for the HFF (Meier & Garcia, 2015) and therefore won another battle against the Greek government.

In conclusion, FIFA has the monopoly in football governance in all relevant contexts and the Greek government learned this lesson several times. This monopoly is crucial because it secures the autonomy of the national federations to run the game independently and exclude interventions from any other institution. However, this autonomy can be also damaging for football, in the case of the local federation it is not running the game properly. In other words, what if the state intervention is justified and right? As shown above, FIFA took the side of HFF in all the cases of governmental interventions in Greece, something that is a standard practice in all relevant disputes between football federations and national governments. However, in the most recent intervention of the Greek government in football, FIFA and UEFA adopted a different tactic.

The new state intervention and the new conditions

Before we analyse the current involvement of FIFA and UEFA in Greek football, we need to return back to the series of some important events, which led to the new reality. As described above, corruption is not alien to Greek football, while serious scandals and a traditional mistrust in the institutions illustrate its background. To begin with, the koriopoli scandal above, left a vicious legacy to many of the protagonists of that scandal, rightly or wrongly. During this scandal, the president of the HFF was the lawyer technocrat Sofoklis Pilavios who enjoyed the support of Panathinaikos at the beginning (being a former consultant of the club) and afterwards of Olympiakos. However, during this period, apart from the koriopoli scandal, Pilavios had to face the health card scandal (for which he was later convicted as mentioned above). Moreover, there were pressures from the 'deep state' of HFF that Pilavios could not handle. These had to do mainly with the lists of referees (Mplounas, 2012).

In the elections of HFF in 2012, Pilavios withdrew, and Giorgos Sarris won with 37 votes to 20 of those of Vasillis Gagatsis, who failed to regain the position of the president in HFF. Sarris had the support of Olympiakos and under his presidency the club of Piraeus continued to dominate the local titles. In this context, in 2015 the prosecutor Aristidis Korreas charged the president of Olympiakos, Evangelos

Marinakis, the president of HFF, Georgios Sarris, and several other football actors (members of HFF board, referees, football players and managers) with organizing and directing a criminal organisation which controlled Greek football, through illegal actions.

Based on telephone recordings, the prosecutor concluded that Marinakis, by using Sarris and other football stakeholders, had formed a wide network for controlling the referees and judges, influencing other clubs (for example with loaned players) and blackmailing referees who did not comply. All defendants denied the charges and a few years after (2018) many of them, including Marinakis, were found not guilty as mentioned also above. However, that time the case was still under investigation and Sarris was forced to resign, just after two years from his election as president of HFF.

One month after Sarris' resignation on 23rd of January 2015, new president of the HFF became Georgios Girtzikis, a veteran football manager and the only candidate in that procedure, gaining 51 votes out of the 55. Girtzikis enjoyed the support of Olympiakos. Over the same period of time Greece was undergoing huge political change, as the leftist party; Syriza came to power, with the main goals to take Greece out of austerity and also fight corruption in all political and social fields. Therefore, on the agenda of the new Deputy Minister of sports, Stavros Kontonis, football governance was a top priority.

Like the previous Deputy Ministers of sports, Kontonis decided to propose a new legislation that could regulate sports, including football. The new legislation gave power to the Deputy Minister of sport to impose heavy fines and penalties for acts of violence. However, the most controversial issue was the newly proposed form of the arbitral tribunal and the appointment of judges, a traditionally hot topic between the state and HFF. Before passing the legislation, Kontonis contacted the general secretary of UEFA that time, Gianni Infantino. According to Kontonis, Infantino learned that the HFF appoints the judges of the arbitral tribunal by draw (efsyn, 2015).

The judicial bodies of HFF include a) the Disciplinary Commission, b) the Ethics Committee and c) the Appeals Committee. Additionally, there is the arbitral tribunal, an independent judicial body inside the HFF, which works like the CAS, but in the national context. More specifically, the arbitral tribunal decides upon disputes between football stakeholders in final jurisdiction. For the composition of the arbitral tribunal,

the HFF used veteran judges, while Kontonis' new legislation required the appointment of active judges from the state's Supreme Court.

In the summer of 2015, the HFF did not comply with the new legislation and appointed judges for the arbitral tribunal in the traditional way, i.e., veterans. Kontonis had direct communication with Infantino, who argued that HFF had the right to not comply with the legislation and compose the arbitral tribunal differently. However, the direct communication channel that Kontonis had opened with UEFA and the increasing mistrust against HFF, paved the way for a new era relationship between UEFA/FIFA and the Greek government. In this context, the HFF and specifically the president Girtzikis, started new negotiations with Kontonis and in November 2015, the HFF finally composed the arbitral tribunal with active judges from the Supreme Court. In conclusion, the Deputy Minister of sport managed to enjoy his first victory over HFF.

The next episode in the fight between the Deputy Minister of sport and HFF administration started after the first match of the Greek Cup's semi-final between PAOK Thessaloniki and Olympiakos Piraeus, on March 2nd, 2016. The derby between PAOK and Olympiakos, especially in Thessaloniki, is always dramatic with tension, since there is a traditional hostility between the two clubs. In this match, the atmosphere was intense and after the referee refused a penalty for PAOK, with the score 1-2 to Olympiakos, the match was abandoned following a pitch invasion of fans and riots with the police. PAOK decided not to play the second match in Piraeus and once again a climate of war was cultivated in Greek football. The Deputy Minister decided to cancel the Greek Cup and impose heavy fines on the clubs. However, according to HFF, this was clear governmental intervention in football. As a result, FIFA set a deadline of 15 April 2016 to restart the Greek Cup, otherwise the HFF would be suspended.

Nevertheless, the Deputy Minister stood his ground and called FIFA and UEFA not only to negotiate the restart of the cup, but also to discuss the reformation of HFF. FIFA and UEFA accepted Kontonis' invitation and sent to Greece as an official representative, Konstantinos Koutsokoumnis, the president of the Cypriot Football Federation. Koutsokoumnis was chosen by the two institutions, for the reason that he was a Greek-Cypriot and so not only could he 'speak the same language as the Greeks' literally, but also, he was familiar with the Greek football background.

In this context, Kontonis found common ground with Koutsokoumnis and a new phase of dialogue started between the two parts. More specifically, on April 12, 2016, Koutsokoumnis met with the Deputy Minister of sport Kontonis, who agreed to allow the restart of the Greek cup. Correspondingly, Koutsokoumnis agreed to launch proceedings for harmonizing the regulatory framework of HFF, with that of FIFA and UEFA. After this meeting, Koutsokoumnis talked to the Greek media and argued that priority of FIFA and UEFA is the reformation of HFF's code of conduct (Tvxs, 2016). Moreover, Koutsokoumnis committed himself to helping the Greek courts with the prosecutions of football officials, regarding the mismanagement issues in HFF (Ibid). It was already clear that Koutsokoumnis and Kontonis would have a close collaboration, however the Cypriot representative appeared to be less friendly towards the HFF administration.

The active role of FIFA and UEFA and the (not so) new reality

The decision of Koutsokoumnis to take the side of Kontonis and not that of HFF was historical. For the first time in 25 years and after several conflicts between the football institutions and the Greek government, the representative of FIFA and UEFA decided to side with the Deputy Minister of sport and not with the HFF administration. In view of this, during the summer of 2016, Koutsokoumnis gave no other option to the president of HFF but to comply with the demands of FIFA/ UEFA and harmonise the federation's code of conduct, Kontonis refused to allow the start of the league for this reason. Also, on August 25 of the same year, Greek courts prosecuted the president Girtzikis, together with other members of HFF, about the health card scandal. When he was called to comment on this, Koutsokoumnis argued that the state's laws are above the laws of a federation (Kathimerini, 2016).

Later that year in October 2016, president Girtzikis resigned due to the fact that judicial procedures and the elections of HFF were about to be held that month. Nevertheless, on the 31st of October 2016, a letter from the General Secretary of FIFA, Fatma Samura, informed HFF that there would be no elections. In fact, the FIFA council which was held on the 14th of October, decided to appoint a normalization committee in HFF until the end of May 2017 (FIFA, 2016b). This committee would run HFF for a transitional

period and then would organise a proper electoral procedure for the new HFF administration.

The work and the main goal of the normalization committee would be to run the daily operations of HFF and to reform the relevant regulations, in order to bring them in line with FIFA standards (Ibid). The composition of the normalization committee was decided on by the FIFA/ UEFA representative, Konstantinos Koutsokoumnis, who chose mainly technocrats, while some of them were people affiliated with the ruling party Syriza. This was another sign of the mutual trust that has been created between Koutsokoumnis and Kontonis.

