

The cartographic perspective of the sports geography. Football players in the pre- and post-war Polish football league

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Zarys treści: Piłka nożna, jak każdy sport i jak większość zjawisk, ma swój wymiar przestrzenny. Jest także – z racji swojej popularności – odbiciem zmian społecznych i demograficznych. Artykuł prezentuje charakterystyki ilościowe i jakościowe wybranych klubów piłkarskich, z naciskiem na przestrzenno-demograficzne cechy piłkarzy. Pod uwagę wzięto trzy sezony z dwudziestolecia międzywojennego i jeden z pierwszych sezonów rozgrywanych w czasach PRL. Analiza zebranych danych zaowocowała propozycją metodyki prezentacji wieloatributowych danych sportowych, a także pozwoliła unaocnić m.in. wpływ geopolityki i zmian przestrzennych na sport. Dotyczy to przede wszystkim migracji powojennych, relacji zmian granic do sportowej mapy Polski oraz roli wybranych ośrodków w kształtowaniu przestrzennej charakterystyki polskiej piłki nożnej.

Słowa kluczowe: sport, mapy, wizualizacja, liga, piłka nożna

Introduction and goal

Football, like any other sport and most phenomena, has its spatial dimension. It happens in space and place, two geographical fundamentals,¹ and, as such, is a subject of interest to geographers and other specialists whose domain is space. The geography of sport is a vast field, cultivated not only by geographers, but also by sociologists, economists or historians. Sport plays a vital role in geography

Abstract: Football, like any sport and most phenomena, has its spatial dimension. And due to its popularity, it also reflects social and demographic changes. The paper presents qualitative and quantitative characteristics of selected football clubs, with a focus on the spatial-demographic features of players. Three pre-war seasons and one of the first post-war seasons have been analysed. The result is the proposition of a methodological approach to visualise multi-attribute sports data and an insight into the influence of migration, geopolitics, border changes and history on Polish football.

Keywords: sports, maps, visualisation, league, football

(political, economic or social) and should be, according to Jansson and Koch, of particular interest to the critical geographer.²

One can look at different aspects of sports (professional, amateur, simple non-competitive physical activity) and different aspects of space. The basic approach can be found in sports rules – dimensions of the playing field, length and width of the track, height of the net – it is all spatial. Even the venue is often ‘made of space’,

¹ J. Bale, *Sports geography* (London–New York, 2003); J. Higham, T. Hinch, ‘Sport and tourism research: a geographic approach’, *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, 11, no. 1 (2006), 31–49; A. Ilieş, O. Dehoorne, J. Wendt, G. Kozma, ‘For Geography and Sport, Sport Geography or Geography of Sport’, *GeoSport for Society*, 1, nos. 1–2 (2014), 7–18.

² D. Jansson, N. Koch, ‘Toward a critical geography of sport. Space, power and social justice’, in *Critical Geographies of Sport. Space, Power and Sport in Global Perspective*, ed. N. Koch (London–New York, 2017), pp. 237–52.

natural or semi-natural,³ or even virtual.⁴ Space can also shape sport, defining conditions for physical activities. It is self-evident at a general level, in the case of climate or topography, like a small share of African nations in Winter Olympic Games, for example,⁵ but can also be a subject of more profound research on the relation of sports to their geographical (pre)conditions, natural,⁶ or man-made in an urban environment.⁷ Space is also a medium of mobility for athletes travelling to venues and events or – also at a symbolic level – changing clubs. The latter results from many factors and different cases are analysed – socio-ethnic,⁸ political,⁹ labour-related and economic,¹⁰ as well as migration due to economic,¹¹ political,¹² or combined reasons,¹³ together with the

impact of the transfer market through the media.¹⁴ The often-analysed spatial problem in sport (mainly football) is local rivalry, its different context and supporters' spatial identity¹⁵ and origin.¹⁶ They reveal the vital factor of locality, while modern sport *per se* can be analysed at regional, national or supranational levels, especially when it is the subject of sociologic or economic research.¹⁷

The natural way of analysing sports geography, as Bale claims, is to think of individual sport and its spatial patterns.¹⁸ The research often focuses on the most popular sports, i.e. football,¹⁹ athletics,²⁰ cycling,²¹ typical US sports like American football²² and baseball,²³ or other sports popular in

³ Ch. Perkins, 'The performance of golf: landscape, place and practice in north west England', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 34, no. 3 (2010), 312–38.

⁴ Ch. Perkins, 'Hybrid clubs?: playing with golf mapping', in *Playful mapping in the digital age*, ed. Playful Mapping Collective (Manchester, 2016), pp. 56–77.

⁵ D.K.N. Johnson, A. Ali, 'A Tale of Two Seasons: Participation and Medal Counts at the Summer and Winter Olympic Games', *Social Science Quarterly*, 85, no. 4 (2004), 974–93.

⁶ M. Goksøyr, F. Olstad, "'... far to the north": geography and football in Norway', *Soccer & Society*, 10, nos. 3–4 (2009), 324–40.

⁷ F. Vivoni, 'Sport of spatial desires: skateparks, skateplazas, and urban politics', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 33, no. 2 (2009), 130–49.

⁸ S. Agergaard, J.K. Sørensen, 'The dream of social mobility: ethnic minority players in Danish football clubs', *Soccer & Society*, 10, no. 6 (2009), 766–80.

⁹ S. Agergaard, 'Learning in landscapes of professional sports: transnational perspectives on talent development and migration into Danish women's handball around the time of the financial crisis, 2004–2012', *Sport in Society. Culture, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 20, no. 10 (2017), 1457–69.

¹⁰ A. Eliasson, 'The European football market, globalization and mobility among players', *Soccer & Society*, 10, no. 3–4 (2009), 386–97; P. Millward, 'Spatial mobilities, football players and the World Cup: evidence from the English premier league', *Soccer & Society*, 14, no. 1 (2013), 20–34; S. Lee, 'Global Outsourcing: A Different Approach to an Understanding of Sport Labour Migration', *Global Business Review*, 11, no. 2 (2010), 153–65; E. Levett-Labry, P.-O. Schut, 'Sport and Tourism – An Effective Cooperation: Canoeing and Mountaineering in France before the First World War', *Sport in History*, 34, no. 2 (2014), 276–94; J. Magee, J. Sugden, "'The world at their feet": professional football and international labour migration', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 26, no. 4 (2002), 421–37.

¹¹ P. Darby, 'African Football Labour Migration to Portugal: Colonial and Neo-Colonial Resource', *Soccer & Society*, 8, no. 4 (2007), 495–509.

¹² G. Molnar, 'Mapping migrations: Hungary-related migrations of professional footballers after the collapse of communism', *Soccer & Society*, 7, no. 4 (2006), 463–85.

¹³ W. Andreff, 'Economic Distortions: Infringing Human Rights in Sport', in *An Economic Roadmap to the Dark Side of Sport*, vol. 1: *Sport manipulations*, ed. W. Andreff (Cham, 2019); J.R. Chepyator-Thomson, E.S. Anyo, 'Out of Eastern Africa: An Examination of Sport Labour Migration in

the Post-Independence Era', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33, no. 15 (2016), 1826–46; S. Garrett, E. Vickers, D. Fletcher, G. Taylor, 'Sport migration from the UK to the US: The student-athlete experience', *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education*, 14, no. 1 (2020), 19–40.

¹⁴ S. Lee, E. Brownlee, 'Labour migration to Chinese Super League: an examination of UK newspapers from Anelka in 2011 to Tevez in 2017', *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science*, 6, no. 3 (2017), 248–66.

¹⁵ S. Dmowski, 'Geographical typology of European football rivalries', *Soccer & Society*, 14, no. 3 (2013), 331–43; D. Evans, G. Norcliffe, 'Local identities in a global game: the social production of football space in Liverpool', *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 20, nos. 3–4 (2017), 217–32; S. Farbaniec, L. Koziol, 'Wizerunek marki klubu przeciwnika i postawa wobec jego sponsora wśród kibiców Wisły Kraków i MKS Cracovia', in *Sportowe zarządzanie. Młodzi o sporcie*, eds J. Batorski, I. Perechuda (Kraków, 2019), pp. 23–36; L.R.D. Putra, "'Your Neighbors Walk Alone (YNWA)": Urban Regeneration and the Predicament of Being Local Fans in the Commercialized English Football League', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 43, no. 1 (2019), 44–68.

¹⁶ G. Mellor, 'The Social and Geographical Make-Up of Football Crowds in the North-West of England, 1946–1962: "Super-Clubs", Local Loyalty and Regional Identities', *Sport Historian*, 19, no. 2 (1999), 25–42.

¹⁷ Higham, Hinch, 'Sport and tourism research'; M.-L. Klein, 'Social-Spatial Conditions Affecting Women's Sport: The Case in the Ruhr Area', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 28, nos. 2–3 (1993), 145–55.

¹⁸ Bale, *Sports geography*.

¹⁹ Agergaard, Sørensen, 'The dream of social mobility'; Dmowski, 'Geographical typology'; G. Gethard, 'How soccer explains post-war Germany', *Soccer and Society*, 7, no. 1 (2006), 51–61; Lee, Brownlee, 'Labour migration'; Millward, 'Spatial mobilities'.

²⁰ J. Bale, J. Sang, *Kenyan running. Movement culture, geography and global change* (London–Portland, 1996).

²¹ K. Sjöblom, 'From Parkways to the Velodrome. The spatial development of competitive cycling in Helsinki 1860s – 1900s', *Sport Historian*, 17 (1997), 54–62.

²² J.F. Rooney Jr, 'Up from the Mines and Out from the Prairies: Some Geographical Implications of Football in the United States', *Geographical Review*, 59, no. 4 (1969), 471–92.

²³ Ch. Baas, A. Gibson, '86° 10' 54" W, 39° 46' 1" N: Using Geographic Information Systems to Document Historic Sporting Landscapes', *Journal of Sport History*, 38, no. 3 (2011), 475–87.

America, like ice hockey,²⁴ but also less popular or regionally-popular sports, for example, handball,²⁵ golf,²⁶ climbing,²⁷ horse racing,²⁸ or even completely niche physical activities such as pigeon racing.²⁹ A global approach and a comprehensive sport discipline view is also applied.³⁰

The important part of each spatial analysis can and should be a map, and sports geography is no exception here.³¹ The space factor, mapping it and showing its spatial context, is significant in the age of GPS and exercise tracking applications, LBS (Location-Based Services), GIS (Geographic Information System) and ubiquitous big data.³² Moreover, a map – regardless of its type, scale, genre, etc. – helps discover relations and information that are hard to find in textual or tabular presentations.³³

Sport is a matter of ‘now’ – in terms of the news and media world, this statement is true. However, sport is a part of modern culture and a phenomenon with its own roots and history. Sport is not only a phenomenon of place – it also includes

a factor of time; hence, the spatio-temporal analysis of sports activities is nothing unique, mixing the methodologies of geography and history.³⁴ As modern sports with a codification of their rules date back to the nineteenth or, in the case of some of them, the eighteenth century,³⁵ this offers the opportunity to analyse the phenomenon over a long time span against different historical backgrounds. Despite methodological discussions on examining sports history,³⁶ the topic interests many researchers and – showing the social impact and importance of sport – the authors of popular books on the history of different disciplines, leagues and clubs. Despite being popular in terms of not being published in peer-reviewed journals, such publications are often very factual, detailed and professional, offering a large amount of data, statistics and facts, but rarely with deeper (if any) numerical analysis of them, not to mention spatial analysis. Some popular publications add the factor of place to sport, however.

A good example can be sport atlases.³⁷ Scientific research, in turn, focuses on more detailed analysis, specific factors or a selected period of sports activities, with the use of maps and – less often – spatial analysis, too.³⁸ Studies range from a look into local, niche sports in a selected period,³⁹ past physical activities and the broader scope of its social background,⁴⁰ historical breakdowns and the influence of a changing economy on sport and the sports market from a regional or global view⁴¹ to a comprehensive analysis of

²⁴ J. Maguire, ‘Blade runners: Canadian migrants, ice hockey, and the global sport process’, *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 20, no. 3 (1996), 335–60.

²⁵ Agergaard, ‘Learning in landscapes’.

²⁶ Perkins, ‘The performance of golf’; Perkins, ‘Hybrid clubs?’.

²⁷ Levet-Labry, Schut, ‘Sport and Tourism’; J. Taylor, ‘Mapping adventure: a historical geography of Yosemite Valley climbing landscapes’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32 (2006), 190–219.

²⁸ J. Silverman, ‘Two Turns around the Digital: Horse Racing, Maps, and Process’, *Journal of Sport History*, 44, no. 2 (2017), 178–92.

²⁹ A.R.H. Baker, ‘Pigeon racing clubs in Pas-de-Calais, France, 1870–1914’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 41 (2013), 1–12.

³⁰ Chepyator-Thomson, Ariyo, ‘Out of Eastern Africa’; Johnson, Ali, ‘A Tale of Two Seasons’; K. Stanev, ‘The composition and geography of Bulgarian Olympic medals, 1952–2016’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 34, no. 15 (2017), 1674–94.

³¹ Ilię, Dehoorne, Wendt, Kozma, ‘For Geography and Sport’.

³² Baas, Gibson, ‘86° 10 54 W, 39° 46 1 N’; M. Brown, G. Lanci, ‘Football and Urban Expansion in São Paulo, Brazil, 1880–1920’, *Sport in History*, 36, no. 2 (2016), 162–89; Ch. Perkins, ‘Geography and the Methodological Ballpark: Putting Place into Sports History’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 32, no. 15 (2015), 1759–63; Silverman, ‘Two Turns’; E. Tian, ‘A prospect for the geographical research of sport in the age of Big Data’, *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 23, no. 1 (2020), 159–69.

³³ K. Nieścioruk, ‘Cartographic source materials and cartographic method of research in the past environment analyses’, *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series*, 22 (2013), 81–95.

³⁴ Perkins, ‘Geography’.

³⁵ W. Vamplew, ‘Playing with the rules: Influences on the development of regulation in sport’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24, no. 7 (2007), 843–71.

³⁶ M. G. Phillips, ‘Introduction’, in *Deconstructing sport history. A postmodern analysis*, ed. M.G. Phillips (Albany, 2006), pp. 1–24.

³⁷ R. Jelinek, J. Tomeš, *The first world atlas of football* (Prague, 2002).

³⁸ A. Ilię, M. Ilię, G.C. Bulz, ‘History and Tradition on the Maramureş County football map (period 1980–2016)’, *GeoSport for Society*, 5, no. 2 (2016), 107–32.

³⁹ Baker, ‘Pigeon racing clubs’.

⁴⁰ Taylor, ‘Mapping adventure’.

⁴¹ Eliasson, ‘The European football market’; Molnar, ‘Mapping migrations’.

a selected period at the level of a country⁴² or a city,⁴³ even including the history of sports infrastructure.⁴⁴ Analysis of selected events from different points of view can also be found.⁴⁵ The factor of supporters is included in the research as well.⁴⁶ Supporters, often analysed as sociological, economic or even semi-religious phenomena, are taken into research consideration regularly.⁴⁷ Other people indirectly involved in sporting competitions (coaches, physiotherapists) are analysed too.⁴⁸

One of the most influential sports in terms of popularity and the money involved is football, a global business with ongoing McDonaldisation and Disneyfication.⁴⁹ A commercial approach and big money try to redefine the role of the supporter, from a community-based local traditional group to a consumer of a show.⁵⁰ Are locality and local tradition factors still crucial for supporters and players?⁵¹ Globalisation seems to be a decisive factor, but recent years have seen a rise in volunteering, public participation and bottom-up initiatives in many aspects of life. Football is no exception; just one example is the

well-known case of the takeover of Manchester United, seen as a global brand,⁵² and supporters protests which led to the creation of a new community-based club called FC United of Manchester, playing in a local league, with no global identity nor value, but owned by the fans.⁵³ The Manchester United philosophy of creating a global brand is opposite to that of local rival Manchester City, which promotes itself as an authentic, local and working-class club.⁵⁴ Similar situations were observed in Polish football as well; for example, a fan-governed Hutnik Nowa Huta⁵⁵ – its creation was a response to a no longer trusted, bankrupted and degraded Hutnik Kraków, run by a professional company.⁵⁶ However, even with an understanding of the local fandom, tradition and traditional supporters, the commercialisation of clubs, including small ones, is a fact. With its global stars being a market product, does modern football lack the human touch where supporters know the players instead of reading about them in celebrity-related news? Was it always that way? What was the beginning of it all, what football was like after national historical changes, when things looked nothing like they had before?