After almost one and a half year of discrepancies and conflicts between HFF and the Greek government on a series of issues, the Deputy Minister Kontonis managed to be the first Greek Deputy Minister of sports who won a fight against HFF. In this setting, after the decision of FIFA to appoint the normalization committee, Kontonis "*welcomed the move as a positive development which will be combined with the placement of worthy people to manage a problem that has plagued Greek sports for years*" (Ekathimerini, 2016). However, to be clear we need to say that it was not just the dedication and the persistence of the Deputy Minister the reason for FIFA and UEFA to abandon their usual practice and take the side of the Greek government and not that of HFF's administration. The international football institutions were aware of the problematic institutional context in Greek football and HFF was part of this problem. In this vein, the conflicts with Kontonis and the governmental intervention gave the opportunity to FIFA and UEFA to step in and take control of HFF, in order to reform and harmonise the Greek federation with the new standards in football governance.

Kontonis managed to redeem his success over HFF, by being promoted to Minister of Justice in the Government reshuffle of November 2016. While the job of the committee to 'normalise' the situation in Greek football was not an easy task, for several reasons. Despite the presence of FIFA and UEFA in Greece, the chronic problems of football were still there. One serious problem was a case of arson at the house of the head of the refereeing committee, Giorgos Mpikas, on the 9th of November 2016, appeared to be another 'message' from the dark forces of Greek football. Few days before that, another member of the referees' committee, former referee Tsachilidis also faced an attack on his house in Athens. Koutsokoumnis cancelled the Super League, while waiting for the

findings of the fire department about the arson. Finally, Giorgos Mpikas resigned from head of the referring committee, while FIFA asked Koutsokoumnis to restart the league (Mplounas, 2016).

After some months and when the term of the normalizing committee was about to end, the Greek Cup final on May 6th, 2017, between PAOK Thessaloniki and AEK Athens meant to be another big problem. The normalizing committee selected Volos stadium for the final, which had been abandoned for about three years. The reason for this choice was that Volos is in the middle of the distance between Athens and Thessaloniki, so it would be easier for the fans of both clubs to travel. Despite the good intentions, the fans of PAOK and AEK rioted outside and inside the stadium, creating a chaotic situation, with the police trying to control them. Consequently, the normalization committee was severely criticised for the decision of the stadium selection, the planning and the overall organisation of the final.

Nevertheless, the Bureau of the Council of FIFA in May 2017 decided to extend the term of office of the normalizing committee, despite the fact that the initial decision was to have organised elections by then (FIFA, 2017b). The extension was given because of the slow process in aligning the Greek sport regulations with the FIFA standards. In this context, the new deadline for the normalization committee was set for the 31st of July 2017. Finally, the elections in HFF took place on the 18th of August 2017 and Evangelos Grammenos became the new president. Grammenos had the support of both PAOK Thessaloniki and AEK Athens, while the other candidate had the support of Olympiakos.

Even if the HFF now had a newly elected administration, FIFA and UEFA still had and will have for a long time a supervisory role in Greek football. More specifically, a supervision committee from both FIFA and UEFA would remain in HFF, in order to monitor the process of harmonization of the federation with FIFA's regulations and also to ensure the legality and the isonomy in Greek football. As the head of the supervision committee at the first stage, FIFA appointed the Maltese Bjorn Vassallo, coordinator of the national federations for FIFA back then. Additionally, from the 26th of July 2017 the Portuguese Melo Pereira was appointed head of the referees, a position that was maintained for around three years. Pereira was a former international referee, who also served as the head of the referees in the Portuguese Premier League. The idea

behind Pereira's appointment was his obvious neutrality as a foreigner and the lack of influence from the big clubs.

Despite the presence of FIFA and UEFA in Greek football through the supervision committee and the foreign head of referees, serious problems were still present. As already mentioned, president Grammenos and most of the members of the board of HFF were elected with the support of PAOK Thessaloniki and AEK Athens. Olympiakos, who used to control HFF during the previous decades did not accept the new reality easily and so put constant pressure on the HFF about referees and other issues. In addition, after some time, the relations of Savvidis and Melissanidis, the owners of PAOK and AEK respectively, who used to be allies, went sour. Consequently, the traditional hostility, polarization and toxic climate in Greek football were still obvious, despite the presence of FIFA and UEFA.

Against this background, the president of HFF Grammenos received an envelope containing a bullet and a threatening letter on the 28th December 2017 (Sport24, 2017). Later that season, the traditional derby between PAOK and Olympiakos in Thessaloniki was not going to be easy, once again. On February 25th, 2018 PAOK, who was the leader in the table, hosted Olympiakos in Toumpa stadium in Thessaloniki. In a full stadium with PAOK fans eager to come one step closer to the long-awaited title, the match was abandoned before the kick-off, as the Spanish coach of Olympiakos, Oscar Garcia, was hit by a paper roll, which came from the fans. PAOK accused Garcia of faking an injury and the club just took this opportunity to win the match without playing. So, PAOK lost the match and was penalized with three points deduction, and the next game was held behind closed doors.

That game was the match against AEK Athens and the result would probably determine the title for that season. Surprisingly, the judge overturned the initial decision for closed doors, just the night before the match and so PAOK would face AEK Athens with fans. Fate played a strange game in that match. While the result was 0-0, PAOK scored a late goal, which brought the club close to victory and possibly to the title for the first time after 33 years. The players of AEK Athens protested against the decision and the referee disallowed the goal, despite his initial decision that the goal was allowed.

Now it was the turn of PAOK players to protest and after some minutes the owner of PAOK, Ivan Savvidis, went down onto the pitch furious, with a gun in the back of his

trousers, a scene that went viral. Because of the havoc, the referee and the teams went to the locker rooms and the players of AEK refused to return to the pitch to play the remaining minutes. It is worth mentioning that the referee changed his decision for a third time and finally awarded the goal to PAOK, while in the locker room.

Nevertheless, PAOK lost this game in court and AEK Athens finally won the championship that season. Right after the game, Super League was suspended for a while, by a decision of the Greek government. Additionally, the Chairman of the FIFA monitoring committee, the Austrian Herbert Hubbels, sent a letter to the FIFA member associations committee and asked FIFA to suspend the HFF (Gazzetta.gr, 2018). The main reasons for this proposal were the sluggish legislation system and the fact that the champion in Greece is actually decided in court. However, FIFA rejected Hubbels' recommendation and so the Greek Super League restarted after a short period of time.

In the next season (2018-2019), the monitoring committee again had to deal with some serious problems. On December 19, 2018 the Super League referee Athanasios Tzilos was beaten by masked men when he walked out of his house in Larissa. This was not something uncommon in Greek football, in fact it was the 27th attack on a referee since 2009 (Warsaw, 2018). The attack on Tzillos was so serious that he spent many days in hospital. Not surprisingly, the referees went on strike and the Greek government once again suspended the Super League for a short period of time. All the big clubs condemned the attack; however, the monitoring committee was still unable to find a solution to the mafia-like hits in Greek football. Not unusual for the Greek judicial system, the case of Tzilos' attack is still under investigation (more than three years later).

In this peculiar and dangerous environment, the head of refereeing, Melo Pereira, decided to bring in foreign referees to be appointed for the most 'dangerous' matches. The idea behind this was first to protect the Greek referees and second to secure a relative 'neutrality' between the big clubs. Therefore, the appointment of a foreign referee in Greek football after 43 years, took place in the Cup final of 2018 between PAOK Thessaloniki and AEK Athens, with the Spanish David Fernandez Borbalan. The growing hostility and the recent dramatic incidents between the two clubs back then, forced Pereira to change the regulations of HFF and call a foreign referee, who would not be susceptible to the Greek football reality.

In the same vein, Pereira decided to avoid incidents like that of Tzilos and call foreign referees in for the matches of the Super League. Olympiakos and PAOK had asked for foreign referees even from the 2017-2018 season, so the big clubs agreed to this measure. At the end of the season 2018-2019, PAOK Thessaloniki finally won the league title after 34 years. In sporting terms, PAOK had a good team since Savvidis had been investing for years to make PAOK strong. On the other hand, the new reality in Greek football also contributed to this, while Olympiakos abstained from titles for a second consecutive season.

The growing rivalry between PAOK and Olympiakos, or Savvidis and Marinakis actually reached its peak during the next season (2019-2020). PAOK and Olympiakos are traditional rivals in Greek football, a rivalry with social and political implications. One of the reasons for this is that PAOK represents the North (Thessaloniki) and Olympiakos the centre (Piraeus/Athens). Traditionally, Thessaloniki feels neglected by the centralized system of Athens, where all the major state institutions are based. In this vein, PAOK fans are always hostile against Athens and the Athenian/Piraeus clubs.

Therefore, if one sees the rivalry between Marinakis and Savvidis in the light of this, things become even worse. Marinakis and Savvidis both own industries and media companies, while Marinakis is associated with the ruling party of New Democracy and Savvidis with the former ruling party, Syriza. Therefore, they are both key players, not only in football, but also at political and economic levels. Additionally, Marinakis appears to have influence on the current Deputy Minister of sport, Lefteris Avgenakis, something that PAOK condemns every given chance.

Early in the season, Marinakis argued that he is thinking of taking Olympiakos out of the league, following the example of Olympiakos Basketball Club, which dropped out of Greek Basketball league and participates only in the Euroleague. This declaration of Marinakis was considered as diplomatic pressure on the HFF and the monitoring committee, since Olympiakos had lost the influence it used to have on the federation, during the previous two years.

However, Marinakis managed to put actual pressure in the football system and specifically on his big rival Savvidis, through his media. In detail, 'One channel', owned by Marinakis, on December 2019 reported that a nephew of Savvidis had bought the facilities of Xanthi F.C through transactions by companies controlled by Savvidis,

and so the owner of PAOK exercises an undue influence on Xanthi F.C (Nicholson, 2019). In other words, the report concluded that there was a dual ownership of PAOK and Xanthi F.C, two clubs participating in the same league. The committee of professional sport, a state legislative body, took up the case, while Savvidis denied that he was behind the management of Xanthi F.C.

The committee of professional sport met on the 27th of January 2020 and recommended the relegation of both clubs, for bending ownership rules. PAOK fans protested against a decision that surely had political and social implications. PAOK accused the Deputy Minister of sport, Avgenakis, who decided on the composition of the five members' committee, that he had orchestrated all this, favouring Olympiakos. However, the solution came from the government, which passed a special legislative initiative, which replaced hard penalties, such as relegation, with a points deduction scheme.

On this basis, PAOK deducted seven points and Xanthi F.C twelve. It can be argued that this controversial governmental intervention appeared to have a two-fold benefit, since the government avoided the mess which would have occurred if PAOK had been relegated and also left Olympiakos satisfied, about gaining a points advantage, that brought him closer to the championship, after two years. Nevertheless, PAOK made an appeal against the decision for points deduction before CAS, and Olympiakos did the same but against the legislative initiative that changed the penalty of relegation to points deduction. In July 2020, CAS decided to overturn the deducted points to PAOK and also upheld the case for the HFF. Finally, in February 2021, HFF fully acquitted PAOK for the dual ownership case.

It is characteristic of the peculiar Greek system, that the judicial bodies cannot be taken as 'independent', nor do the football clubs respect the decisions of the formal institutions. In the above case, the professional sport committee, which appeared to be guided by the Deputy Minister Avgenakis, who has close ties with Olympiakos, found PAOK guilty for the same case that HFF, in which Savvidis has more influence, acquitted PAOK of charges. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that CAS also worked as a mediator, who sent the case back to HFF. In this regard, it seems that only a foreign legislative body can ensure a proper legal procedure and a relevant fair decision regarding the Greek football matters.

The FIFA/UEFA report and the next day for Greek football

At the same time as the crisis for the PAOK - Xanthi FC case and the governmental intervention, the Greek Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis invited UEFA president, Alexander Ceferin, to discuss the reformation of Greek football. On the 25th of February 2020, the UEFA president visited Athens and met with the Greek Prime Minister. The two sides decided to draft a declaration of intent, for finding solutions about the long-standing problems in Greek football. In this regard, the first step towards this direction was to be a report by FIFA and UEFA, with specific recommendations about the Greek football reformation.

Some months later in October 2020, FIFA and UEFA delivered the report to the Greek government and HFF, with a copy to all relevant football stakeholders (football clubs etc.). The first part of the report presents the current situation of Greek football. In detail it presents the facts showing the decline of Greek football, in comparison with other countries, such as Belgium, Portugal, Cyprus and Austria, which share similar characteristics (population, culture etc.) (FIFA/UEFA, 2020).

The report goes to analyse particular areas where Greek football needs to improve, such as HFF governance, refereeing, football development etc. Apart from some typical and general recommendations, for instance to enhance the grassroots programme or ensure good governance, some significant measures are proposed. For example, the report recommends a new structure for HFF with a special reference to the establishment of the Central Referees Committee (CRC), to which the referees' unit will report (Ibid).

Moreover, a special reference should be made to the fact that "*FIFA and UEFA identified inadequate representation of national football stakeholders in the HFF congress…such as the players' union, women's football, coaches, etc.* (Ibid, pg. 37). This is an important remark for Greek football governance because it highlights a controversial issue about the power of the regional football associations and on a second level of the big clubs. As shown above, the regional football associations are traditionally susceptible to the influence of the big clubs. If the electorate pool of the HFF were to be widened, the regional football associations would have lost their key role to elect the HFF executive committee and also their representatives would lose the benefits they enjoy from the big clubs' influence.

Nevertheless, it is important to make clear that in the report FIFA and UEFA state that "*recommendations are ultimately left to the discretion of the Hellenic Football Federation as an independent and autonomous association*" (Ibid, pg.4). At first sight, the optional status of the report's recommendations was not a sign of hope for those who are aware of Greek football and the difficulty of HFF to introduce changes. Under these circumstances, the elections of HFF took place on the 27th of March 2021 and as new president elected Theodoros Zagorakis, who was the only candidate. Zagorakis is the emblematic captain of the Greek national team of Euro 2004 and a former member of the European Parliament. Together with Zagorakis, six former Greek internationals and one female official, Vicky Dimitrakopoulou, were candidates for the executive committee, but none of them were selected. On the contrary, the executive committee once again includes traditional regional unions' representatives.

The General Assembly of the new administration approved some of the report's recommendations, but not the most ground-breaking of them, like the new structure or the new electorate pool. As a response, the Deputy Minister of sport, Avgenakis, asked HFF to accept all the recommendations of the report, otherwise he would stop state funding for football. The HFF officials accused Avgenakis of wanting to control the HFF, placing Zagorakis in the middle of a war. The president of the HFF knows that he should listen to the regional unions, but he is also aware of the urgent need for changes. Additionally, FIFA and UEFA finally abandoned the optional status of the recommendations and in a letter on the 19th of July 2021 to the General Assembly of HFF, asking for the approval of the report's recommendations. However, the members of the executive committee postponed both the General Assembly and therefore the decision about the approval of all recommendations.

Finally, on the 27th of August 2021, the General Assembly of HFF accepted all FIFA/UEFA report's recommendations and a new chapter was to be opened in the HFF's governance. Nevertheless, just some days after on the 8th of September, Zagorakis resigned from HFF presidency. Though Zagorakis did not explain the exact reasons for his resignation, it is more than obvious that the 'deep state' inside HFF and the big clubs would keep them as a 'hostage' of their interests. Therefore, Greek football seems to be once more at a point of no return.

Corruption as an institutional tenet in the Greek football context

From the extensive analysis of Greek football, we have already identified some dominant tenets and sadly one of them is corruption. From an academic perspective, some scholars have tried to study the peculiar context of Greek football and come to some useful conclusions. In this regard, Anagnostopoulos studied the stakeholders of the Greek football system, based on the conceptual framework of Mitchell et al. (Anagnostopoulos, 2011). He identified the most salient stakeholders in the Greek football context, like the organising bodies, supporters' clubs, local authorities, press etc. and the interconnections between them.

While Anagnostopoulos' analysis is useful, our study indicates that the big clubs managed to become the dominant stakeholder in Greek football, forcing the rest of the stakeholders into a secondary role. In terms of the Institutional Theory, the big clubs, taking advantage of the power relations and political structures, have exerted coercive pressures onto the rest of the stakeholders (Di Maggio & Powell, 1983). Nevertheless, Greece is not the only football environment where big clubs increased their power significantly, since "*there is evidence of power being transferred from associations and leagues to clubs*" (Hamil et al., 2010, pg. 403) in other European countries, such as Italy. This was also evident from the recent 'European Super League' (ESL) failed breakaway attempt, where clubs tried to overcome UEFA and form their own European league.

The domination of big clubs in Greek football has created a system where corruption became the main institutional tenet. In contrast with neighbouring Turkey, in which the state is still more powerful than the clubs ((Koç, Özen-Aytemur and Erdemir, 2016), in Greece the big clubs managed to become the dominant actor through a system of corruption. According to Manoli, Antonopoulos and Bairner (2019), corruption is the new norm and at the core of the Greek football system. From the analysis of the Greek football industry, they have identified three dominant corrupt practices: match-fixing, ticket tricks and fake tax and insurance certificates (Ibid). Although match fixing in football is a common problem in many leagues, the culture of corruption in Greek football allows it to thrive more easily.