The paper presents the football situation in Poland at its vital historical moments – after regaining independence, during the consolidation of the young country, and

⁴² Gethard, 'How soccer explains', Stanev, 'The Composition'.

⁴³ C. Budd, *Sport in urban England. Middlesbrough, 1870–1914* (Lanham, 2017).

⁴⁴ A. Metcalfe, 'The development of sporting facilities: A case study of East Northumberland, England, 1850–1914', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 28, nos. 2–3 (1993), 107–18.

⁴⁵ M. Dawson, 'Acting global, thinking local: 'Liquid imperialism' and the multiple meanings of the 1954 British Empire & Commonwealth Games', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23, no. 1 (2006), 3–27.

⁴⁶ D. Kennedy, 'Locality and professional football club development: the demographics of football club support in late Victorian Liverpool', *Soccer and Society*, 5, no. 3 (2004), 371–91.

⁴⁷ D. Antonowicz, Ł. Wrzesiński, 'Kibice jako wspólnota niewidzialnej religii', in *Kibicowanie jako uniwersalny język*, ed. M. Karaś (Żelechów, 2010), pp. 6–24; Evans, Norcliffe, 'Local identities'.

⁴⁸ D.J. Day, 'From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England', unpublished PhD thesis (Leicester, 2008).

⁴⁹ P. Donnelly, 'The local and the global: globalization in the sociology of sport', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 20, no. 3 (1996), 239–57.

⁵⁰ D. Antonowicz, R. Kossakowski, T. Szlendak, 'Ostatni bastion antykonsumeryzmu? Kibice industrialni w dobie komercjalizacji sportu', *Studia Socjologiczne*, 202, no. 3 (2011), 113–39.

⁵¹ R. Kossakowski, 'Nie wszystko jest na sprzedaż? Paradoxy komercjalizacji współczesnego sportu', in *Kibicowanie jako uniwersalny język*, pp. 44–46; M. Widomski, 'Wychowankowie a identyfikacja kibiców z klubem piłkarskim', in *Sportowe zarządzanie*, pp. 99–107.

⁵² J.S. Hill, J. Vincent, 'Globalisation and sport branding: the case of Manchester United', *International Journal of Sport Marketing & Sponsorship*, 7, no. 3 (2006), 213–30.

⁵³ A. Brown, "'Not For Sale'? The Destruction and Reformation of Football Communities in the Glazer Takeover of Manchester United', *Soccer & Society*, 8, no. 4 (2007), 614–35; D. Torchia, 'An alternative football club in a liquid modernity: FC United of Manchester', *Culture and Organization*, 22, no. 3 (2016), 203–20.

⁵⁴ T. Edensor, S. Millington, 'This is our city: branding football and local embeddedness', *Global Network*, 2 (2008), 172–92.

⁵⁵ The city names are given in English according to the official name of the analysed time, e.g. Warsaw for the Polish capital Warszawa, Lvov for the now-Ukrainian Lviv after the Second World War, and Lwów for the interwar period in Poland. City names in official club names are always given in Polish, e.g. Legia Warszawa instead of Legia Warsaw.

⁵⁶ R. Kossakowski, 'From the Bottom to the Premiership: The Significance of the Supporters' Movement in the Governance of Football Clubs in Poland', in *Football and Supporter Activism in Europe. Football Research in an Enlarged Europe*, eds B. García, J. Zheng (Cham, 2017), pp. 233–55.

just after World War II. The goal is to present, in all periods, past spatial factors: the influence of partition, occupation, re-shaping the country's borders based on players' birthplaces and clubs they were playing for. What was the spatial image of football and footballers? It can be answered with maps, and the author aims at testing the concept of a comprehensive cartographic approach to present multi-attribute spatio-demographic sports data. As the amount and type of information are not typical, the proposed solution cannot be based on ready-to-use presentation methods available in GIS software and needs a more design approach. The paper offers the methodology for visualising this kind of data (the most emphasised aspect presented here is the relation between local rivals and regions). The sociological and historical analysis is not very detailed. The paper focuses on presentation aspects and using maps as a perfect supplementation of past data research. The author believes this approach can be valuable for historians and sport historians not fully aware of the possibilities offered by auxiliary sciences of history in cartography.

Materials and data preparation

The primary data source was the annals of football statistics by Andrzej Gowarzewski, a Polish football statistician and historian.⁵⁷ As explained in the methodology section, line-ups and player biographies were used to create maps for selected seasons. All biographical info is taken from Gowarzewski's publications, which are based on comprehensive, reliable research, archive materials, and an unmatched database despite not being a strictly scholarly book. The author is aware that this choice may raise the question of the reliability of the

presentation. This kind of book is not the primary source (or not a historical source) in sports biographies, as often more valuable are memoirs, interviews and – most of all – newspapers from the analysed time. Nor is it the only possible printed summary of pre-war football in Poland.⁵⁸

A selection of clubs and seasons was needed to limit the data to the amount it can show on readable maps and focus on essential seasons and their actors. For clubs, the main factor was to choose pairs from the same cities, so they could be compared to look into the locality factor if the club was based on local players or external footballers not bound to a place.

The cities should be selected based on their importance to the football history of Poland. With this in mind, the analysis consists of clubs from the capital Warsaw (Legia Warszawa – fifteen times national champion, semi-finalist of European Cup and Cup Winners' Cup; Polonia Warszawa – two times national champion), Kraków (Cracovia – five times champion of Poland and Wisła Kraków – thirteen times national champion, quarter-finalist of European Cup), the birthplace of Polish football – Lwów for the pre-war period (Czarni Lwów – second oldest Polish football club and Pogoń Lwów – four times Polish champion), and the interesting case of Silesian Bytom (Bytom and Szombierki precisely) for post-war times (Polonia Bytom – two times champion and Szombierki Bytom – one-time championship winner).

The critical question is a periodisation, and the research results would present a situation change in historically justified moments. For the Second Polish Republic (1918–1939), it is worth showing one of the early seasons, so the first full top-division season of 1921 was selected (the first season of 1920 was not finished due

⁵⁷ A. Gowarzewski, *Mistrzostwa Polski 1. Ludzie. 1918–1939. Encyklopedia piłkarska*, vol. 51 (Katowice, 2017); id., *Mistrzostwa Polski 2. Mecze – kluby – sezony. 1918–1939. Encyklopedia piłkarska*, vol. 52 (Katowice, 2017); id., *Mistrzostwa Polski 3. Ludzie. 1945–1962. Encyklopedia piłkarska*, vol. 53 (Katowice, 2017).

⁵⁸ Just to mention 'History of Sport' series, for example: P. Chomiccki, L. Śledziona, E. Kowszewicz, *Rocznik piłkarski 1922. Polska – Europa – Świat* (Mielec, 2017).

to the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–1920). It involved only three clubs mentioned above – Cracovia (champions), Polonia Warszawa (runners-up) and Pogoń Lwów. This limitation is due to the regional preliminaries formula, meaning only one club per city (or region in general) could play in the final round. It gives no possibility to compare local rivals, but the data show interesting historic relations despite this. The idea was to depict the possible impact of the 123-year partition of Poland on sport, with the Austro-Hungarian (Kraków, Lwów) occupation being significantly more liberal than the Russian (Warsaw) or Prussian ones.