On this basis, Andreff (2016), identified three major factors that lead to wide-scale match corruption: a) leagues that exploit players, b) institutionalised corruption and c)

leagues which are part of illegal gambling networks. Therefore, we can argue that Greek top tier football belongs to the second category of Andreff's schema, as our analysis identified an institutionalised system of corruption. Additionally, the lower divisions of Greek football belong also to the first category, since most clubs are financially unstable, and players tend to participate in pre-determined matches for extra money. For instance, a recent study reported that 75% of the matches of the second professional division in Greece were under betting investigation (Nicholson, 2017).

The second main corrupt practice in Greek football, according to Manoli, Antonopoulos and Bairner (2019), is the ticket tricks. The process of selling and reporting tickets in the matches of professional football in Greece is complex and open to manipulation. In light of this, the football clubs find ways to avoid taxes, through a vague system of season ticket calculation for each match and also by using unofficial match-day tickets. The authors argue that this is a common practice that takes place in Greek football stadia, to which the legal authorities turn a blind eye.

The third corrupt practice in Greek football is that of fake tax and insurance certificates, which allow the football clubs to fulfil the requirements needed to participate in the league, make transfers and to operate properly in general. More specifically, the Greek public authorities have introduced some measures regarding the good governance in Greek professional football, such as licences, tax certificates and insurance certificates. These documents would certify that the football club has no overdue payables towards players, other employees or public/tax authorities. However, the peculiar Greek system has allowed the football clubs to acquire the relevant licenses and insurances, without fulfilling the criteria, through political and personal connections and even forgery. (Manoli, Antonopoulos & Bairner, 2019)

Lastly, a relevant academic study examined the koriopoli scandal, shown above. Indeed, Manoli and Antonopoulos (2015) concluded that the system of 'paranga' managed to diminish the uncertainty of outcome and create a division between the clubs which participated in the 'paranga' and those which didn't. The clubs that were members of the 'paranga' enjoyed special treatment from referees and institutions, while the others faced injustices and unequal treatment. The paranga was operating like a mafia-style, autonomous organisation. (Manoli & Antonopoulos, 2015)

Discussion - A critical analysis of the Greek football system and HFF

Greek football is not an easy case to study. As have seen above, Greece have gone through much to become a modern nation with a leading role in the wider area. However, the Greek social and political system, for some reasons, could not adopt the modern European institutions properly and the 'catch up' strategy was less successful, as was also evident from the recent deep economic crisis. Additionally, the element of clientelism, which appears to be a dominant characteristic of the Greek social and political system, has created a culture where patronage and corruption have been thriving for a long time and still exist.

Sport in Greece has developed more or less in parallel to modern Greece, sharing some common characteristics, such as the clientelist mentality. Within this framework, the Greek sport system was based on state funding and the clientelist relationships between the state and the sport federations. Therefore, Greek sport federations have adopted the sluggish public sector approach in their operation and their dependence on state funding, preventing them from developing a proper management and marketing strategy. In this regard, institutional isomorphism was the main type of organisational behaviour in the Greek National Sport Federations, in terms of institutional theory analysis (Giannoulakis et al., 2017).

The popularity of football in Greece and the FIFA/ UEFA support, allowed HFF and football institutions to be more independent from state funding, compared to the other National Sport Federations. However, the clientelist mentality became also a dominant characteristic in football, both within football institutions and also with the political parties and politicians. From the milestone year 1979 when football clubs became limited liability companies enabling football to become professional, a series of issues occurred in the Greek football scene. As shown above, scandals such as that of Koskotas, revealed the deep roots of corruption in the vicious triangle of the interconnections between football, business and politics. However, clientelism and corruption are also appearing to be main characteristics in other football systems, such as in Argentina (Paradiso, 2016).

The next serious scandals, i.e., paranga and koriopoli, highlighted the rendering of the big clubs as the most salient stakeholder of Greek football, since the owners of these clubs have orchestrated a 'behind the scenes' system of manipulation and control. A

key partner in this system was sadly HFF, being responsible for the referees in both amateur and professional football, became the bone of contention for the big clubs, because whoever controlled HFF, controlled the referees and the legislation system of football. The key to the control of the HFF was the General Assembly and the executive committee. The former is the supreme legislative body of the organisation, while the latter is the decision-making body.

The composition of the General Assembly is decided in the elections of HFF, which take place every four years. The majority of the electorate body of HFF are the 53 regional football associations, which had the power to elect the General Assembly. Therefore, a small number of representatives from the regional associations were deciding about the governance of Greek football. In this regard, the big clubs were struggling to 'win' the number of regional football associations in the elections that would allow them to control HFF.

Meanwhile, Greek governments were aware of this system and either they turned a blind eye, or sometimes tried to intervene for political or other reasons. When the governments tried to intervene, particularly when serious scandals occurred, HFF called on FIFA and UEFA. The typical response of the two confederations was to secure the 'autonomy of sport' and so threaten the national federation with expulsion (Meier & Garcia, 2015, Garcia & Meier, 2013). Greek governments were not able to take that risk, as the Greek national team or the Greek clubs would be suspended from the international tournaments and the national football industry would be damaged.

Nevertheless, in 2015 when the last governmental intervention took place, FIFA and UEFA changed their usual practice of taking the side of HFF and threating it with a ban. The long-standing problems of Greek football and the fact that several HFF officials were facing criminal prosecutions at that time, led FIFA and UEFA to negotiate with the Greek government and establish a monitoring committee in Greece. Moreover, the Cypriot representative Konstantinos Koutsokoumnis, developed a good relationship with the Deputy Minister Stavros Kontonis and they formed the committee together. In brief, it was the first time that a Greek Deputy Minister of sport managed to win the battle against HFF.

The new conditions in Greek football with the monitoring committee and the supervision from FIFA and UEFA have given rise to great hope that things would

become better. However, apart from the foreign referees and the fact that there is no monopoly in titles, things are not better. The toxic climate between the big clubs, the lack of a proper development plan for football and the sluggish legislation system are still present. FIFA and UEFA did not manage to 'clean up' football or even help it to improve.

In spite of the intentions behind FIFA's and UEFA's active role in Greek football, the result is that they failed to 'fix' or 'clean up' football in Greece. On the contrary, their involvement can be characterized as '*politically motivated'* (Nicholson, 2017) and also as a diplomatic move, just to avoid 'blood scenes' from the Greek stadia (Sabrakos, 2020). Actually, Paul Nicholson almost foresaw that there would be no change in Greek football, since "*vested interests will not allow this to happen*" (Nicholson, 2017).

The conditions in Greek football currently, both at professional and at grassroots level, are worse than they used to be five or ten years ago. The recent report with recommendations that FIFA and UEFA prepared, it is still doubtful that it will ever be implemented. While the recommendations had an optional status at first, now FIFA and UEFA have realized that they need to demand their implementation. Change is not something that HFF and Greek football stakeholders would seek by themselves.

In terms of Institutional Theory, it is evident that the phenomenon of isomorphism connects the Greek social and political reality with football. Clientelism and patronage are dominant tenets, both in Greek society and football. The vicious triangle of business, politics and football breeds scandals and creates a culture of corruption. As shown above, corruption in Greek football became the norm (Manoli, Antonopoulos & Bairner, 2019). Therefore, we can argue that corruption is a leading, if not the dominant, tenet in Greek football. Additionally, another element from the public sphere that has been transmitted to football is the divisive climate. Like the great rivalry between the political parties, so in football there is hatred and toxicity between the big clubs. "*It is the 'us' and 'them' culture that has so deeply divided Greek football*" (Nicholson, 2018). However, it is worth mentioning that this is not a modern phenomenon, since rivalry between football clubs as a result of social conflicts appears to be vivid since the interwar period in Greece (Baltas, 2021).

As for MacIntyre's philosophical framework and the concepts of practice and institution, there is not much to say about Greek football. Since corruption is the norm,

there are no moral orders or ethical codes of conduct to be analysed. While the big clubs are struggling to control the football system in both legal or illegal ways, the HFF is composed of individuals who are willing to be puppets in the game of the clubs, about who will control HFF. Clearly, HFF officials are controlled by the big clubs and their main concern is to satisfy their patrons rather than to work for the good of football. Therefore, there is no actual plan for Greek football, neither at grassroots, nor at the elite level. In MacIntyre's account, the key stakeholders of Greek football seek solely for the external goods, such as power and money, while the internal goods of the practice are absent from their agenda.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

The role of this chapter of the study is to provide answers to the research questions that we identified below in Chapter 3 - Research Methodology and Philosophical Considerations. Furthermore, it also highlights the main findings and conclusions of this study and particularly those elements that have a potential practical application in the football organisations' study and governance. After the theoretical background and the case studies' analysis, we can give those answers that aspire to help the reader understand the role of ethics in the good governance of football organisations and also provide practical solutions for the Reformation of Greek football. In respect of the latter, a tentative scenario is presented in the next and last chapter, containing the practical recommendations of this study.

To recap, the main questions to be answered, are the following:

1. Why is good governance important for football organisations and how is it defined?
2. What is the role of ethics in the good governance of football organisations and why does it matter?
3. How can institutional theory and MacIntyre's philosophical framework be useful for studying football organisations' governance?
4. How can good governance practices and ethics help in the reformation of Greek football?

1. Why is good governance important for football organisations and how is it defined?

The main concern of this study is to find answers to the question of the good governance of football organisations. First, the aim was to study the unique and multidimensional context of football and second to realise how the good governance concept can be a useful tool for ensuring the proper function and operation of football organisations. In this regard, in chapters one (Introduction-Football and the world) and two (the Social, Moral and Philosophical significance of Sport), we identified the context of sport and football.

Specifically, in the first chapter we saw the great impact of football in the global level, how it began and how it managed to become the most popular sport worldwide. Despite

several sociological theories, we were able to identify some unique characteristics and patterns, which make football important and meaningful, in almost all cultural and social contexts. At the same time, we analysed the social and moral significance of sport and football and we found that sport is a unique and meaningful activity. Sport "*has its own moral atmosphere…governed not only by rules but also by an ethos*" (McNamee, 2000, pg.143), while Kretchmar argues that sport carries a soft metaphysics (in McNamme and Parry, 1998) and Nesti (2007) that potentially can be engaged with spirituality.

All things considered, sport is one of the most important cultural activities of our time and football, being the most popular sport, is a phenomenon that bears social, political, economic, cultural and moral implications. Therefore, the management and governance of football organisations is a multi-dimensional, complex and surely challenging task. But the question is in what way the good governance concept became so essential and significant for the sport organisations?

To begin with, governance and particularly good governance, were concepts that were introduced into the public discourse after some serious scandals in the business industry, when the mismanagement and corruption in some corporations damaged not only the organisation itself, but also the wider community and economy. In this regard, international and national institutions across the world started to develop definitions and principles of good governance, which defined the role of the stakeholders, their responsibilities and the proper process to be followed. In other words, when things went wrong with scandals and problems, organisations and agents started to seek solutions and good governance was the concept that included a series of proposed solutions.

Similarly, good governance in sport organisations became a hot topic especially after the 1998 'Salt Lake City Winter Olympics' bribery scandal, where several IOC members were involved. The IOC responded by establishing an ethics committee in 2000, while similar scandals in other International Sport Confederations the following years (Chappelet, 2017), expanded the good governance initiatives to more sport organisations. In football, FIFA followed some years later and established an ethics committee in 2006. Several academic and institutional initiatives developed conceptual frameworks for good governance in the sport organisations and most of them share the

principles of transparency, accountability, open and democratic procedures with checks and balances.

While these principles are required to be followed by private corporations, the necessity for the sport organisations is even greater. As shown above, sport encompasses social, cultural and moral implications, meaning that sport organisations are accountable not only to their members, but to the wider community. Additionally, the concept of social responsibility highlights the obligation of all corporations to take care of society and the environment, not only searching for profit making. In this context, sport organisations' obligation to respect community is even greater, since sport carries an intrinsic value as we analysed in chapter 2, as it potentially contributes to the betterment of both individuals and society.

For all these reasons, good governance in football organisations is both an obligation and necessity. And while the obligation is derived from the social responsibility and the intrinsic values of sport, the necessity aspect comes from the fact that good governance is beneficial for the organisation's development. From the analysis of all three case studies (FIFA, UEFA and HFF/Greek football), we saw that UEFA, which had a higher commitment to good governance, managed to have fewer scandals and fewer cases of corruption. On the other hand, FIFA and HFF, which had a limited and non-existent application of good governance principles respectively, either created a culture of corruption (FIFA) or corruption became the basic tenet and the norm (HFF and Greek football system).

Whereas, UEFA managed to embody some good governance principles, such as transparency and democratic leadership, not only for the sake of good governance, but in fact for the actual development of the organisation. The function of UEFA's operations is of high quality. For instance, 'Champions League' is the most prestigious and successful club tournament in the world. Therefore, we can argue that good governance is important for the football organisations, both for ethical and practical reasons, and is defined by the adoption of principles, such as transparency, accountability and democratic leadership.

2. What is the role of ethics in the good governance of football organisations and why does it matter?

In the previous section we explained why good governance is significant for the football organisations and now we are going to see why ethics is a vital component of the good governance concept. First, we needed to define ethics, as it is a wide and controversial notion. As we saw in chapter four (Ethics, Good Governance and Organisations), from the numerous ethical theories available in bibliography, our study adopted the work of Alasdair MacIntyre, one of the most influential moral philosophers of our time. In this regard, MacIntyre defines ethics as a conscious process that allows man to make the transition from one state to a higher one, by realising his true potential (MacIntyre, 2007).

According to MacIntyre, all cultures of the past had a code of conduct, a moral code that defined relationships, also giving a higher purpose for the individuals to seek for. Of course, that code and the relevant values were different, according to cultural context, time and other factors. However, MacIntyre, following Max Weber, argues that in society today there is no common moral code and the only things that matter are bureaucratic authority and emotivism. In other words, what makes sense for me is what is efficient and what is pleasant to my taste.

Nevertheless, despite the progress of humanity in terms of science and technology, the human factor is still unpredictable and complex. Therefore, personal and social problems are still part of our lives, while corruption and scandals are usual phenomena in all kinds of organisations and institutions. The role of ethics then is to fill this particular gap, by giving some guidance on how to control our complex natures, in order to allow individuals and organisations to thrive.

In this context, MacIntyre makes a crucial distinction between institutions and practices. Practices are those social activities, such as arts, games, politics etc., that promote a social cause and also allow individuals to acquire some internal goods and potentially achieve some standards of excellence. On the other hand, institutions are those social entities that sustain and protect the practices and they are mainly concerned with external goods, such as money and power. For example, a football game is the practice and the football association is the institution. (MacIntyre, 2007)

The key to this process, according to MacIntyre, is a relative balance between practice and institution. This means that institutions should be free to seek for the external goods, but also need to ensure that those who are involved in the practice are also free to seek for the internal goods. The prerequisite to experiencing the internal goods is to exercise the virtues, which according to Macintyre are: justice, courage and truthfulness. Virtue, as a notion, is essential for understanding MacIntyre's' philosophical framework, since virtues are defining the integrity of the practice. On the other hand, the absence of virtue usually allows vices to thrive, leading to the phenomenon of corruption. (Ibid)

In the organisational context, MacIntyre's framework allows us to identify the nature of governance, by studying the practice, internal and external goods and the exercise of virtues and/or vices. Therefore, in football we can distinguish between a virtuous and a corruptive organisation by examining the practice and the goods. For example, in a football league where match-fixing and scandals are very usual, we can understand that the practice is neglected and there is domination of the external goods. In contrast, in a league where clubs and players are competing under the rule of law where a relevant ethos and virtues could be exercised, here the organisations involved can be characterised as virtuous.

To conclude, MacIntyre's philosophical framework provides some illuminating, but also practical ideas to distinguish between a virtuous and a corruptive organisational context. And even if it is very difficult and extremely rare for an organisation to be completely virtuous or absolutely corruptive, the outcomes and the goods produced, can give us signs of virtues or vices and therefore of the nature of governance. To answer the research question given above in the football context, the role of ethics in the good governance of football organisations is of utmost importance. Since football carries potentially an intrinsic value and virtues such as justice, solidarity, courage and cooperation, complete the ethical dimension of governance and is the guide to lead football organisations into the pursuit of becoming better. And better means more opportunities for the practice of internal goods seeking and fewer opportunities for exercising the vices.

For instance, in case study b (UEFA) we saw that the major agents of the organisation (like Artemio Franchi and Lennart Johansson) appeared to be less affected by corrupt

practices, while they also took care of the practice of football by implementing specific measures. Additionally, those agents were not naïve romantic figures who cared only for the practice, but especially Johansson who ensured that UEFA would secure the external goods (money and power), which were necessary for the organisation's development.

Therefore, ethics in the good governance of football organisations matter, for the reason that the cultivation of virtues and the preservation of the practice allows the whole structure to thrive. It actually allows the institution to seek for external goods and in parallel ensures that the practice will remain available for the internal goods seeking. As shown above, ethics as a notion, embodies potentiality, action and final purpose. In this vein, ethics is what guides organisations towards their 'vision', which at least in theory, is usually an organisation which is successful, well-organised and virtuous. Far from idealistic concepts and utopian theories, MacIntyre's 'virtues-goods-practice-institution' schema provides a conceptual framework for the football organisations to seek for ethical and general improvement.