The next examined season is 1928. The Republic was still young but stable enough to expect people to seek enjoyment in culture or sport. The analysed clubs were pairs from Kraków (Wisła being the champions), Lwów and Warsaw (Legia was third), making a full spectrum of the selected pre-war clubs.

The last of three analysed seasons from the Second Polish Republic period was 1938, this also being the last full one (1939 was not finished due to the outbreak of World War II). Both Kraków teams were involved (Wisła in third place), plus Legia Warszawa and Pogoń Lwów.

The selection of the post-war season was more complicated than the pre-war one. The first championship (1946) in the Polish People's Republic (1944–1989) was in the form of play-offs, the second in groups and then play-offs. They were not regional play-offs; the system was different from 1921, hence the different approach – these seasons were not included in the analysis. The third season was a regular league. However, not all the analysed clubs played in 1948; hence, the 1949 season was selected, with all the disadvantages of the 4–5-year period of post-war migrations and awareness of the precarious situation and a risk of high randomness and lack of possibility to show a short-time trend.

The 1949 championship battle has been chosen because it was the first season with all the selected clubs involved (without the Lvov clubs, as Lvov was part of the Soviet Union then, but with Bytom instead). Wisła (renamed Gwardia) won the championship, with Cracovia (renamed Ogniwo) being second.

The author is fully aware the periodisation is a subject of discussion. The reasons for selecting these four seasons are explained above. What is worth mentioning is the fact that periodisation does not have a heavy impact on methodology. The abundance of data, regional diversification, and design problems – all the topics vital for the paper's primary goal – are not very year-dependent, at least in the analysed period.

Methodology

The research included a few methodological problems. The first was missing data and errors. This was a serious problem for the presentation of players' birthplaces. Footballers born outside the maximum extent of the analysed Polish territory (the modern state plus the pre-war borders) were not included on the map but are included in the analysis. They could be presented on an inset map. However, even the birthplaces of players to be depicted on the map raised some problems with locations. According to the information given by Gowarzewski (author of the statistics), toponyms were written down based on documents – IDs, birth certificates, etc. Sadly, some names were hard to interpret due to spelling (for example, an unidentified Russian name transcribed as Zojginie) or duplications (Dobrzyń near Lwów – there were three villages of this name near Lwów). In some cases, decisions had to be made, such as choosing one of the three possible Dobrzyńs or deciding that Okalew near Mława was, in fact, the misspelled Okalewo. This aspect shows the shortcomings of the data material used – a derivative book instead of a primary source.

The other strictly mapping decision was which state of the country borders to depict. The country borders are shown according to the analysed year using a grey line with a previous state as a thin, bright grey line, and the area of modern Poland was filled in with an intense (compared to background) yellow. The term 'previous state' should be explained. For maps showing the Second Polish Republic, the previous state is the borders before World War I; hence, these show the partition of Poland. For the post-war Polish People's Republic, it is the Second Polish Republic boundary. In contrast, the 1949 country borders differ slightly from the current ones (mainly by the area exchanged with the Soviet Union in 1951). The data used raises a problem of composition, as little data is bound to places in the northern part of Poland. However, the author decided to show the whole mentioned territory, as the process of borders' re-shaping plays a vital role in the possible analysis.

Data can be presented on a map with a variety of methods. Some of them are limited to a specific type of data, and some are more universal. One of the most simple classifications of the method is to describe them as qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative data distinguish phenomena on a nominal basis. In the case of sports data, it can be information about clubs. Such data can be easily marked with point symbols (club logos, single geometry in different colours or different geometries of the same colour). Quantitative data cover numerical values, for example, a number of players born in a city, voivodship or representing a club. It can be shown with colours representing classes in the choropleth method (for example, orange for 1–9, red for 10–15 players) or different forms of diagrams and charts, from simple typical pie chart or bars, through modification of circle diagram to segmented bars, picture diagram and many

more.⁵⁹ The important problem of visualisation is that the intended group of readers and popular presentations for a wider audience need simple, more general methods. At the same time, the specialist can easily deal with more complex visualisations that are usually specific solutions in a given field. Complex, unique presentations often expect readers to understand the message, and a well-designed legend is crucial in such a case.

The main research question was 'how'. How to present that amount of various, multi-attribute (birthplace, club, national team, home-grown player, same city player, other city players) data on a practical map. The primary outcome of the paper is thus a proposition of methodology of presentation that can be used not only as a solution for that exact type of data but also as an inspiration of how to solve presentation and visualisation problems in case of (not only) geography and history of the sport.

The mentioned qualitative data of players' birthplaces are presented using the simple diagram method, with one segment per player. The segments are little squares denoting clubs with colours and either a yellow (for a national team player in the analysed year) or black (for the rest of the players) outline. Diagrams are placed in the location of the cities. In the case of more players originating from a city, the squares form the segmented bars of five, grouped by clubs. For the qualitative-quantitative data of other kinds, the diagram method is used. Each footballer who played at least in one match in a given season for one of the clubs was included in the analysis. Players were then divided into three groups: club-grown players (1), players that started their careers in other clubs from the same city (2), and other players (3). The number of players per group has been

⁵⁹ W. Żyszkowska, W. Spallek, D. Borowicz, *Kartografia tematyczna* (Warszawa, 2012).

shown with proportional circle diagrams on the map (a filled-in circle for [1], an outline for [2] and a dashed outline for [3]), coded by club colours and, in the case of two clubs from the same city, the diagrams were halved. The total numbers per year can be found in Table 1. It shows that in the pre-war period, the situation was stable, while after the war, the role of players from other clubs and (most of all) other cities increased.

Tab. 1. Total numbers of players of analysed clubs by groups.

Player / Year	1921	1928	1938	1949
Club-grown	20	45	33	25
Same city club-grown	19	50	24	44
From other cities	8	43	23	56

City names on maps were given in a form valid for the time a player was born, with the modern name (if different) in a smaller font plus information on administrative changes in brackets (for example, a player was born in German Schomberg, which became Polish Szombierki after World War II and now [since 1951] is part of the city of Bytom).

Results

1921

In 1918, Poland regained independence after over a century of partition and occupation by three neighbours – Austria (later Austro-Hungary), Russia, and Prussia (later Germany). Social, economic and political conditions were very different in each partition (which can still be seen in modern Poland's spatial and social organisation), with the Austrian one (the region called Galicia – the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria) being the most liberal. The first Polish football association (with Polish as the official language) was established there in Lwów. It was the cradle of Polish clubs too – Lwów with

Lechia, Czarni and Pogoń (all established in 1903), and Kraków with Cracovia and Wisła (both established in 1906).

The first season of the Polish football league was in 1920, but it was not finished due to the Polish-Soviet War. In the following year, the championship was completed for the first time, with Cracovia being the winner and only five teams playing in the final, national-level round. Aside from Cracovia, these were (in order of their final position) Polonia Warszawa, Warta Poznań, Pogoń Lwów and ŁKS Łódź. Three of them, being among the selected research cases, have been analysed on the map (Fig. 1). The unified legend to all maps is shown in Fig. 2.

Only two players of the champions started their careers outside Kraków, with nine being club-grown and seven played for the national team that season (including Józef Kaluża, patron of the street that Cracovia stadium is located on and remembered by a monument in front of the stadium). All players were born in Galicia, most of them in Western Galicia (with eleven born in Kraków and its vicinity). A similar situation was in the case of Pogoń Lwów. Only one player started his career outside Lwów, and all players were Galicia-born (with almost 65 per cent born in Lwów). In the case of Polonia Warszawa, there were no club-grown players that season, but eleven (out of sixteen) footballers started their sports adventure in Warsaw. All but two players were born in the former Russian partition (with three born in Łódź) – one of them was born in Kraków (being Cracovia-grown player) and one in Russia.

The map clearly shows the beginning was very local – clubs were based mainly on players from the city or region, with a few exceptions. One explanation for this may be the period just after World War I and the Polish-Soviet War. Relatively young people (like footballers) were trying to go back to their homes and families

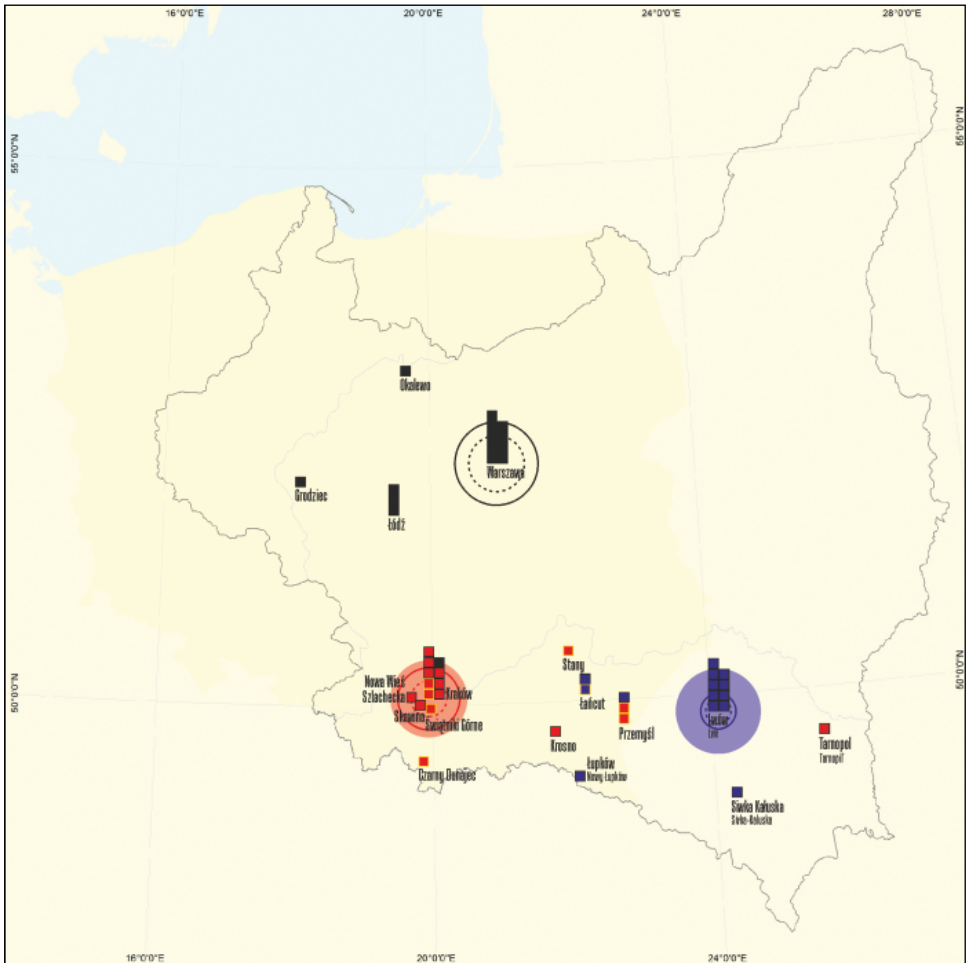


Fig. 1. Selected clubs and their players in 1921 (scale 1:5 000 000)

where they grew up, rather than travel around the still unstable country seeking a job and – in the meantime – playing football in the new environment.

The composition of the map was a little problematic, with not much data to present. The problem of overlapping segments of diagrams and labels colliding occurred only for the area of Kraków. Both circle and segment diagrams seem to be easily readable.

1928

Seven years after the first full season, the country was safer and better organised, and football was different too – it was the

second time that the championship season took the form of a regular league instead of local preliminaries and the national final round. Fifteen teams took part, with Wisła Kraków being the winner. The other analysed teams ended in the following spots – third Legia, fourth Cracovia, sixth Pogoń, seventh Polonia and eight Czarni.

The map (Fig. 3) proves that Galicia (especially its western part) was (and is) the region with a strong football tradition in Poland. Kraków itself was the birth town of 44 of the 128 analysed players. The champions Wisła were Kraków-based, as 17 out of 20 players were Kraków-born

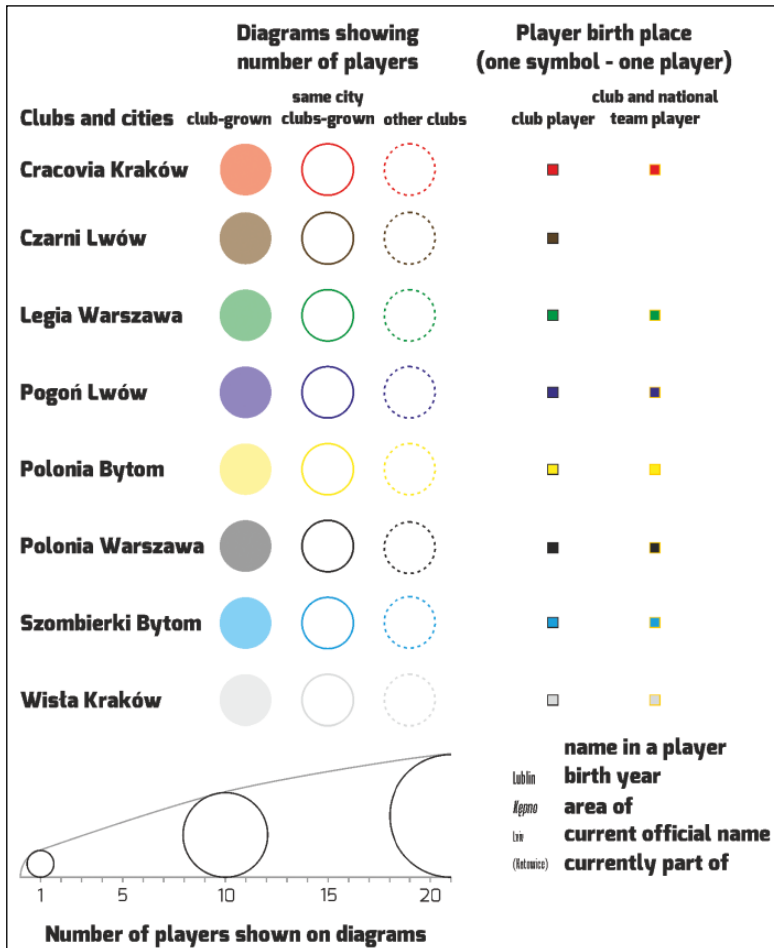


Fig. 2. Legend to maps

(while just two were born outside Galicia) and 19 started their careers there (with six in Wisła). Three of the Wisła footballers played for the national team that season, including Henryk Reyman (patron of the modern Wisła stadium). The statistics for Cracovia were very similar, with 16 Kraków-born, 17 Kraków-clubs grown (8 from Cracovia) and 3 national team players. Eastern Galicia, with Pogoń and Czarni Lwów, was also very local in terms of the players' geographic origin. For Pogoń, it was 13 (of 21) club-grown players, 5 players were other Lwów clubs grown, and 13 players were Lwów-born, while for Czarni, 9 (of 22)

were club-grown, 9 were other Lwów clubs grown, and 15 were Lwów-born. There was one player born in Austria and one in the Russian partition in the case of Pogoń and, in the case of Czarni, one player was born in Germany, one in what is now the Czech Republic (then Austro-Hungary) and one in the German partition; however, all of them started playing football in Lwów.