3. How institutional theory and MacIntyre's philosophical schema can be useful for studying football organisations' governance?

Our study adopted Institutional Theory as a complementary methodology to study the football organisations, for the reason that Institutional Theory is one of the most valid, used and comprehensive theories in management and organisational studies. As in MacIntyre's theory shown above, a major influence for the development of institutional theory is Max Weber's legacy of bureaucratic authority, complexity of networks and institutional context (Greenwood et al., 2008). As institutional context can be defined '*the rules, norms and ideologies of the wider society*' (Meyer, Rowan, & Scott, 1983), while the institutions "*consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour*" (Scott, 1995, pg. 33).

In the context of Institutional Theory, organisations' institutional context is defined by some key tenets, i.e., isomorphism, legitimacy, organisational fields and institutional entrepreneurship. Firstly, isomorphism is derived from the combination of the Greek words "isos" and "morphe", which means 'same shape or nature' and is called this

phenomenon when the organisation adopts the characteristics of the wider social/ cultural environment. For instance, as we saw above in the case study c, the HFF and the Greek football institutions adopted the tenets of the wider social environment, such as clientelism and patronage. In this vein, we can argue that isomorphism is what characterized the development and governance of the Greek football institutions.

Secondly, legitimacy is a key concept in Institutional Theory, since all organisations need to be grounded in a legitimate basis for all the actions and logics produced. A good example that came out from our study is that of UEFA's legitimacy crisis in the constant disputes with the EU. UEFA, based on the 'autonomy of sports' principle, is the sole authority of football in Europe. However, the legal conflicts with the EU and most importantly the Bosman case, revealed a lack of legitimacy for UEFA in a field that was beyond the jurisdiction of the organisation. Therefore, the legitimacy factor affected UEFA's institutional context, as the confrontation with the EU turned to a fruitful cooperation (Garcia, 2007).

Thirdly, 'organisational fields' is another key tenet in institutional theory, which is defined as "*field actors engage in a common rule structure and shared normative understandings*" (Washington & Patterson, 2011, pg. 4). These field actors are important stakeholders, who share a common ground with the organisation, but also might have different 'institutional logics'. For instance, in the case of UEFA again, the organisation must deal with stakeholders that have different institutional logics and should find a balance between them. Particularly, the big clubs who want to gain more profits, while the EU institutions demand the control of expenses and the relevant taxes. In this context, UEFA needs to take into consideration both sides and bring closer those organisational fields, to achieve a relevant equilibrium between the different stakeholders.

Lastly, institutional entrepreneurship and change is another significant tenet of institutional theory. In every organisation, change occurs from time to time. Some scholars argue that institutional change is triggered mostly from external factors (Meyer, 1982; Clemens & Cook, 1999), while others claim that a 'locus of change' occurs internally in the organisations (Leblebici et al., 1991). In any case, change usually comes from agents within the organisation, either they had the idea themselves or they were influenced by the external environment. In this case, these agents become

institutional entrepreneurs, who trigger change and form the institutional entrepreneurship phenomenon in organisations. For example, as mentioned in case study a, Havelange and Blatter were surely institutional entrepreneurs in the FIFA context, since both agents introduced several ground-breaking innovations in FIFA and global football.

Regarding MacIntyre's theory, as shown in chapter four and in particular in the section 'Business ethics, MacIntyre and the Virtuous Organisation', the work of the Scottish thinker inspired several scholars from the business and organizational ethics field (Beadle 2002; Brewer 1997; Dawson and Bartholomew 2003; Horvarth 1995; McCann and Brownsberger 1990; Mintz 1996; Moore 2002, 2005a, 2005b, in Beadle & Moore, 2006). Their research is mainly focused on using MacIntyre's ideas and particularly the 'virtues-goods-practice-institution schema' with the ethical dimension of organisations' governance and impact.

For instance, in the work of Moore and Beadle (2006) three preconditions of the virtuous organisation can be found: 1) virtuous agents, 2) a conducive mode of institutionalisation and 3) a conducive environment for cultivating virtues (pg.16). Concerning the first precondition, the agent factor is of utmost importance and clearly the leaders can set the tone for ethics in the organisation. The favourable mode of institutionalisation is the factor that defines the balance between institution and practice, external and internal goods respectively. Actually, the virtuous organisation will secure an advantageous mode where '*the virtuous organisation would place a limit on the pursuit of external goods so as not to distort the practice*' (Moore and Grandy, 2017, pg. 6). Lastly, the conducive environment is the fertile ground upon which the virtues can be exercised by organisations' agents.

If we combine the institutional theory's tenets and MacIntyre's philosophical schema, complemented with Moore and Beadle's three preconditions of the virtuous organisation we can have both a guide to study the institutional context and a schema to assess the virtue application in the organisations.
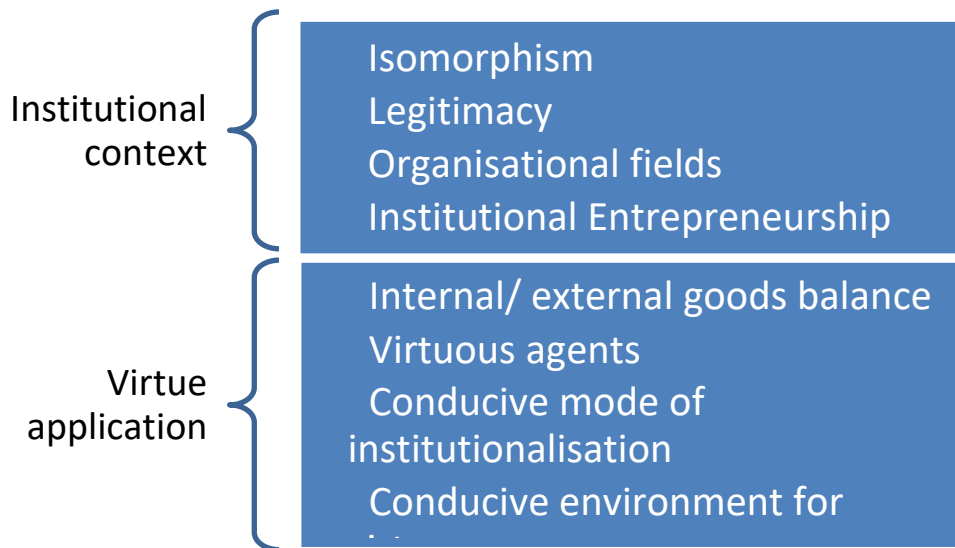
Figure 5: Institutional context and virtue application schema

As shown above, the institutional theory's tenets are useful to study and define the nature of governance in the football organisations. Additionally, the internal/ external goods distinction and the preconditions for the virtuous organisation are also valuable elements to allow us to assess the virtue application in the organisations. For instance, as shown in the analysis of case study b, UEFA as an organisation was fortunate to be led by agents like Franchi and Johansson who were rather moderate virtuous men.

In the same case study, we also highlighted the endeavour to balance the external-internal goods outcome, by also investing in the practice of football (see the coaching education programme). On the other hand, in case studies a and c, we found that both the agents (FIFA) and the institutional context (HFF/ Greek football system) prevented a conducive environment for virtues. In contrast, the virtue application was very low in both organisations, enabling corruption to be a dominant tenet.

Therefore, the answer to this research question is that both Institutional Theory tenets and MacIntyre's philosophical schema are useful to study and assess the ethical aspect of governance in football organisations. Particularly, the Institutional Theory tenets can help us to analyse the effect of mainly the external environment in organisations, but also the phenomenon of entrepreneurship and change from within. In the context of our study, notably, isomorphism, legitimacy and institutional entrepreneurship tenets have allowed us to examine all three cases (FIFA, UEFA and HFF/Greek football system).

Furthermore, we used the 'virtue-goods-practice-institution schema' to assess the ethical aspect of governance in the football organisations of our study. More specifically, MacIntyre's philosophical schema enabled us to verify the 'institutionalised corruption' in FIFA, the 'corruption as the norm' in Greek football and the existence of some virtuous agents in UEFA, while also we identified a greater emphasis in the practice of football in the same organisation. Despite the fact that ethics falsely appear to be a vague and subjective concept, our study indicates that by using a comprehensive conceptual framework like that of MacIntyre, an ethical assessment of organisations' governance is feasible and so can be helpful.

4. How can good governance practices and ethics help in the reformation of Greek football?

In the case study c (Greek football system and HFF) we analysed in depth the peculiar institutional context of Greek football. From the analysis of the major events and the application of Institutional Theory and MacIntyre's philosophical schema, we identified corruption as the dominant tenet in Greek football. Also, based on other relevant academic studies, we concluded that corruption in Greek football is not a phenomenon which occurs occasionally, but is actually the norm (Manoli, Antonopoulos & Bairner, 2019). The stakeholders involved are completely committed to the external goods (money, power and influence), leaving no room for ethics and the exercise of virtues.

Furthermore, the institutions which have tried to exert pressure for reformation and improvement of governance in football, such as the Greek government, FIFA and UEFA, failed for different reasons. Therefore, the big clubs became the dominant stakeholder in Greek football and they fought each other about who would be the ruler of the system. The basic instrument for controlling the system is HFF, as the federation is responsible for the refereeing and the legal decisions. As shown above, the method controlling the HFF is to 'gain' the necessary number of regional football associations, which are the majority of the electorate pool of HFF. In this context, as shown from the relevant facts, the members of the HFF General Assembly are usually people who 'belong' to the relevant big club in which they pledged allegiance to, in order to gain some external goods in return.

Apart from the tenet of corruption and the overall problematic conditions in Greek football, the fact that most of the football agents are corrupt and focused solely on gaining external goods from professional football, there is a manifest neglect of the grassroots development, the social impact of football and even the national team. In the context of our study, there is no focus on the 'practice' of football at any level of the football pyramid in Greece. The key agents in HFF and in the other major stakeholders, are either focused only on professional football, or they are completely impotent at creating and implementing a strategic plan for football development in Greece.

Regarding the practical solutions that our study can provide, we have analysed the necessity to disconnect the HFF from professional football. In this regard, the restructuring of HFF's electorate pool can be a solution, aiming to make it harder or impossible for the big clubs to influence the result through 'buying' the votes of the regional football associations or other stakeholders/ voters. This is also a prominent proposal in the recent FIFA/UEFA study that was prepared for Greek football, which aims for the 'opening' of the electorate pool to more football stakeholders. However, HFF and the 'old' football system and particularly the representatives of the regional unions, are struggling to keep the electorate system as it is.

A change in the electorate system of HFF with the inclusion of more stakeholders, together with the implementation of the rest of the FIFA/UEFA study's recommendations, will definitely help Greek football to improve in terms of good governance. The good governance practices that the FIFA/UEFA study includes are all tested and reliable practices, already implemented in other football contexts. The HFF is far behind the modern good governance practices, so there is a great deal to be done towards the direction of modernising HFF. Primarily, grassroots development, women football, female representation in governing bodies, connection of football with society and fund-raising strategies, are only some of the domains where HFF needs to improve. The FIFA/UEFA study provides a roadmap to introduce those initiatives necessary for HFF restructuring and advancement.

However, as our study indicates, just technocratic policies and interventions cannot change the tragic fate of Greek football. The roots of corruption are so deep, that those stakeholders who pull the strings 'behind the scenes' of the football system, will find ways to sustain the status quo, whatever happens with the policy shifts. In this context,

ethics and particularly a conceptual framework could be used for a new philosophy for the direction of Greek football. More specifically, the new strategy for HFF and Greek football should make clear the distinction between practice and institution, internal and external goods respectively.

Only if the involved stakeholders understand the importance of the practice and the necessary balance between practice and institution, will they be able to create a plan that is going to take into serious consideration the grassroots development and all levels of the football pyramid. For example, by taking care of the practice, the HFF and football stakeholders will design and manage better the following: coaching education system, refereeing education system, monitoring and licensing of football academies, coordination of the youth development system in the regional football associations and at the national level, staff education inside the HFF and in the regional football associations.

There are many things to be done, if only agents are able to understand that practice is as important as the institution. Once they accept that internal goods and virtues are vital components of the practice of football. As long as the institutional context is designed properly to allow a restructuring of the HFF and Greek football system, then the next priority is the people who will implement the new system. If the HFF does not already have the staff with the proper skills, virtues and willingness to implement the new system, then it should recruit those professionals, who will be able to do it. When there is a will, there is a way.

To return to the research questions of this section, the answer to the first part, that of good governance practices, is absolutely yes. Good governance practices, such as those in the FIFA/UEFA study, can definitely change the institutional context of Greek football, by creating those mechanisms and procedures necessary to give less space to corruption, impotence and decadence. But this is the first part of the answer.

Whereas the second part of the question, the potential usability of a philosophical framework, like that of MacIntyre that our study adopted, is also essential to be given to the involved stakeholders, the reason and the potential result, those good governance practices can have. Therefore, the role of ethics in this part is to make the involved agents understand the potentiality and the fact that a 'virtuous' approach to governance can give both external and internal goods and generally create a better institution

through improved practice. In other words, and to paraphrase MacIntyre's definition of ethics, the Greek football agents should think about the "Greek football as it happens to be and Greek football as it could be, if it realized football's essential nature".

Chapter Seven: A proposal for the Greek football's reformation

"*You never change things by fighting the existing reality. To change something, build a new model that makes the existing model obsolete.*" (R. Buckminster Fuller)

Introduction

In this last chapter, we present an indicative proposal plan for the reformation of Greek football. This proposal is based upon the modern good governance practices, total quality management and of course on the legacy of ethics. As our study indicates, the approach to the football organisation's governance must be holistic, since both institutional and good governance policies are essential, but also the moral aspect and the inclusion of ethics in the organisation's philosophy and operation is vital.

While we have already answered above the necessity of application of ethics to the good governance of football organisations, now is the time to develop a specific proposal about the Greek football reformation. The proposal is composed of two parts. First is the institutional context, which needs to be adapted in a way that will allow the practice of football, the internal goods and the virtues to find a fertile ground on which to thrive.

Second, it is of utmost importance to develop a strategy and a plan in order to disseminate the ethical aspect of governance and the virtue ethics to all stakeholders of Greek football and particularly to the regional football associations, which are the fundamental unit of HFF and the grassroots of the Greek football system. The ethical dimension will be embodied in a series of policies and practices that will introduce strategic planning and vision, good governance, social responsibility, continuing education and training, extroversion and sustainability. This holistic approach will allow the regional football association as an organisation to encompass the new vision for Greek football and become partner and messenger of the new era to the football clubs of its region, the players, the local community and all relevant local stakeholders.

The institutional level

To begin with, at the institutional level our study analysed the essential shifts needed for the reformation of HFF and the adoption of good governance practices. The primary and initial action to 'clean up' Greek football is to diminish or ideally end the power of the big clubs over HFF. As the FIFA/UEFA study also indicates, the 'widening' of the electorate pool of HFF with the voting rights to more stakeholders, will make it harder for the big clubs to 'buy' the votes and then control the HFF Board.

If this suggestion is implemented, it will be a positive step towards the real 'independence' and autonomy of HFF. By not being controlled by the big clubs and so having professional football as the sole priority, HFF agents could be able to work on the development of football at all the levels of the pyramid. However, together with the reformation of the electorate pool and the other relevant policy shifts, it is important to have the proper staff to implement the new plan. In this context, HFF needs to train its staff or recruit professionals who have the skills, the capacity and the willingness to implement the new plan for Greek football.

Additionally, the recommendations in the FIFA/UEFA study, such as the appointment of a deputy chief executive officer or deputy general secretary and also of a technical director who will be responsible for the technical matters and the football development, are also essential steps for the reformation of the institutional structure of HFF. These shifts will allow it to have distinctive roles and responsibilities for all the key agents and the committees of the organisation. Those distinctive roles, together with the adoption of specific tasks and key performance indicators, will make the process of monitoring and evaluation of the committees' and agents' performance easier and more efficient. Nevertheless, a prerequisite for the proper function of this system is the establishment of disciplinary rules, a code of ethics and audit, governance and compliance committees. These bodies will need to be truly independent and autonomous, otherwise it will be extremely difficult to witness any change for the better.

The foundational level

Regarding the second part of the proposal, the new strategic plan for the reformation of Greek football needs to include all football stakeholders. Therefore, it must pay special attention to the basis of the Greek football system, which are the regional football associations. As shown above, there are 53 regional associations in Greece, which compose the HFF and particularly the General Assembly with their elected representatives. The regional associations consist of the football clubs of each region and so there are the supreme football authorities at a regional level. With this in mind, the only way for the new plan to be adopted by all football stakeholders (clubs, players, coaches, referees, local community etc.), is through the regional football associations.