The situation of the Warsaw clubs shows the importance of Galicia for Polish football most. The Legia squad comprised 24 players, with 15 starting their careers outside Warsaw, 12 being Galicia clubs-grown, and 7 being born in Kraków, including one of the two national team

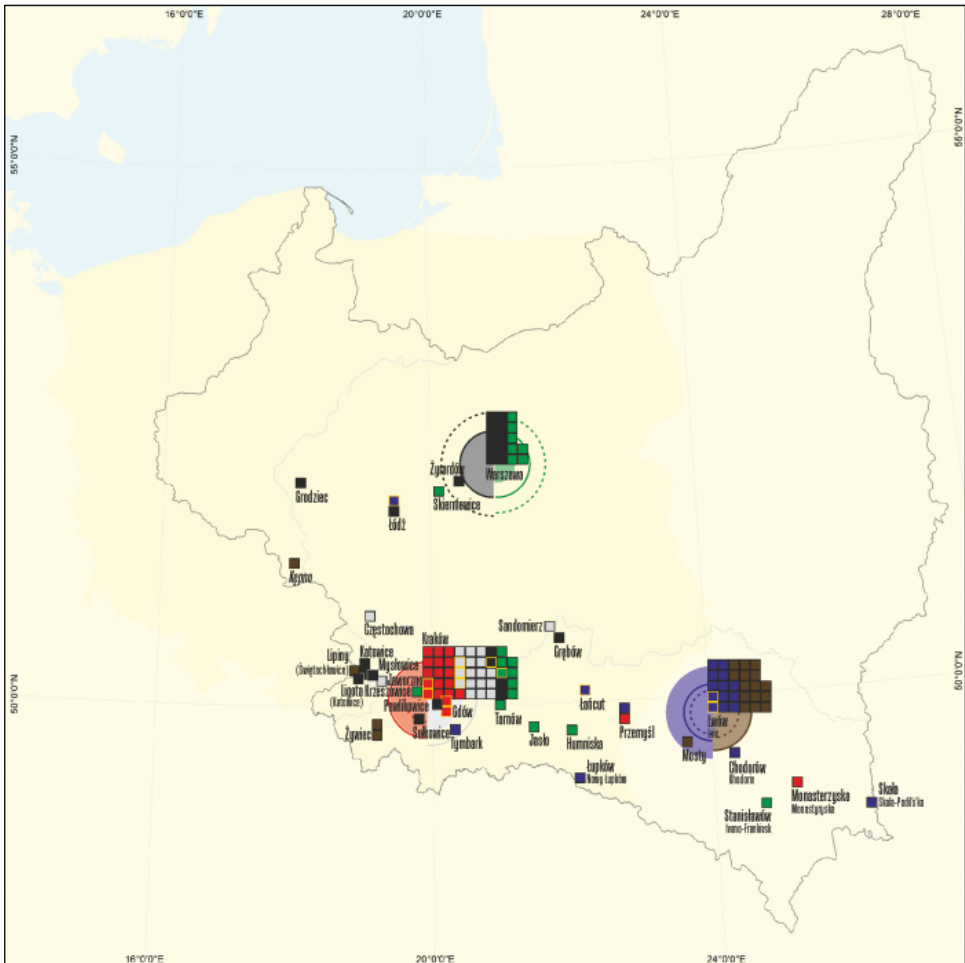


Fig. 3. Selected clubs and their players in 1928 (scale 1:5 000 000)

players from Legia that season (Józef Nawrot, an army cartographer). Only 2 players were Legia-grown (Jan Berent and Mieczysław Zajączkowski), 7 footballers were from other Warsaw clubs and 2 from other clubs from the former Russian partition (Łódź and Pruszków near Warsaw). Interestingly, Legia had three players born outside the Second Polish Republic borders – in what are now Latvia, Uzbekistan and Russia. Not all of them were Poles. The Russian-born player was Paweł Akimow, whose story could be made into a movie. He was a Soviet soldier and prisoner of the Polish-Soviet War who decided

to stay in Poland. He applied for Polish nationality but did not receive it until more than 15 years later when he married a Pole. During World War II, he was a Polish corporal, a participant in the Market Garden and Overlord Operations and awarded the *Virtuti Militari*, the highest military decoration in Poland. Polonia Warszawa had a similar situation – 17 out of 31 players started playing football outside Warsaw, with eight in Galicia. Polonia was, however, very ‘international’: seven of its players were born outside the area of what in 1928 was the Second Polish Republic, three were born in modern Ukraine, one in

Russia, one in the Czech Republic, one in Germany and one in Belgium. Russian-born Bułanow, son of a White Army officer, became a naturalised Pole, played for the Polish national team, and his story matches that of the Akimow mentioned above.

Besides the domination and role of Galicia as an important location on the Polish football map and the place of origin of its top players, another interesting fact can be observed. After World War II, the share of players from Upper Silesia increased, as it became an important place in Polish football (to mention only multi-champions Górnik Zabrze and Ruch Chorzów). In the analysed seasons, they were playing mainly for Polonia but also for Czarni Lwów.

The map design process was much more complicated compared to the previous one (Fig. 1). While the Warsaw and Lviv area remained relatively clear to read, Kraków and Upper Silesia overwhelm the reader with data. Diagram for Kraków, with segments put in five-segments groups (like on the other maps), is condensed and relatively easy to read, despite almost 50 players depicted with four colours (clubs). The circle diagrams are visually under segments but are not fully covered by them. The most problematic is Upper Silesia, with a few cities very close to each other, all having one or two diagrams only. Segments can be distinguished, however, and labels, in the author's opinion, are placed in a way that makes them easy to match to diagrams. The problem of the presentation of a variety of numerous data has been solved well.

1938

This was the last full season of the Second Polish Republic football league, before the German and, later, the Russian invasion and before the geopolitical earthquake after World War II. Both Kraków teams were playing in the ten-team top league

(Wisła – third, Cracovia – seventh), plus Polonia Warszawa (fourth) and Pogoń Lwów (fifth) from among the analysed teams with Ruch Hajduki Wielkie (now Ruch Chorzów) from the Upper Silesia region, the champions. The spatial patterns of the clubs and players are shown in Fig. 4.

The Cracovia and Wisła line-ups were quite similar – almost the same number of club-grown players and Kraków club-grown players (seven and eight, plus nine and eight respectively). For Wisła, almost 85 per cent of players were born in Kraków, while for Cracovia, it was 61 per cent. These numbers show a high locality factor and local tradition unmatched in modern times (see the summary) and the strength of football in Galicia. Both teams had few players born outside of the former Western Galicia region. Pogoń Lwów was also very locally based with ten (out of 17) players born in Lwów with ten also being Pogoń-grown and four of Lwów-clubs origin. Only three players were born in other partitions – one in the German and two in the Russian – all started their careers outside Lwów.

The Polonia Warszawa squad was much diversified in terms of players' geography. Thirty-five per cent of its footballers were home-grown, but as many as 52 per cent started their careers in clubs from other towns. There was a significant share of Silesian players – seven Polonia players were born there, and six started their careers in clubs from the Polish part of Upper Silesia. Only two players were born in Kraków and six in different cities in the former Russian partition, either close to Warsaw (in Pruszków or Grodzisk Mazowiecki) or farther from the capital (for example, Lublin or Radzyń Podlaski).

The map design problems were similar to the 1928 season, with much data for Upper Silesia. The number of cities (and level of labels' complication) is smaller, but segments for some of them (Katowice),

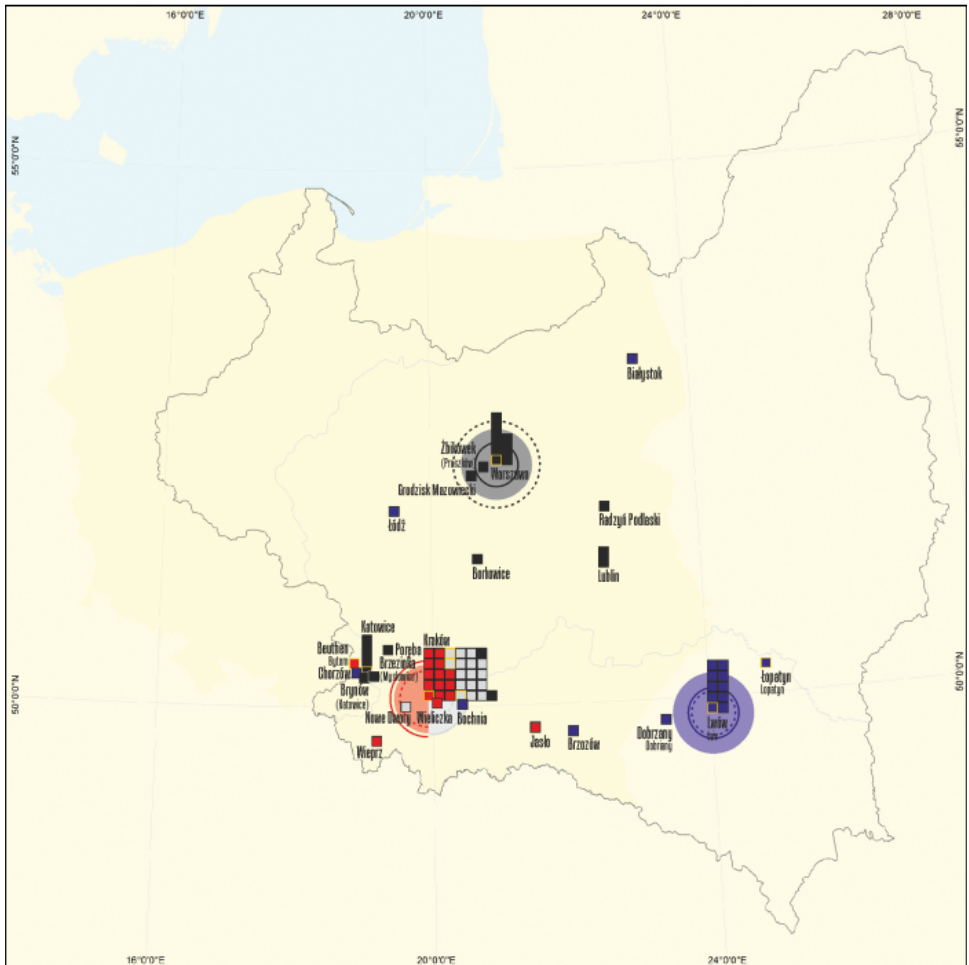


Fig. 4. Selected clubs and their players in 1938 (scale 1:5 000 000)

as well as a number of clubs (represented by colours), is bigger. The author believes that the data is well-seen on the main map without using an inset map.

1949

A few years after World War II, everything was different. Poland fell into the Soviet zone of influence, lost its eastern territories (now forming parts of independent Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania) and gained former German areas. It was the fourth post-war championship season, but it was chosen due to participating clubs (Fig. 5). While all the analysed clubs from

Warsaw (Polonia renamed Kolejarz⁶⁰) and Kraków (Wisła renamed Gwardia and Cracovia – Ogniwo) were playing in the top time two clubs from the relatively small (less than 100,000 inhabitants) Silesian city of Bytom took part in the league. Szombierki (German Schomberg) became a part of the Polish poviát (county, Polish:

⁶⁰ Name changes resulted from everything in the country being organised in 1949 according to the Soviet model, when individual clubs were to be replaced by professional unions, for example 'Stal' (Polish for 'steel') for all clubs being associated with the steel industry, 'Górník' ('miner') for the mining industry, etc. It is worth remembering that there were no professional sportsmen during the socialist time in Poland – all of them had fictional jobs in factories, offices, etc.

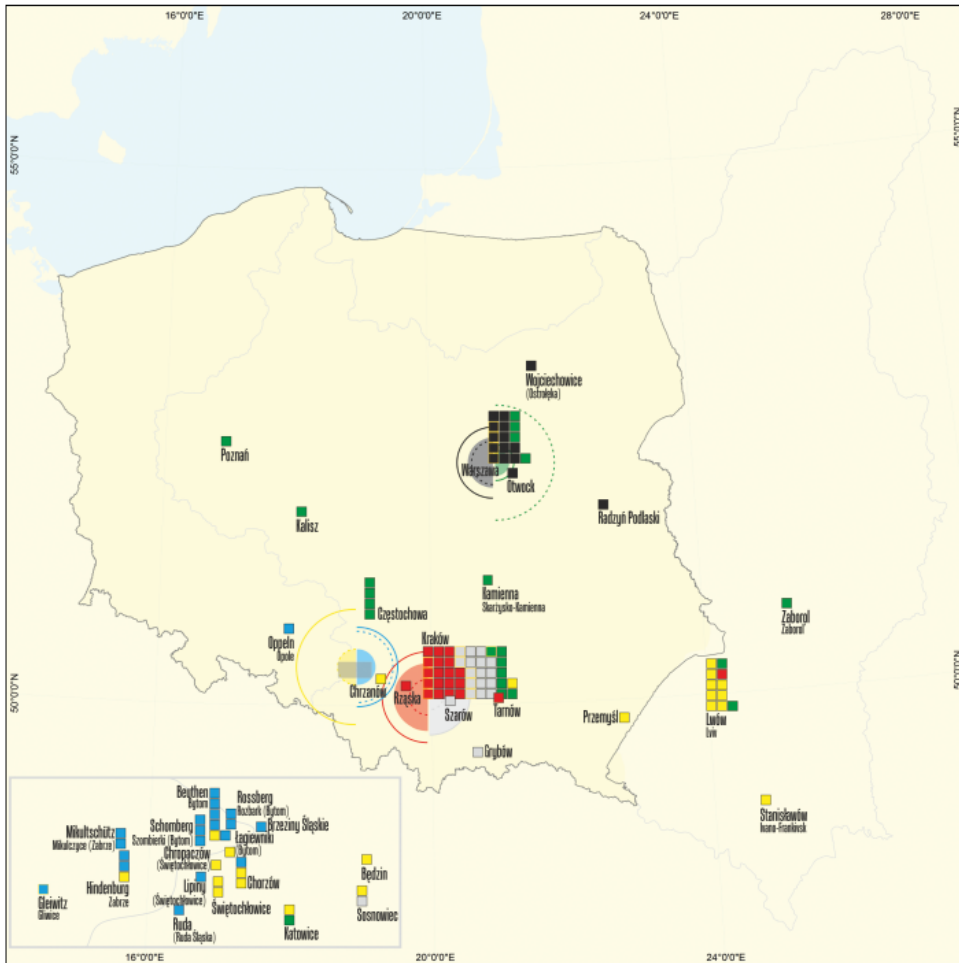


Fig. 5. Selected clubs and their players in 1949 (scale 1:5 000 000)

powiat) of Bytom in 1945 and a suburb of Bytom in 1951. In the analysed season, it was a separate commune of Chruszczów, but it was treated as one due to the latter's history and the relation of Szombierki with Bytom. They were selected for the analysis because of the geographic origin of players – according to popular beliefs and history, Szombierki (renamed Górnik that season) was based on local Silesian players. At the same time, Polonia, reactivated in 1945 (or created, as some claim, because pre-war Polonia only lasted for two years) with a crest and colours resembling those

of then defunct Pogoń Lwów, was based on (and for a few years almost restricted to) players expelled from then-Soviet Lvov. The dividing line between supporters was solid, clear, and origin-based: Szombierki was a club of locals, Poles, miners (workers in the Szombierki coal mine), while Polonia was of migrants, people from outside of Silesia relocated there⁶¹.

The league was won by Wisła, with Cracovia second and Polonia Warszawa

⁶¹ M. Kowoll, 'Piłka tylko dla Polaków', *Kwartalnik Fabryka Silesia*, 1 (2017), 36–39; 'Dlaczego nie stary zapomniany klub?', <https://www.kibice.net/forum/viewtopic.php?t=26280&start=40#p944030> (accessed: 07 Sept. 2020).

fourth. Legia was ninth, Szombierki tenth and Polonia Bytom eleventh.

Kraków teams were, as in previously analysed periods, very locally based; 20 out of 22 Cracovia players and 18 out of 19 from Wisła started their careers in Kraków and, respectively, 18 and 16 were Kraków-born. Of all these players, only one was Lwów-born (Leopold Kaźmirowicz, who played for... Polonia Bytom in the 1945–1948 seasons), and only two were born outside former Galicia. Nine players from the Kraków clubs were Polish national team players that season, and all of them were Kraków-born!