The new plan that the HFF needs to develop should be based on four axes, 1) good governance, 2) football development, 3) social responsibility and 4) marketing and fund-raising. The first axis, as is shown above, deals with the major problem of Greek football, that of governance. The second is the most important, but sadly a neglected domain, that of football development. Football development includes the grassroots level and mass participation, while the upper levels need a national plan with a common style of play and methodology for developing players. The third axis will connect football with the local communities, as it must contain a clear guide on how to involve local stakeholders, such as schools, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), volunteer organisations, the church etc. Lastly, the fourth axis concerns a traditional problem of HFF and the regional associations, that of resources. The HFF must also include in the plan clear guidelines and tips on how to develop a marketing plan, fund-raising strategies, sponsorships etc.

In figure 6 below the four axes can be seen and the relevant topics in each of them. The shared plan has a national implementation application and must be adopted by all regional football associations. The first two axes are of utmost importance and must be fully adopted as the good governance principles will allow each regional association to establish a strong basis for implementing the whole plan. Additionally, the football development axis must also be followed, since it is vital to establish a common football development at a national level, both at grassroots and elite levels. Therefore, a common national methodology for grassroots leagues, players development, coaches' education etc. is essential.

Regarding the next two axes, they are also important and must be implemented by all regional associations. However, they could have relative flexibility, since each regional football association has special geographical, cultural or other characteristics. For instance, the regional associations in mountain areas cannot develop beach soccer, to the same extent as the coastal regions. Additionally, for the regional football associations situated in a large centre (like Athens or Thessaloniki) marketing and fund-raising might be easier and also, they would have more opportunities to develop synergies with CSOs or educational institutes. In this context, regional football associations will have a relative flexibility and liberty to adapt the plan, according to their special characteristics.

The four axes of the new plan

Good governance	Football Development	Social Responsibility	Marketing and fund-raising
• Strategic planning • Employee training • Code of conduct • Virtue ethics approach in governance • Key performance indicators • Inclusion of women • Quality assurance and evaluation	• Grassroots – academies • Football clubs and leagues • Women football • Facilities • Coaches education • Referees education • Futsal • Beach soccer	• Synergies with local community stakeholders • Seminars and events about football • Synergies with educational institutes • Raise awareness campaigns about social and environmental issues	• Marketing plan • Stakeholders mapping • Image building • Fund-raising strategies • Sponsorships

Figure 6: The four axes of the new plan

Total Quality Management (TQM)

To implement and also to monitor this plan after some time, the HFF should adopt a total quality management approach (TQM), since this multi-dimensional system of tasks, procedures and stakeholders, will demand a holistic approach. TQM is defined as a strategic management approach that aims to increase the value of the organisation and satisfaction of customers/beneficiaries, by the continuous development of all stakeholders/ members, processes and systems (Stahl, 1995). The proper

implementation of total quality management allows organisations to develop a culture of a work ethic, continuous development and learning, teamwork, quality-mindedness, trust and a constant zeal for improvement (Yusof & Aspinwall, 2000).

TQM is a holistic approach and shares with the concept of ethics, as shown above, the idea of visualizing and defining the process of how to become the best possible organisation. In fact, TQM pays special attention to both the factors of agents and procedure and actually for an organisation to thrive, good skilful people are needed along with clear and efficient procedures and systems. Lastly, it is important to mention that a total quality management approach should focus on the development and satisfaction of all stakeholders involved. It is not within the scope of this study, to analyse further the TQM approach. However, it was important to highlight the usability of this approach to implement a plan like the one we are proposing.

The pioneer projects

The TQM approach has been used successfully in other similar projects, such as in the 'Strategic Plan for Sporting Flanders'. Back in 1997, the Flemish Government decided to introduce quality management into the sport clubs and federations, through a quality system with specific dimensions and indicators. In order to implement this large-scale project, the Flemish Government used the IKSport monitoring and management tool for evaluating the sport clubs (De Knop, Hoecke & De Bosscher, 2004). However, although the primary function of IKSport is a monitoring/evaluation tool, the true intention was to enable sport clubs to reflect upon the modern quality management policies and give them the incentive and the road map to grow in quality terms.

Finally, after the successful implementation of this project, several new quality management systems have been introduced in various sport contexts. For instance, Van Hoecke, De Knop, and Schoukens (2009) analysed three different qualities (IKGym, IKSport and Foot PASS) which were used to evaluate and introduce quality management in the Flemish sport systems. These systems are also based on the quality management principles and by using quality standards, critical success factors and key performance indicators they aim to improve the particular sport system.

The Foot PASS system

In the football context, Foot PASS is a professional quality management system that has been used by the Belgian Football Association to improve the youth academies and the quality development of players. Foot PASS is based on the TQM approach, but also on performance management, since for the development of players and national football overall development, together with the qualitative indicators, quantitative and measurable results are also important. More specifically, Foot PASS is an auditing and certification method for youth development, which helps football academies to improve a wide range of procedures and systems, in order to develop more and better players.

In detail, the system is based on eight different dimensions: 1) strategic and financial planning, 2) organizational structure and decision making, 3) talent identification and development system, 4) athletic and social support, 5) academy staff, 6) communication and co-operation, 7) facilities and equipment and finally 8) effectiveness (Carlsson, & Ring, 2012). These dimensions allow the youth academies to adopt a holistic approach in the organisation's management and understand the importance of fulfilling a wide range of criteria for applying the TQM approach.

The implementation at a nationwide level, improves the overall football system, because apart from the youth development, the organisations involved apply the TQM approach and embody the notion of constant development and improvement in all their different tasks and procedures. The Foot PASS model has been also implemented by other federations and leagues, such as the German Bundesliga and German Football Federation, Finnish Football Federation, the FA Premier League and MLS. The results of Foot PASS implementation in these football contexts are apparent, in terms of both national team performance over the last 10 years and the overall football development.

The implementation phases

From the successful implementation of the Foot PASS project in various countries and different football contexts and also from the other similar projects in Belgium, we can conclude that those systems are successful and have a great impact. However, it should be noted that the sport systems where those methods were applied were rather well-organised and at least they had some previous experience in modern management

methods. Meaning, it would be difficult for the Foot PASS project, for instance, to be implemented into Greek football directly. Taking this into consideration, we argue that Greek football needs to implement at the first stage a simpler good governance-oriented model, in order to allow the regional football associations and the other stakeholders to become familiar with good governance, ethics and quality management systems.

The scope of this new plan is to give regional football associations a guiding methodology and tools to install a well-organised, functional and ethical good governance system in their context. Therefore, we are not speaking about a monitoring and evaluation system at first, let alone a certification system. There are not so many things to evaluate at this point in most of the regional football associations. Therefore, at least for the first two years of the implementation phase, the system will be in a pilot form and will be mainly focused on education and guidance. In this regard, the HFF will develop well-structured clear manuals and toolkits, which will cover all areas of the four axes (good governance, football development, social responsibility and marketing).

These manuals will be given to all regional associations. Moreover, the manuals will be accompanied by training seminars for all the staff in the regional associations (face to face or online). In this context, regional associations staff will be able to familiarize themselves with the good governance principles. They will also begin to realise the ethical dimension and the distinction between practice and institution, and additionally they will be introduced to management and marketing techniques and of course to the new national football development philosophy and strategy.

After the two years training and pilot implementation, the regional football associations will be asked to prepare their own strategic plans, tailor-made to the needs and characteristics related to their context. Then, HFF, in close collaboration with the regional associations, will be able to prepare a monitoring system that will evaluate the regional football associations in terms of the four axes' elements. The evaluation is recommended to be non-punitive, but rather rewarding to those regional associations that perform well and make progress. For example, all regional associations will have a standard amount of funding and those which fulfil most of the indicators in the evaluation, will gain some extra subsidies.

The monitoring system can have both qualitative and quantitative indicators. For instance, it can measure the participation levels of children (boys and girls) in the regional football academies, the performance of the regional teams in the national tournaments, the women representation in the board of the association and the clubs' boards, the social or educational events organized, the sponsorships, the level of facilities etc.

As mentioned above, at least for the first years of the plan's implementation, it is not important for the regional associations to fulfil as many indicators as possible. What is important is to make them understand the need to apply good governance and a quality management approach, in order to improve their organisation, their regional football and ultimately national football. While the management techniques and tools are available and worthy people can be found to implement this project, the most important thing is the political decision to proceed with the design and implementation of such a plan. The point of this proposal is to just add an extra argument supporting the necessity to develop a project like this for Greek football.

Lastly, it should be noted that professional football clubs should stay out of this project. The HFF could apply to UEFA and FIFA to help with the design, implementation and financial support of this plan. As our study indicated above, the two international institutions with their recent active involvement in HFF, failed to clean up and reform Greek football. Therefore, they have a moral and institutional obligation to help Greek football through a nationwide project that over a period of about five years could change the governance model and so the fate of Greek football. All things considered, we strongly believe that this proposal could be useful and helpful for the Greek football reformation.

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