The situation in Polonia Warszawa was similar, with 12 out of 15 players being produced by Warsaw clubs (with the majority of other clubs than Polonia), and 12 born in Warsaw plus three others born no more than 150 km from the capital. All four Polonia and national team players that season were Warsaw-born and club-grown. The second Warsaw club, Legia, had a completely different line-up. Only one of the 24 players was home-grown, with two being Warsaw clubs-grown and four being born in Warsaw. Seven players were born in Kraków, four in Częstochowa (all being local clubs-grown) and three were born in what in 1949 was Soviet Ukraine, including the legendary Polish coach Kazimierz Górski, gold and silver medallist in the Olympic Games (1972, 1976) and third in the 1974 World Cup with the Polish national team, who was born in Lwów.

Looking at the Bytom clubs, the relation between the Silesian and Lwów players mentioned above can still be seen, even a few years after the war and the first and the most intense migration and population transfer phase. For Polonia Bytom, 42 per cent of players were non-Bytom clubs-grown, with ten players born in Eastern Galicia (including eight born in Lwów) and one in Western Galicia (Kraków). Two players were born abroad, and the rest

(12) were born in the Silesia region. Interestingly, ten of them were born in what was Polish Silesia (and its surrounding areas) before World War II and only two of them were born in the German part. Both of them emigrated to Germany after finishing their sporting careers. The other Bytom club, Szombierki, had 12 out of 20 Bytom clubs-grown players. Five players were born in Bytom and five in towns that are now part of Bytom (Szombierki and Rozbark). All players were born in Upper Silesia, close to Bytom, except for Ryszard Stanowski, born in Opole (but started his career at Lipiny, near Bytom). On the contrary, compared to Polonia, most Szombierki players were born in the German part of Upper Silesia, as Bytom itself was in that part – only four players were born in Poland. The first clubs of Szombierki players were also often German football clubs, for example SV Giesche Rossberg (now Rozbark, part of Bytom), Glückauf Beuthen or Sportfreunde Klausberg (the Nazi-period name for German Mikultschütz, now Mikulczyce, part of Zabrze).

The map design solutions were modified in the case of the 1949 season. There is a high diversity of places depicted with a single diagram or just a few of them. The case of Kraków, with over forty players born there, has been solved as before. Again, the Upper Silesia is a bit different – from the point of view of the settlement theory, it is a conurbation. Analysing such organisms on the map often raises a scale problem and needs an inset map as a solution. It has been done on this map, as segment diagrams for dozen cities (but only two clubs!) would be unreadable on the main map. The inset map does not show the circle diagrams, which can easily be read on the main map, and without confusion about the scale factor. However, the former partition boundary is shown as it plays a vital role, as described above. The author thinks the solutions proposed make map data readable.

Discussion

The author is aware that a complete analysis should be conducted to produce a comprehensive image of this spatial phenomenon. The paper presents only a portion of the available data visualisation focusing on local rivals and selected clubs. A deeper and broader analysis is possible with other, less detailed cartographic approaches due to the abundance of data.

However, even the described selection and presented maps reveal remarkable facts. In terms of football, the most influential part of Poland is the former Galicia, especially its western part (with Kraków), which has been confirmed. The share of Upper Silesia is also significant, but one should not forget about Warsaw or, not included here, Poznań. This fact can be easily backed up with statistics and the regional distribution of Polish football champions. Kraków teams (Cracovia, Garbarnia, Wisła) won the championship 19 times plus other Galicia clubs won it six times (four times by Lwów and twice by Mielec). Warsaw clubs (Polonia and Legia) were crowned 17 times, and Poznań clubs (Lech and Warta) were champions nine times. However, all the Silesian clubs together have won 32 gold medals in the Polish football championship. Chorzów (Ruch) and Zabrze (Górniki) were both crowned 14 times each, Bytom (with both the analysed Szombierki and Polonia) three times and Gliwice (Piast) once. With the importance and achievements of these clubs, it is understandable that the number of local club-grown and locally born players is significant in the case of Kraków and – later – Silesia. The role of Lwów, a cradle of Polish football, is also crucial, both in the Second Polish Republic (Lwów clubs) and during the early years of the Polish People's Republic, with many Lwów-born players migrating to the new Poland, including the analysed case of Bytom. It is very well presented on the post-war map, with profound changes

being the results of, among others, border reshaping and population transit.

From the cartographic point of view, the analysis used proper tools – the amount of data is shown in a clear, readable way. The applied methods allowed the presentation of both quantitative (circle diagrams for the number of different types of players per club, cumulative square diagrams for birthplaces) and qualitative (clubs, national team games, locality) data. The author believes a more detailed analysis of the entire league would need another solution (digital, interactive map) or a different scale plus inset maps to show all the clubs for a particular season. The case of the number of birthplaces in Silesia backs up this opinion, as it needs an additional inset map with a ten-times bigger scale to show robust information.

The proposition of approach to historical sports data visualisation was the primary goal of this paper. The author tried to evaluate the effectiveness of visualisations and both explain and justify the methodology applied. The analysis of the phenomena is limited to general remarks with a few interesting cases pointed out, and quantitative data is more deeply described to explain the maps' content. Hence, the paper can guide and inspire other researchers who need to supplement their works and spatio-temporal data with interesting and helpful visual elements.

While the author concentrates on maps with no deeper sociological look into sports history, it is worth ending this work with a reflection. With time, clubs became more and more global, even at a very local level. The role of home-grown players is important in a business approach on the transfer market (when a good player can be sold), but what often interests non-aficionado fans are transfers of big names, not necessarily closely bound to a club or region. What matters for fans and managers is the sports results as an effect of a well-working commercial

enterprise.⁶² It can be observed in the very international, or at least non-local, squads of many teams. For example, the 2019–2020 Polish champions Legia Warszawa won the title with 39 footballers playing in the league. Seventeen of them were foreigners, 21 Poles started their careers outside Warsaw, and only one was Warsaw (but not Legia) club-grown. It gives an idea of how much football has changed and how much clubs have become non-local. The general tendency in sport is that being a footballer is just a profession

like any other, and players go where they are being paid, without sentiment and positive feelings for clubs as supporters would expect.

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⁶² R. Busse, J.-P. Damiano, 'The Role of Commercialisation of the European Football Business for the Emotional Bond between Fans and Clubs', *Advances in Management*, 12, no. 1 (2019), 8–29; S. Morrow, B. Howieson, 'The New Business of Football: A Study of Current and Aspirant Football Club Managers', *Journal of Sport Management*, 28, no. 5 (2014), 515–28.

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Kartograficzna perspektywa geografii sportu. Piłkarze w przedwojennej i powojennej polskiej lidze

Streszczenie

Artykuł stanowi propozycję metodycznego podejścia do kartograficznej wizualizacji historycznych danych przestrzennych związanych ze społeczno-demograficznym wymiarem sportu. Pierwsza część pracy ukazuje silne związki sportu i przestrzeni, również w kontekście historycznym, a także podejmowane próby w zakresie ujęcia kartograficznego tych relacji.

Danymi poddanymi analizie i wizualizacji są miejsca narodzin oraz status reprezentacyjny

i klubowy piłkarzy wybranych klubów najwyższej klasy rozgrywkowej polskiej ligi piłki nożnej. Uwzględniono ośrodki piłkarsko ważne (Lwów, Kraków, Warszawa) oraz specyficzne (powojenny Bytom). Dane przeanalizowano dla czterech okresów – trzech sezonów przedwojennych (początek rozgrywek, jeden z sezonów środkowych, ostatni pełny sezon) oraz jednego tuż po drugiej wojnie światowej. Każdy z sezonów został przeanalizowany nie tylko pod kątem

przestrzenno-demograficznym (z wybranymi elementami biografii piłkarzy), ale przede wszystkim możliwości wizualizacji złożonych (i licznych) danych, a końcowe wizualizacje zostały krytycznie ocenione.

Wydaje się, że zastosowane rozwiązania są poprawne i mogą stanowić wskazówkę i inspirację dla innych badaczy, chcących uzupełnić rozważania historyczne elementami kartograficznymi. ■

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